JUL 23 1969

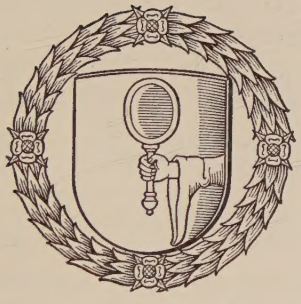
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/speculum0005jere

SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume V



S7417

Published Quarterly by

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY
OF AMERICA

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

1930

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief

JEREMIAH DENIS MATHIAS FORD

Managing Editor

FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN, JR

Assistant Managing Editor

CHARLES HOLT TAYLOR

Assistant Managing Editor

SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS

Publishing Editor

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN

RULDOLPH ALTROCCHI
University of California

JAMES HUGH RYAN
Catholic University of America

CHARLES RUFUS MOREY
Princeton University

JOHN STRONG PERRY TATLOCK
University of California

DANA CARLETON MUNRO
Princeton University

A. A. VASILIEV
University of Wisconsin

ADVISORY BOARD

PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN
University of Chicago

RICHARD MCKEON
Columbia University

ALBERT CROLL BAUGH
University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES D. MAGINNIS
Boston, Massachusetts

CHARLES HENRY BEESON
University of Chicago

KEMP MALONE
Johns Hopkins University

ARTHUR CHARLES LEWIS BROWN
Northwestern University

GEORGE LA PIANA
Harvard University

CORNELIA CATLIN COULTER
Mount Holyoke College

WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE
University of Chicago

ETIENNE GILSON
Universities of Paris and Toronto

ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER
Harvard University

GEORGE LIVINGSTONE HAMILTON
Cornell University

EDWARD KENNARD RAND
Harvard University

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS
Harvard University

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON
University of Chicago

WILLIAM EDWARD LUNT
Haverford College

LYNN THORNDIKE
Columbia University

BUSINESS BOARD

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON
New York University

JOHN MARSHALL
Cambridge, Mass.

GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON
New York City

VOL. V, NO. 4—*Copyright, 1930, by the Mediaeval Academy of America.* —PRINTED IN U. S. A.
Entered as second-class matter, May 8, 1926, at the Post Office at Boston, Mass., under the Act of August 24, 1912. Application made for additional entry at Menasha, Wis.

United Theological Seminary Library

CONTENTS

RECORDS OF THE ACADEMY

Fifth Presidential Address: Humanistic Studies and Science (J. M. Manly) . 243
Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, V (K. J. Conant) 77
The Iconography and the Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals of Cluny (K. J. Conant) 278

ARTICLES AND NOTES

J. Balogh, Noch Einmal '*Rerum Dominis Pietas Semper Amica*' 103
J. S. Beddie, The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries 3
K. J. Conant, Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, V 77
——, The Iconography and the Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals of Cluny 278
S. F. Damon, A Portrait of Albertus Magnus 102
O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, Le Codex *Q. v. I. 6–10* de la Bibliothèque Publique de Léningrad. 21
C. H. Haskins, Orleanese Formularies in a Manuscript at Tarragona . . . 411
W. P. Jones, Some Recent Studies on the *Pastourelle* 207
M. L. W. Laistner, The Mediaeval Organ and a Cassiodorus Glossary among the Spurious Works of Bede 217
A. Landgraf, Der Traktat *De Errore Pelagii* des Wilhelm von Auvergne . . 168
H. S. Lucas, The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, and 1317 343
L. C. MacKinney, The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement 181
K. Malone, King Alfred's North: A Study in Mediaeval Geography . . . 139
J. M. Manly, Humanistic Studies and Science 243
O. H. Moore, The Origins of the Legend of Romeo and Juliet in Italy . . . 264
J. H. Mozley, On the Text and Manuscripts of the *Speculum Stultorum*: II 251
J. H. Nunemaker, Some Mediaeval Spanish Terms of Writing and Illumination 420
J. J. Parry, The Triple Death in the *Vita Merlini* 216
——, The Welsh Texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* 424
C. Rojo, The Gregorian Antiphonary of Silos and the Spanish Melody of the *Lamentations* 306
J. C. Russell, The Many-sided Career of Master Elias of Dereham . . . 378
E. G. Salter, Sources for the Biography of St Francis of Assisi 388
W. B. Sedgwick, The *Bellum Troianum* of Joseph of Exeter 49
——, The Textual Criticism of Mediaeval Latin Poets 288
——, Joseph of Exeter: a Note and a Correction 338

JUL - JUL 23 1969

H. Spanke, Ein unveröffentlichtes lateinisches Liebeslied 431
I. H. Stein, The Wyclif Manuscript in Florence 95
K. Young, Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification 97

REVIEWS

S. O. Andrew, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (F. E. Farley) 222
Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins (J. W. Thompson) 325
A. J. App, *Lancelot in English Literature, his Rôle and Character* (R. S. Loomis) 104
M. Armour, *Gudrun* (S. H. Cross) 434
K. Asakawa, *The Documents of Iriki Illustrative of the Development of Feudal Institutions in Japan* (H. F. MacNair) 106
P. K. Baillie Reynolds, See J. F. Mountford 120
T. H. Banks, Jr, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (F. E. Farley) 222
I. Bianu and N. Cartojan, *Album de Paleografie Românească (Scrierea Chirilică)* (S. H. Cross) 326
A. V. Billen, *Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch* (A. H. Birch) 435
J. M. Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura* (S. Erbacher) . 436
O. E. Bodington, *Romance Churches of France* (K. J. Conant) 438
Sister Mary J. A. Buck, *S. Ambrosii de Helia et Ieiunio* (C. U. Clark) . . 224
Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Vol. XI, Richard II, 1391–1399; *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, Henry IV, Vol. II, 1402–1405; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Edward VI, Vol. VI (J. F. Willard) 439
N. Cartojan, See I. Bianu 326
A. de Boüard, *Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale*. I. (C. H. Haskins) 336
H. F. Dunbar, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy* (C. H. Grandgent) 107
H. G. Enelow, *Menorat ha-Maor by Israel ibn al-Nakawa* (R. H. Pfeiffer) . 440
An Exultet Roll Illuminated in the XIth Century at the Abbey of Monte Cassino (M. Avery) 440
C. Foligno, *Latin Thought during the Middle Ages* (Brother Giles, C. F. X.) 443
J. B. Fuller, *Hilarii Versus et Ludi* (K. Young) 112
E. Lo Gatto, *Storia della Letteratura Russa*, I (S. H. Cross) 445
A. F. Gombos, *A Honfoglaló Magyarok Itáliai Kalandozása, (898–904)* (A. Steiner) 114
N. E. Griffin, A. B. Myrick, *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio, a Translation with Parallel Text* (C. H. Grandgent) 115
C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (E. Emerton) 225
P. K. Hitti, *Origins of the Druze People and Religion* (W. Thomson) 446

——, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munquidh* (W. Thomson) 448
F. Hoddick, *Das Münstermaifelder Legendar* (G. H. Gerould) 116
F. Holthausen, *Beowulf* (K. Malone) 327
H. C. Hoskier, *De Contemptu Mundi by Bernard of Morval* (S. H. Cross) . 451
H. Hügli, *Der deutsche Bauer im Mittelalter* (J. W. Thompson) 227
O. J. Kuhnmuench, *Early Christian Latin Poets* (E. K. Rand) 228
K. Langosch, *Asinarius und Rapularius* (E. K. Rand) 228
J. Lefebvre, See Ch. Petit Dutaillis 328
P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. II (J. S. Beddie) . . . 453
H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War 1326–1347* (A. J. Barnouw) 454
F. P. Magoun, Jr, *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (H. R. Patch) 117
K. Malone and M. B. Ruud, *Miscellany in Honor of Fr. Klaeber* (R. K. Root) 237
M. Manitius, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* (E. K. Rand) 458
A. Millares Carlo, *Paleografía Española* (C. U. Clark) 454
J. F. Mountford, P. K. Baillie Reynolds, *One Hundred Post-Classical Unseens* (K. P. Harrington) 120
A. B. Myrick, See N. E. Griffin 115
N. Neilson, *The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington* (N. S. B. Gras) 456
V. Novotný *České Dějiny* (S. H. Thomson) 229
Padres Benedictinos de Silos, *Antiphonarium Mozarabicum de la Catedral de León* (W. M. Whitehill, Jr) 231
R. E. Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne* (G. H. Gerould) 121
J. Pérez de Urbel, *San Eulogio de Córdoba* (W. M. Whitehill, Jr) 231
Ch. Petit Dutaillis and G. Lefebvre, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, translated by M. I. E. Robertson and R. F. Treharne (W. E. Lunt) 328
A. K. Porter, *Beyond Architecture* (K. J. Conant) 456
G. Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano* (W. M. Whitehill, Jr) . . . 231
——, *Manual de Liturgia Hispano-Visigótica o Mozárabe* (W. M. Whitehill, Jr) 231
E. K. Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours, I: A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (H. A. Sanders) 330
Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale, I (J. H. Ryan) 457
M. B. Ruud, See K. Malone 237
P. Sabatier, *Le Speculum Perfectionis ou Mémoires de Frère Léon, sur la seconde partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise* (J. F. Willard) . . . 122

W. Schwahn, *L. Vallae de Falso Credita et Ementita Constantini Donatione Declamatio* (A. D. Fraser) 234
R. F. Seybolt, *Renaissance Student Life* (C. U. Clark) 235
E. F. Shannon, *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* (H. R. Patch) 332
W. P. Shepard, *La Passion Provençale du Manuscrit Didot* (E. L. Adams) . 123
Speculum Religionis (F. N. Robinson) 236
K. Strecker, *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (E. K. Rand) 458
P. Taylor, *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum* (H. M. Martin) . . 126
T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals* (J. F. Willard) 127
M. R. Toynbee, *St Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (J. D. M. Ford) 335
J. Vielliard, *Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne* (H. M. Martin) 129
E. Vinaver, *Malory* (J. B. Munn) 460
K. Vossler, *Medieval Culture* (C. H. Grandgent) 238
M. Wattie, *The Middle-English* Lai le Freine (F. P. Magoun, Jr) 239
C. C. J. Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon* (S. H. Thomson) 132
E. Wessén, *De Nordiska Folkstammarna i Beowulf* (K. Malone) 134

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Announcement of Books Received 136, 242, 339, 462

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE ANCIENT CLASSICS IN THE MEDIAEVAL LIBRARIES

By JAMES STUART BEDDIE

AS THE twelfth century was the age of the second revival of the ancient classics, it would be of interest to know what works of Greek and Roman writers were present in the libraries of the period and which of those available had the greatest popularity and the widest diffusion. For this purpose a retracing of the manuscript tradition of the texts of the classical authors through the mediaeval period would be most desirable, indeed necessary, for a complete picture. Still, considerable information about the range of the mediaeval mind and its interest in the Greek and Roman writers may be gained from an examination of the catalogues of the twelfth-century libraries.[1]

Most of the mediaeval catalogues, including more than a hundred from the twelfth century, have now been printed. A list of the known catalogues up to the year 1500 was compiled by Th. Gottlieb in his register, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890). Several collections of catalogues have been published, notably that of Becker, in which 136 lists of the twelfth century and earlier are reprinted.[2] A number of catalogues of French libraries are in L. Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.[3] Collections of the mediaeval catalogues of the German and Austrian libraries are now in course of publication under the auspices of the academies of Vienna, Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, and Munich, those of the Aus-

[1] On the thirteenth century, E. K. Rand, 'The Classics in the Thirteenth Century,' SPECULUM, IV (1929), 262.

[2] G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885).

[3] Paris, 1868–1881.

trian libraries under the editorship of Theodor Gottlieb and his successors, and those of the German libraries by Paul Lehmann.[1]

Even these formal inventories, however, are often unsatisfactory and have important limitations for use as sources for the number and contents of the libraries. Indeed, a number of libraries of the highest importance, such as those of Tours or St Albans, have left no catalogues or their catalogues have been lost. Nor have we a catalogue of the papal library before 1295.

Often these catalogues are mere check-lists or inventories of the library's possessions, entered upon the fly-leaves of manuscripts or on other spaces empty and available. Account was usually taken only of the number of manuscripts, rather than of the works contained therein; and volumes were regularly listed by the name of the first work contained, in cases where several works are found in one manuscript those after the first being allowed to go uncatalogued.[2] The volumes are often found cited by brief titles, which are sometimes indefinite, as *Liber Virgili* or *Diuersorum auctorum liber unus.*

Also, many of these lists have come to us with insufficient indications of provenance and can be identified only as within the lifetime of an abbot or bishop, or within fifty or a hundred years by palaeographical means.

Though the catalogues are thus often inadequate and indefinite, and though their testimony regarding the popularity of individual authors may sometimes be misleading unless taken in connection with the history of the manuscript tradition of their works, yet a perusal of the catalogues may be made to yield much of interest regarding the libraries, the authors therein, and their interest to mediaeval men.

The greater part of the content of the monastery and cathedral libraries was composed of ecclesiastical books: volumes of the Bible, scriptural commentaries, works of the Fathers, and books for divine service. In a number of cases the library was entirely theological

[1] *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. I (Vienna, 1915); *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vols I, II (Munich, 1918, 1928).

[2] A recent writer suggests that to arrive at the actual number of works in the library one must multiply the number found in the catalogue by about four. D. H. S. Cranage, *The Home of the Monk* (Cambridge, England, 1926), p. 5.

and liturgical, and in the greater part of the libraries the non-ecclesiastical content did not reach one third of the total.

Most twelfth-century libraries contained something of the ancient classics, though their amount and proportion differed widely in the individual libraries. Appearances of Greek books in the western libraries are rare. The monks of the Greek monasteries of South Italy seem to have lived to themselves, and such works of the Greek classical authors as they posessed had no influence beyond the immediate region. Though the library of St Nicholas at Casole was famed throughout the Terra d'Otranto and contained a manuscript of Aristophanes, it was in contact with the East rather than the West, and this knowledge of Greek drama did not spread.[1]

Plato was known indirectly, in the main. Of his works only the first part of the *Timaeus* in the translation of Chalcidius was available at the opening of the twelfth century. Notices of this in the library catalogues are fairly numerous. It was present at St Gall, Lorsch, Hamersleven, Bamberg, Rastede, Tegernsee, St Bertin, Bec, Anchin, St Amand, Corbie, Engelberg, Salzburg, Whitby, Durham, Reading, Canterbury, Halberstadt, and elsewhere. Notices of the translation of the *Meno* and *Phaedo* made by Aristippus of Catania about 1156 do not occur before the date of the *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival, which describes the *Phaedo*.[2] The twelfth-century catalogue of Anchin cites *Plato de cosmopio*, possibly a description of the *Timaeus*.

Aristotle had been more popular in the early Middle Ages because, thanks to Boethius, his works chanced to be better preserved. Of

[1] The library of Casole is described by C. Diehl in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, VI (1886), 173, and by K. Lake in *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1903–1904), 33.

[2] The *Biblionomia*, Richard of Fournival's model catalogue of a model library, is printed by Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, 518–533. Richard was chancellor of the church of Amiens, his life falling within the period 1201–1260. His work purports to be, as explained in allegorical fashion in the introduction, a plan of education for the youth of Amiens, and especially a plan for the formation of a library. He lists 162 books, with remarkably full descriptions, and gives a scheme of classification to aid the librarian in finding them readily. The studies of Delisle (*Cabinet*, III, 387) and of Aleksander Birkenmajer, *Bibljoteka Ryszarda de Fournival i jej Pozniejsze Losy* (*The Library of Richard de Fournival and its Ultimate Fate*), Cracow, 1922, have identified a number of items in the *Biblionomia* with manuscripts described in the mediaeval catalogues of the Sorbonne library and bequeathed to the Sorbonne by the theologian, Gérard d'Abbeville.

the logical works available at the opening of the twelfth century the *Categories* were spread most widely, references to this treatise being found in the catalogues of Bobbio, Montier-en-Der, St Emmeram's, Hamersleven, Pfäffers, Reichenau, Wessobrunn, St Amand, Anchin, Arras, Reisbach, and, with the rest of the *Organon*, at Canterbury and Rochester. The *De Interpretatione* was listed at St Emmeram's, Pfäffers, Salzburg, Anchin, Arras, and Fleury. The other works of the *Organon*, which made their appearance in the second quarter of the twelfth century, found their way into the library inventories slowly. The *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* are listed in the catalogue of Engelberg by 1175 (this monetary possessed a very complete collection of logical works), at Glastonbury, and in the *Biblionomia*. In the twelfth-century catalogue of the library of the monastery of St Peter's at Salzburg appears the item: '*Metaphysica et topica Aristotelis*.'[1] In a list of textbooks probably in use at Paris near the close of the twelfth century mention is made of the logical treatises of the *Organon*, the *Metaphysics*, the *De Generatione et Corruptione*, and the *De Anima*.[2] In general, however, the notices of the scientific works of Aristotle in the catalogues are slow to appear and are not numerous. It is probable that their spread received a temporary setback when, in 1210, a provincial council forbade the public or private reading of the works of Aristotle at Paris, this prohibition being reënacted and made to include the *Metaphysics* by the statutes of the papal legate in 1215; nor was it lifted before 1231, when Pope Gregory IX forbade their use until they had been purged of error.

Though the works of several of the classical authors were not looked upon by the church with complete approval, this temporary check to the spread of the works of Aristotle is the nearest approach in the Middle Ages to a prohibition of the use of any Greek or Roman author. The logical works of Aristotle and Porphyry, accompanied by the commentaries of Boethius, appeared in numbers in the monastery libraries, but the scientific and metaphysical works, with the commentary of Averroës, did not make their way so easily.

[1] G. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[2] C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1927), p. 373.

A good many items appearing in the catalogues as the works of Boethius undoubtedly represent works of Aristotle in his translation.

The Greek medical works were known chiefly in the versions of Constantine the African, the monk of Monte Cassino, who translated the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and the *Tegni* of Galen, and of Burgundio of Pisa, who translated ten treatises of Galen.[1] The works of Hippocrates appeared in the library catalogues of S. Angelo, near Capua, St Amand, Durham, the medical library of Bishop Bruno of Hildesheim,[2] and elsewhere. Writings of Galen are mentioned in the catalogues of Reichenau, St Amand, Durham, Salzburg, Hildesheim, and others. The work of Dioscorides on herbs appears in the catalogues of St Amand, Durham, and Peterborough.

Philo Judaeus is mentioned in the catalogues of St Riquier and Lyre, and in the course of the twelfth century a letter to Abbot Conrad of Tegernsee requested the loan of a manuscript of this work.

Josephus' *History of the Jews* was regarded in the Middle Ages as a sort of auxiliary to the study of the Bible, and manuscripts of it in translation were diffused very widely, the work being recorded more than forty times in the catalogues.

The mention of two books of Lucian in the twelfth-century catalogue of St Bertin is obviously an error in writing Lucan.[3] The *Bucolics* of Theocritus are listed in the inventory of Pfäffers made in 1155, but it is probably to the *Eclogues* of Nemesianus that this description refers.[4]

In all these works of Greek authors available to the Middle Ages through translations, there was nothing, it may be observed here, which could give a correct conception of Greek life, which, along with the Greek language, remained largely an unknown field to the twelfth century.

The works of the Latin authors were much more widely spread, and most libraries possessed a larger or smaller selection from the Roman writers. Though the body of material then available was

[1] Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[2] K. Sudhoff in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX (1916), 348.

[3] G. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[4] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, I, 486; Manitius, 'Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F., XLVII, Ergänzungsheft (1892), 57.

much the same as that possessed to-day, an inspection of the library catalogues will show that the preferences of the Middle Ages for individual authors differed in many respects both from those of the Romans and from those of the present day.[1]

The writings of Plautus (the *Aulularia*) are cited in the catalogues of Passau in the tenth century, Metz in the eleventh, and in that of the cathedral library of Bamberg in the thirteenth, but the reference is probably to the later *Aulularia* with the ascription to Plautus added. The catalogue of Michelsberg lists 'Plauti liber I,' which may refer to the same. The twelfth-century catalogue of Lambach names the *Amphitruo*.

The comedies of Terence were better known, but imperfectly understood. Mediaeval information about the ancient drama was drawn from the works of Isidore of Seville and Donatus. The ineptitudes and uncertainties of the commentaries of Eugraphius and his successors show that a true conception of Roman comedy had been lost.[2] Terence's metre was especially puzzling, and his work was often treated as prose. Alberic of Monte Cassino cites Terence as an authority on style. Nearly twenty citations of Terence occur in the French catalogues before 1250, including three copies at Cluny. Few of these name individual plays, but Richard of Fournival has complete information, stating that the comedies number six, of which he supplies the names. A still larger number of manuscripts is noted in the catalogues of German libraries. That the plays were read is shown by the fact that the manuscript of Terence at Freising in the eleventh century was noted as being out on loan, as was that

[1] Statistics relating to the diffusion of the works of the individual Roman authors in the mediaeval libraries have been assembled by M. Manitius in 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Römischen Prosaiker im Mittelalter,' and 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Römischen Dichter im Mittelalter,' in *Philologus*, vols XLVII–LVI (1888–1897), and Supplement VII (1899), also in 'Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, XLVII (1892), Ergänzungsheft, 1–152.

Citations of classical authors in English library catalogues are listed by E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (London, 1911), p. 258.

[2] E. K. Rand, 'Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence,' *Classical Philology*, IV (1909), 359; Wilhelm Cloëtta, *Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter* (Halle, 1890), p. 14; M. Schanz–C. Hosius, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* (4th ed., Munich, 1927), p. 121; J. D. Craig, *Jovialis and the Calliopian Text of Terence* (*St Andrews University Publications*, vol. XXII, St Andrews, 1927).

at Cologne, and to an abbess. In England, Terence appeared in the catalogues of Peterborough, Durham, Rochester, and Canterbury, and in Italy at Bobbio, Monte Cassino, and Treviso.

The works of Cicero, especially the rhetorical and philosophical works, were found in numbers of the catalogues, along with certain other works, such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which went under the name of Cicero and was cited in the catalogues of ten collections in France and five in Germany, and of which Cluny possessed three manuscripts. It seems likely that all of his works were not collected or even known at any one time or place. It was the ambition of Abbot Wibald of Corvey to collect the works of Cicero in one volume, and he did succeed in assembling the largest group of Cicero's writings of the twelfth century. John of Salisbury bequeathed his manuscripts of the *De Officiis* and *De Oratore* to Chartres. Mention is made of the writings of Cicero in more than thirty catalogues of libraries from France and in a like number of German catalogues. The selections represented ranged from the nineteen manuscripts of Cluny, the sixteen listed in the *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival, and nine of the library of Bec, to the single item of the catalogue of Benediktbeuern, listing the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*. These last two, as school books, were cited very often. Certain of the orations occur more frequently than others, among them the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. Manuscripts of the letters were comparatively rare, though three are listed in the twelfth-century catalogue of Cluny and they were also to be found at Lorsch. The *Topica* and the *De Officiis* occur frequently, while other works, such as the *De Legibus* (listed at Bec and Durham), are mentioned only rarely. Several of the catalogue descriptions do not permit identification of the particular work described, while certain others seem to show an imperfect knowledge of the author. Thus the cataloguer of St Gildas writes '*Librum Tulli Cesaris de oratore.*' Outside France and Germany citations of Cicero in the library catalogues are less frequent. Of the Italian catalogues those of Bobbio and Monte Cassino list manuscripts of Cicero. In England works of Cicero were listed in the catalogues of Durham, Whitby, Rochester, and Evesham. The catalogue of Canterbury (*ca.* 1170), containing references to the

De Amicitia, De Senectute, Rhetorica, and *Topica,* and that of Glastonbury (1247), in which the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* occur, may be added to Manitius' list of English citations. Apparently no twelfth-century Spanish catalogues mention works of Cicero.

The Verona manuscript of Catullus does not appear between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries.

Caesar is mentioned infrequently in the catalogues of mediaeval libraries. Of the fifteen or so naming his works, twelve are catalogues of French libraries. Manuscripts were also listed at Würzburg and Ripoll. No English catalogue includes Caesar before 1443.

Lucretius evidently had little appeal for the mediaeval mind, as surviving manuscripts are few and his work is cited only in the catalogues of Murbach, Bobbio, and Corbie.

Catalogue mention of the histories of Sallust was frequent, his name being found in the catalogues of almost twenty French libraries, and in more than that number in Germany, in England at Canterbury, Durham, Rochester, and Glastonbury, and in Spain at Silos.

These were what the twelfth century had from republican Rome, and their relatively small proportion in the catalogues is but another piece of evidence that to the Middle Ages Rome meant the Rome of the Empire.

The popularity of Virgil was universal. As a school author his work appears in every list of such books. The *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are named in the catalogues almost as often as the *Aeneid,* but the larger number of the citations of Virgil without naming the particular work probably refer to the latter. Thirty or more citations of the commentary of Servius attest the diligence with which Virgil's works were studied. In the catalogues of the English libraries mention of Virgil is made in those of Bury, Durham, Lincoln, Canterbury; the *Aeneid* is named in those of Rochester and Glastonbury; the *Bucolics* in that of Whitby; and the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* in those of Durham, Reading, Rochester, and Glastonbury.

Mention of Propertius and Tibullus occurs only in the *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival, besides a notice of the latter in an unidentified French catalogue of the ninth century.

Horace is mentioned more than twenty times in French library

catalogues previous to 1250, and even more frequently in those of Germany. Cluny possessed two manuscripts of the complete works. The *Biblionomia* gives the names of the individual works. In Spain the works of Horace appear in the catalogue of Silos, and in Italy at Monte Cassino and Treviso. English catalogues which cite Horace are those of Bury, Canterbury, Durham, Rochester, Reading, and Glastonbury. Although the individual works are not often cited since the complete works could conveniently be contained in one volume, the *Satires* and *Epistles* appear slightly more frequently than the *Odes*.

Ovid, morally interpreted or otherwise, was even more popular. Nearly twenty French catalogues and almost thirty from Germany cite his works. In England they appear at Durham, Canterbury, Rochester, and Glastonbury, in Spain at Oviedo, and in Italy at Bobbio and Monte Cassino. These citations include a number of the pseudo-Ovidian works, such as the *De Sompno*.[1] Durham possessed no less than ten manuscripts of Ovid, Blaubeuern five, and Cluny three. The *Metamorphoses* was the most popular work, as its description as '*Ovidius magnus*' or '*Ovidius maior*' indicates.

Several of the poets of the Empire were held in greater esteem during the twelfth century than at the present day. Persius and Lucan served as school authors, the former being in addition regarded as a moralist and the latter as an historian. Persius appears in fifteen or more catalogues of French libraries and in more than twenty from Germany, at Canterbury, Whitby, Durham, Rochester, and Glastonbury in England, and at Bobbio in Italy. The works of Lucan appear in practically the same numbers. Four manuscripts are found at Corbie and at Bobbio, and two are listed at Cluny and in several other libraries.

The name of Petronius appears but once, and that in the catalogue of an unidentified French library of the eleventh century. The frequency with which Martial was quoted would lead one to expect that manuscripts of his works would be more often listed than is actually the case, for they appear only about a dozen times,

[1] P. Lehmann, *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, vol. XXIII, Leipzig, 1927), pp. 89–91.

in France at Corbie and in the *Biblionomia*, in Germany at Lorsch, Bamberg, Muri, and Würzburg, in England at Peterborough, and in Italy at Bobbio.

Citations of Juvenal come most often from France, where he is named in twenty or more catalogues. About fifteen mentions of Juvenal occur in the German catalogues, seven in England, including Canterbury, Bury, and Glastonbury, while he is also listed at Bobbio, Oviedo, and Ripoll. Bobbio, St Bertin, and Rouen possessed three copies of Juvenal in their libraries.

Statius was widely read, quoted, and copied, that is, the *Achilleis* and the *Thebais;* the *Siluae* do not appear in the catalogues of the early Middle Ages. Twenty catalogues of the German libraries cite Statius, more than fifteen in France, five in England, and one (Silos) in Spain.

References to the Roman historians in the library catalogues illustrate the mediaeval preference for epitomes and condensations. Livy occurs in the catalogues of Limoges; in Corbie, which lists two copies of the third decade; in Cluny, which had two copies of the third decade and one of the first; in the collections of Murbach; in the cathedral library of Bamberg; and at Pomposa. Curtius Rufus' name does not appear except in the catalogue of the library at Canterbury made after 1285, but notices of histories of Alexander the Great are numerous, whether reference is to his work or to those works associated with the names of Julius Valerius and the Archpresbyter Leo. Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus is cited in half a dozen catalogues from Germany and in a like number from France, that of St Martial's at Limoges listing two copies, and it is also named in the catalogues of Durham and Pomposa. Valerius Maximus is listed six times in France, but elsewhere only at Michelsberg. The epitome of Florus is catalogued at Chartres, Bec, Corbie, and Limoges, but in Germany only in the ninth-century inventory of Lorsch. No certain references to Tacitus are known, there being only the mention of a *Historiam Cornelii cum Homero* from Monte Cassino in the eleventh century. The Corbie catalogue of the end of the twelfth century has a *Liber Cornelii de bello Troiano*. Otto of Freising cites 'Cornelius' in his list of writers on Greek history.

The works of Suetonius were known in France from the time of Lupus Servatus or before.[1] They are found listed in five catalogues from France, Bec possessing two manuscripts, at Bamberg and another (unidentified) library of Germany, and at Bury, Rochester, and Glastonbury in England. Though John of Salisbury made use of Suetonius in the *Policraticus*, he could on one occasion make two persons of Suetonius and Tranquillus.[2] The collection of biographies known as the *Augustan History* was listed in the catalogues of Murbach and the cathedral library of Bamberg, while Cluny possessed a volume containing the lives of the Caesars from Augustus to Theodosius. The history of Eutropius was cited in the catalogues of Pomposa, Durham, St Emmeram's, Bamberg, and in France at Cluny, St Amand, Chartres, and Bec, which possessed two copies. Thus it will be seen that the work of no one of the classical historians was found among the more popular books of the twelfth century and none of them approached being generally known in the sense that the classical poets were known. The catalogue citations of the *Seven Books against the Pagans* (*Historia aduersus Paganos*) of Orosius, the first great Christian historian in the West, surpass those of any of the pagan writers on the subject.

The total of the citations of the works of Seneca the Younger is probably increased somewhat by inclusion of writings of the elder Seneca, and pseudo-Senecan writings, of which there was a number. He is mentioned in the catalogues of fifteen or more French libraries, in a somewhat smaller number from Germany, at Monte Cassino, Pomposa, and Città di Castello in Italy, and at Durham, Peterborough, Bury, Reading, and Glastonbury in England. Bec had seven Seneca manuscripts and the *Biblionomia* has a full list of his writings. The work most commonly cited was the *Moral Epistles*, often listed as 'Seneca maior.' The *Apocolocyntosis* appears in the catalogue of St Amand and in the *Biblionomia*. The apocryphal correspondence of Seneca and Paul is also listed frequently.

[1] E. K. Rand, 'On the History of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (1926), 20.

[2] *Policraticus*, VIII, 18, and the note of C. C. J. Webb in his edition of the *Policraticus* (Oxford, 1909), II, 364.

Quintilian, because of the advanced character of his work and its attention to oratory, was not the rhetorical text of the twelfth century, though he seems to have been well known to John of Salisbury. Five French catalogues cite the work, in addition to those of Durham, Bamberg, and Salzburg.

Citations of the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger are quite rare, and occur in the catalogues of Lorsch, an unidentified German library catalogue of the eleventh century, and in those of Angers and Bec in the twelfth century. Some confusion may have occurred with Pliny the Elder, and some of the items mentioning Pliny without further description may refer to manuscripts of the *Letters*.

The author of the *Attic Nights* was regularly described in the catalogues as 'Agellius,' and appears thus in the inventories of Cluny, Egmond, and Bamberg, in the *Biblionomia*, and in the correspondence of Reinald of Hildesheim with Wibald of Corvey regarding a loan of the volume.

Apuleius was known to the twelfth century as the author of the *Periermeniae*, cited in nine catalogues from France, four from Germany, and at Bobbio in Italy, where the catalogue lists two manuscripts of Apuleius. The catalogue of Bec lists the *De Deo Socratis* and the *De Fato*.

The works of the Roman writers on the sciences and useful arts continued to be copied and read during the Middle Ages. The preference here too, however, was for epitomes and compends. The work of Hyginus on astronomy appears in five French library catalogues, in nine from Germany, of which all but two are from the eleventh century or before, also in the catalogues of Durham, Rochester, and Treviso. Vitruvius on architecture occurs five times in catalogues from Germany, and in four French lists. Citations of Columella are confined to France, the work being listed in the catalogue of Corbie and in the *Biblionomia*. The same is true in the case of Pomponius Mela, cited only at Bec and Limoges. For so extensive a work the *Natural History* of Pliny is noted surprisingly often, being mentioned in eight catalogues of French libraries, in the same number or more from Germany, and in those of Bobbio and Pomposa in Italy. In several cases, however, it is stated that the library possessed less

than the complete work. Solinus, who used Pliny's work, is mentioned with even greater frequency. The work of Serenus on medicine appears in the catalogues of St Riquier, Cluny, Rochester, Reichenau, Murbach, Weihenstephan, and Göttweig. Palladius' work on agriculture was extremely popular in France and the Netherlands, thirteen catalogues from this region listing the book. It also appears in the catalogue of Durham. Vegetius' *De Re Militari* is listed in nine French library catalogues and in six from Germany. The *Mulomedicina* was listed at Reichenau.

The old Roman textbooks on grammar continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages, and catalogue citations of the works of Victorinus, Donatus, Martianus Capella, Priscian, and Phocas are numberless. Besides their use as texts they were of value in preserving extracts and quotations from the works of the classical authors. The *Distichs of Cato*, another school text, was widely diffused. Eleven citations of it occur in catalogues of French libraries, more than twice that number from Germany, while it is also found in the libraries of Oviedo, Bobbio, Durham, Rochester, and Glastonbury. The *Fables* of Avianus appear in similar proportions. The Latin *Iliad* or 'Homer' is named in the catalogues of half-a-dozen libraries in France, and more than that number in Germany, also at Monte Cassino, Durham, and Whitby. Dares' *History of the Trojan War* was almost as widely circulated. The *History of Apollonius of Tyre* is mentioned in the inventories of Rochester, Canterbury, St Wandrille, Lobbes, Gorze, Cluny, St Amand, Pontigny, Toul, Stavelot, Reichenau, Weihenstephan, Wessobrunn, and Salzburg.

Certain of the authors of the last days of the Empire attained popularity in the mediaeval libraries. The *Letters* of Symmachus were listed in the catalogues of St Bertin, Angers, Bamberg, Arnstein, and Hamersleven. The compendious works of Macrobius were extremely popular. His name occurs more than twenty times in the catalogues of French libraries and in almost as many from Germany, as well as in those of Durham, Rochester, Bobbio, and Ripoll. The commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* is cited somewhat oftener than the *Saturnalia*.

Though the twelfth century marked the height of mediaeval

interest in the classics, they were by no means displaced in the following age. We come upon catalogues of libraries of the thirteenth century, such as that of Pontigny, which had an extensive selection from the works of the Roman writers, including Caesar, Seneca, Quintilian, Palladius, Valerius, Maximus, Solinus, and Suetonius.[1] Conclusions as to the prevalence and popularity of the classics in the libraries of the thirteenth century must, however, be guarded, since our catalogues of the period after 1250, especially from the monastic houses are much less numerous than from the preceding period.

In the thirteenth century, however, the classics were forced to divide the attention of scholars with newer contenders, with logic and metaphysics, and with the new science, whose followers were indifferent to literary form and which introduced a technical vocabulary of its own.

The catalogues illustrate these new interests and tendencies and others as well. The thirteenth-century catalogue of the Cistercian house of Pontigny not only testifies to a continued interest in the classics, but it shows as well the loss of intensity of feeling in the Cistercian order, for in no Cistercian catalogue of the twelfth century can we find an extensive list of books dealing with non-religious subjects.

The catalogues indicate the library centres where interest in the classics prevailed especially. Thus Cluny, rich in everything, possessed, according to the catalogue of the middle of the twelfth century, a large number of works of the classical writers among its 570 volumes.

The catalogues preserve to us the memory of mediaeval classical students, some famous, some forgotten. Thus the lists of the books in the hands of the monks of Durham[2] indicate the reading of Guarinus, a student of the classics otherwise unknown to fame, while the record of the bequest of the library of John of Salisbury to Chartres recalls the interests of the greatest classical scholar of the twelfth century.

[1] *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (Paris, 1849), I, 697.

[2] G. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

APPENDIX

In the following appendix is given a list of the library catalogues of the period 1050–1250, which have appeared in print, but are not listed in Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, or which have appeared in later editions since the publication of Gottleib's register (1890). It does not include, however, those printed in the series *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* and *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*.

1 Altenburg 1200 Monastery (Benedictine).
F. L. Helmling, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner Ordens*, XLII (1923–1924), 236.

2 Altzelle XIIth cent. Monastery (Cistercian).
Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte, XVIII (1897), 201.

3 Aversa 1119 Grant by bishop to monastery of S. Lorenzo.
Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta (Naples, 1857), vol. VI, no. 574.

4 Bamberg 1112–1147 Monastery of Michelsberg. Catalogue and lists of acquisitions (Gottlieb, nos. 12–14).
H. Bresslau, 'Bamberger Studien,' *Neues Archiv*, XXI (1896), 143–154.

5 Bamberg XIIth cent. Michelsberg (Gottlieb, no. 18. Becker, no. 80).
H. Bresslau, *art. cit.*, p. 165.

6 Bamberg XIIIth cent. Cathedral. List of books entrusted to Master Richard (Gottlieb, no. 20).
H. Bresslau, *art. cit.*, p. 170, note 11, p. 194.

7 Barcelona 1142 Gift of Bishop Arnald to the Cathedral.
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 66.

8 Bari 1067 Service books of Chiesa del Catapano.
N. Tamassia, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXIV, ii (1904–1905), 286.

9 Beauvais XIth or XIIth cent. Gift of Roscellinus to Cathedral library (Gottlieb, no. 968).
H. Omont, 'Recherches sur la Bibliothèque de l'Église Cathedrale de Beauvais,' *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XL (1916), 1.

10 Beauvais 1217 Gift of Bishop Philip to monastery library.
Gallia Christiana, vol. IX, col. 739.

11 Bruges XIIth cent. Monastery of St André.
Revue Bénédictine, XXXVII (1925), 273.

12 Burton after 1175 Monastery library (Gottlieb, no. 442).
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, IX (1892), 200.

13 Bury *ca.* 1200 Catalogue of monastery of St Edmund (Gottlieb, no. 443).
M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St Edmund at Bury* (*Cambridge Antiquarian Society Octavo Publications*, no. XXVIII) (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 23–32.

14 Bury XIIIth cent. Fragmentary list.
G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), II, 153.

15 Canterbury *ca.* 1170 Christ Church (Gottlieb, no. 450).
M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 3-12. Facsimile.

16 Cava 1063 Church of S. Michel.
Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis (Milan and Naples, 1873–1893), VIII, 208.

17 Chartres 1150 Bequest of Thierry of Chartres to Cathedral.
Chartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres (Chartres, 1865), III, 206.

18 Città di Castello 1143–1144 Gift of Pope Celestine II to the church (Gottlieb, no. 1369).
A. Wilmart, *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXV (1923), 98.

19 Clairvaux XIIth cent. Catalogue of monastery library (partial).
A. Wilmart, *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Aube*, LXXXI (1917), 127.

20 Cologne *ca.* 1100 Church of St George.
Fr. Bock, *Das Heilige Köln* (Leipzig, 1858), pp. 8–10. See Kl. Loffler, 'Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte,' *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, IV (1921), 37.

21 Compostella 1226 Library of Archbishop Bernard.
H. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV (1893), 327.

22 Durham 1095 Books of Bishop William de Karilef (Gottlieb, no. 1067).
Republished with facsimile in H. D. Hughes, *History of Durham Cathedral Library* (Durham, 1925).

23 Ebersberg after 1160 Monastery library.
Der Katholik, LXXXVIII (1908), 49.

24 Flaxley XIIIth cent. Cistercian monastery (Gottlieb, no. 469).
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, IX (1892), 205.

25 Gorze XIth cent. Monastery library.
Revue Bénédictine, XXII (1905), 1.

26 Hildesheim *ca.* 1160 Medical library of Bishop Bruno.
K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX (1916), 348.

27 Lincoln 1150–1182 Catalogue of cathedral library and record of gifts.
Giraldus Cambrensis, ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Series, London, 1877), VII, 165–171; R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London, 1927), p. v.

28 Lincoln *ca.* 1200 List of books and their donors to the cathedral library.
R. M. Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. ix, and again, with some variations, p. 144.

29 Lugo 1230 Gift of Archdeacon Pedro to cathedral library (Gottlieb, no. 1346).
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 272.

30 Mainz 1186 Monastery of St Jakob.
F. Schillman, 'Wolfgang Trefler und die Bibliothek des Jakobskloster zu Mainz,' *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLIII (1913), 24.

31 Marchiennes XIth–XIIth cent. Monastery of St Rictrude.
Analecta Bollandiana, XXIV (1905), 467.

32 Marienfeld *ca.* 1185 Cistercian monastery (Gottlieb, no. 119).
H. Degering, *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke gewidmet* (Berlin, 1913), p. 53. Facsimile.

33 Messina 1114 Bequest of Scholario Saba of the Basilian monastery of S. Salvatore di Bordonaro.
Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra* (Palermo, 1733), II, 1003. See F. Lo Parco, 'Scholario-Saba,' *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli*, N.S., vol. I, pt. 2 (1910), p. 207, and J. Heiberg, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXII (1913), 160.

34 Messina 1173 Testament of the monk Clement of the Basilian monastery of S. Salvatore dell'Acroterio.
E. Aar, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4th Ser., IX (1882), 252.

35 Namur 1218 *Le Beffroi*, III (1871), 129.

36 Naples 1117 Treasure of church of St. Pietro.
Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta (Naples, 1857), VI, 35.

37 Naples 1072 Church of S. Severo.
Reg. Neap. Arch. Monumenta, vol. V, no. 416.

38 Novalese XIth cent. Monastery library.
C. Cipolla, *Memorie della R. Accademia della Scienze di Torino*, 2d Ser., L (1901), 127.

39 Novara 1175 Cathedral inventory.
Revue des Bibliothèques, XXI (1911), 106.

40 Novara 1212 Two cathedral inventories.
Historiae Patriae Monumenta, Chartarum, I, 1192; II, 1275.

41 Oña XIIth cent. Monastery library.
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 369.

42 Paris XIth cent. (close). Notre Dame (?) (Gottlieb, no. 422).
Revue Bénédictine, XXIX (1912), 481, where Dom de Bruyne makes the ascription to Paris.

43 Paris XIIIth cent. The *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival.
L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1868–1881), II, 513–535. Aleksander Birkenmajer, *Bibljoteka Ryszarda de Fournival i jej Poznie-jsze Losy* (*The Library of Richard de Fournival and its Ultimate Fate*) (Cracow, 1922).

44 Perrecy XIth cent. Two catalogues of a priory of Fleury.
Revue des Bibliothèques, VI (1896), 225.

45 Poblet XIIth cent. Carthusian monastery (Gottlieb, no. 743).
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 405.

46 Pomposa 1093 (Gottlieb, no. 625, Becker, no. 70.)
G. Mercati, 'Il Catalogo della Bibliotheca di Pomposa,' *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, XVII (1896), 143.

47 Reading 1208 Books returned to King John.
Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum (London, 1833), I, 108, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, II (1849), 134.

48 Reading XIIIth cent. Leominster Church, dependent on Reading Abbey.
English Historical Review, III (1888), 123.

49 Ripoll after 1046 (Gottlieb, no. 745.)
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 412, Vienna Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. CLV (1907–1908), no. 3, p. 101; vol. CLVIII (1908), no. 2.

50 Rochester *ca.* 1200
G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), I, 308.

51 Rolduc 1230 Monastery library.
Annales de la Société Historique de Maestricht, I (1854), 263.

52 S. Andreas de Rosans (Hautes Alpes?) XIth cent. Books of Robert de Galone.
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XX (1903), 370.

53 St Andrews 1144–1152 Gift of Bishop Robert to the prior and canons.
Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Oxford, 1873), vol. II, pt. 1, p. 227.

54 S. Benigne xiith cent. Monastery library.
Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques: Départements (Paris, 1889), vol. v, p. iv.

55 S. Etienne xiith–xiiith cent. Monastery library.
Notice in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lv (1894), 69.

56 S. Evroult xiiith cent. (Gottlieb, no. 396.)
Ordéric Vital et l'Abbaye de Saint-Evroul, Notices et Travaux (Alençon, 1912).

57 S. Martin de Stoppana 1156 Monastery inventory.
P. de Bofarull y Mascaro, ed., *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de la Corona de Aragon* (Barcélona, 1849), iv, 241.

58 S. Nicolò di Trullas 1113 Gift to monastery.
Historiae Patriae Monumenta — Codex Diplomaticus Sardiniae, i (1861), 89.

59 Salerno 1057, 1058 Churches of S. Felice and S. Nicola.
Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis (Naples and Milan, 1873–1893), viii, 26, 66. Extracts from documents by N. Tamassia, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, lxiv, ii (1904–1905), 273–286.

60 Selo xith cent. (close). Monastery of St Peter.
Fr. Racki, ed., *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*. vii. *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae* (Agram, 1877), p. 181.

61 Silos xiith cent. (Gottlieb, no. 749.)
M. Férotin, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), p. 262.

62 Spalato xith cent. (close). Monastery of St Benedict.
Fr. Racki, ed., *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*. vii. *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae* (Agram, 1877), p. 182.

63 Tournel 1230 Gift of lords of Tournel to chaplain (Provençal).
Revue des Sociétés Savantes, 6th Ser., v (1877), 205.

64 Troja 1108–1137 Gifts of Bishop William to the cathedral (Gottlieb, no. 1229).
L'Arte, 3d Ser., ix (1906), 138.

65 Val St Hugon 1224 Carthusian monastery.
Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, lvi (1895), 662.

66 Windberg xiith cent. (2d half). Premonstratensian canons (Gottlieb, no. 219).
Neues Archiv, xxxii (1906–1907), 246.

In addition to the above there have been published several catalogues whose point of origin has not been determined.

Germany xiiith cent.
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, xx (1903), 370;
Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, xxxix (1919), col. 984.

France xiith cent. (close).
C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1927), p. 372.

England xiith cent.
G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection* (London, 1921), i, 133.
xith cent. (close).
English Historical Review, xxxii (1917), 388.

Upper Iowa University
Fayette, Iowa.

LE CODEX *Q.v.I. 6–10* DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE PUBLIQUE DE LENINGRAD [1]

PAR OLGA DOBIACHE-ROJDESTVENSKY

§ 1. LA DESCRIPTION DU CODEX

DANS le fonds latin de la Petropolitana, actuellement Leninopolitana, il y a un MS. de haute ancienneté et de grande valeur qui, tout en gardant toujours sa place sur les rayons de la bibliothèque, indiqué d'une façon exacte dans ses inventaires manuscrits [2] et catalogues imprimés,[3] a été, durant un siècle et demi, perdu de vue, oublié de la façon la plus incompréhensible.

C'est le *Q. v. I. 6–10*, jadis *N 840* de St-Germain, un MS. en onciale du VIe siècle qui contient un traité de Pseudo-Rufin, une épître de Fulgence, deux homélies d'Origène, et deux épîtres de saint Jérôme. A partir de la fin du XVIIIe siècle, un silence se fait autour de ce MS.

Les Mauristes qui, en 1679–1700, ont publié les œuvres de saint Augustin, en y insérant l'épître en question de Fulgence (= *Patr. Lat.*, XL, 752–778), ont collationné pour cette édition notre MS. '*Corbeiensem uetustissimum.*' Pour les œuvres de Pseudo-Rufin, de saint Jérôme, d'Origène, ils ne l'ont pas apprécié (ci-dessous, p. 29). Dom René Tassin et Dom Ch.-François Toustain connaissaient ce MS. et l'ont décrit dans leur *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1750–1765), III, 154, 155, 171 suiv., 412, 416, 420 et Planches XLII, V; XLIV, II; LVII, II, 2; IV, 4; et V, 4. Une brève notice de 1804[4] semble être la dernière du XIXe siècle. Les ténèbres se font autour du volume précieux. Personne ne s'en occupe. K. Gillert [5] dans sa description des MSS de St-Pétersbourg ne le mentionne pas, ni Traube–Lehmann [6] non plus dans leur liste des MSS en onciale. Il est moins

[1] Dédié à la mémoire vénérée de mon maître et ami, Charles-Victor Langlois.

[2] Voir *L'Inventaire Manuscrit de la Bibl. Publ., Membr. Q. v. I. 6–10.*

[3] A. Staerk, *Les Manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle* (St-Pétersbourg, 1910), I, 6 sq., Pl. I; II, Pls. V–IX.

[4] *Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung* (Halle, 1804), *Intelligenzblatt*, Nr. 77 (16 Mai 1804), p. 621, §§ 5–9.

[5] K. Gillert, 'Lateinische Handschriften in St-Petersburg,' *Neues Archiv*, V (1879), VI (1881).

[6] L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* (Munich, 1909), I, 225–227.

étonnant (car leurs éditions ne prétendent pas épuiser la liste d'onciales) que ni chez Zangemeister–Wattenbach,[1] ni chez Châtelain [2] il ne soit question de ce MS. Ce qui est plus singulier, c'est que Zimmermann [3] n'en décrit ni n'en mentionne que trois volumes sur cinq pour aboutir à des conclusions, à notre avis paradoxales, concernant les origines du codex. Hilberg,[4] qui a publié les épîtres en question de saint Jérôme d'après des MSS dont le plus ancien est celui du IXe siècle, semble ignorer le Petropolitanus du VIe (cf. ci-dessous, p. 29), et Lindsay dans ses *Notae Latinae* [5] en omet toute mention. Ecrit en onciale, le MS. n'entre pas dans ses recherches. Mais les marginalia auraient pu l'intéresser.

C'est aux érudits qui s'occupent plus spécialement des textes présentés par notre MS. qu'il appartient d'apprécier son apport à leur connaissance. En attendant, il nous paraît utile de communiquer nos observations sur le MS. et nos conclusions à l'égard de ses origines. Nous débutons par une description sommaire. Entré au Musée Doubrovsky en 1792 (ci-dessous, p. 32), il fut ensuite partagé en cinq volumes, pour lesquels Doubrovsky a commandé de belles reliures en maroquin rouge, bordé de vert et gravé de rinceaux d'or. Désormais chacune des œuvres (Pseudo-Rufin, Fulgence, Origène, saint Jérôme: *Epistola ad Fabiolam*, et saint Jérôme: *Epistola ad Demetriadem*) se présente comme un volume à part. Mais le MS., qui portait jadis à St-Germain les numéros 580 et 840 (ces numéros sont conservés sur le premier folio du premier volume), garde toujours, en dépit de la division, l'unité foncière qui se révèle par nombre d'indices paléographiques, artistiques, et littéraires.

Nous allons le décrire dans son intégrité.

Comme les beaux MSS du VIe siècle, c'est un volume de parchemin très fin. Ses folios, au nombre de 220, mesurent actuellement 265 mm. × 205 mm. et le texte 170 mm. × 132 mm. Il est donc

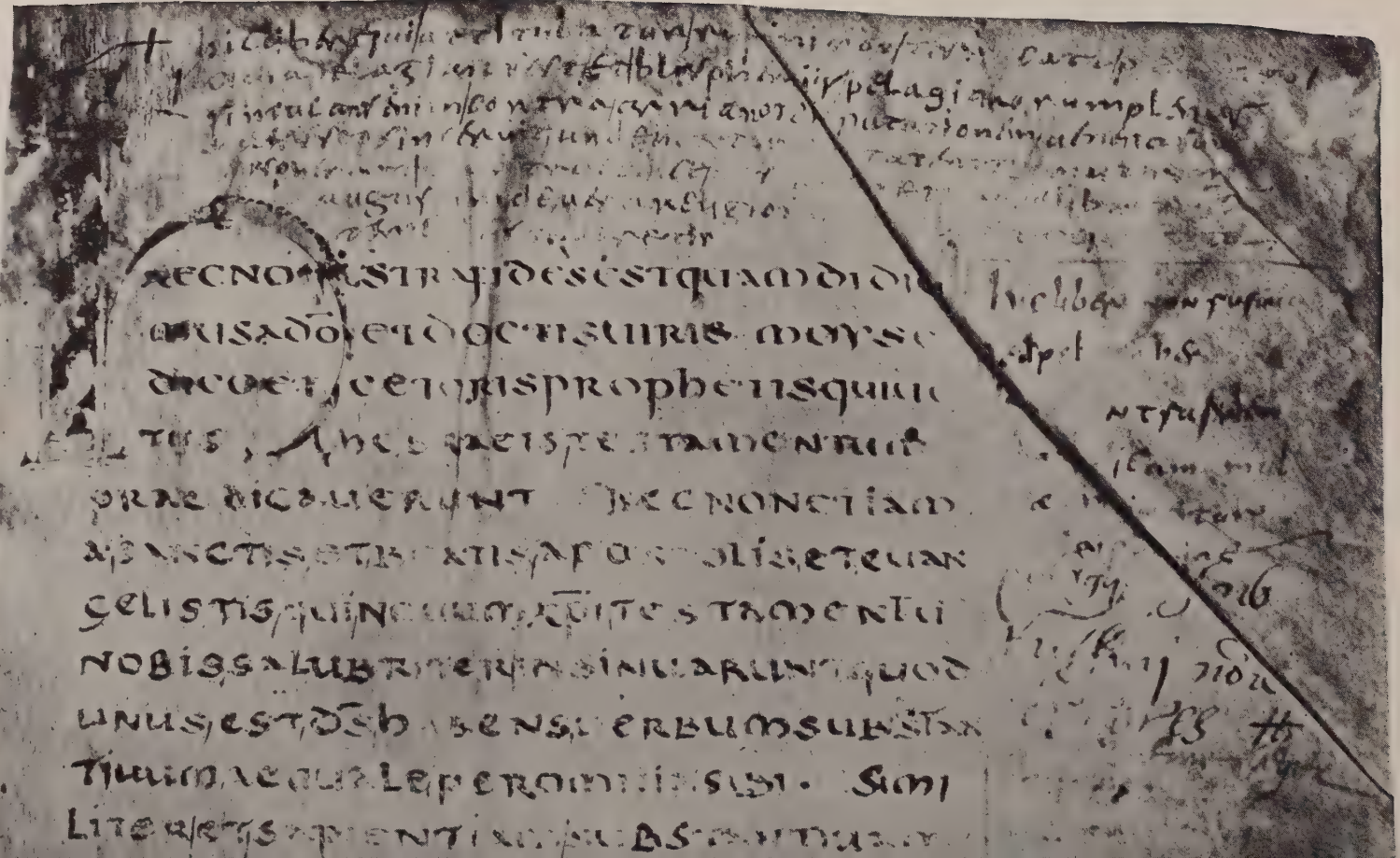
[1] K. Zangemeister–W. Wattenbach, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum Litteris Maiusculis Scriptorum*, Heidelberg, 1876.

[2] A. Châtelain, *Uncialis Scriptura Codicum Latinorum*, Paris, 1906.

[3] E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916.

[4] I. Hilberg, *Corpus Scriptor. Ecclesiast. Latinorum*, LIV (1912), 49–87, et LVI (1918), 175–201; abrév. *CSEL*.

[5] W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, Cambridge, Angleterre, 1915.



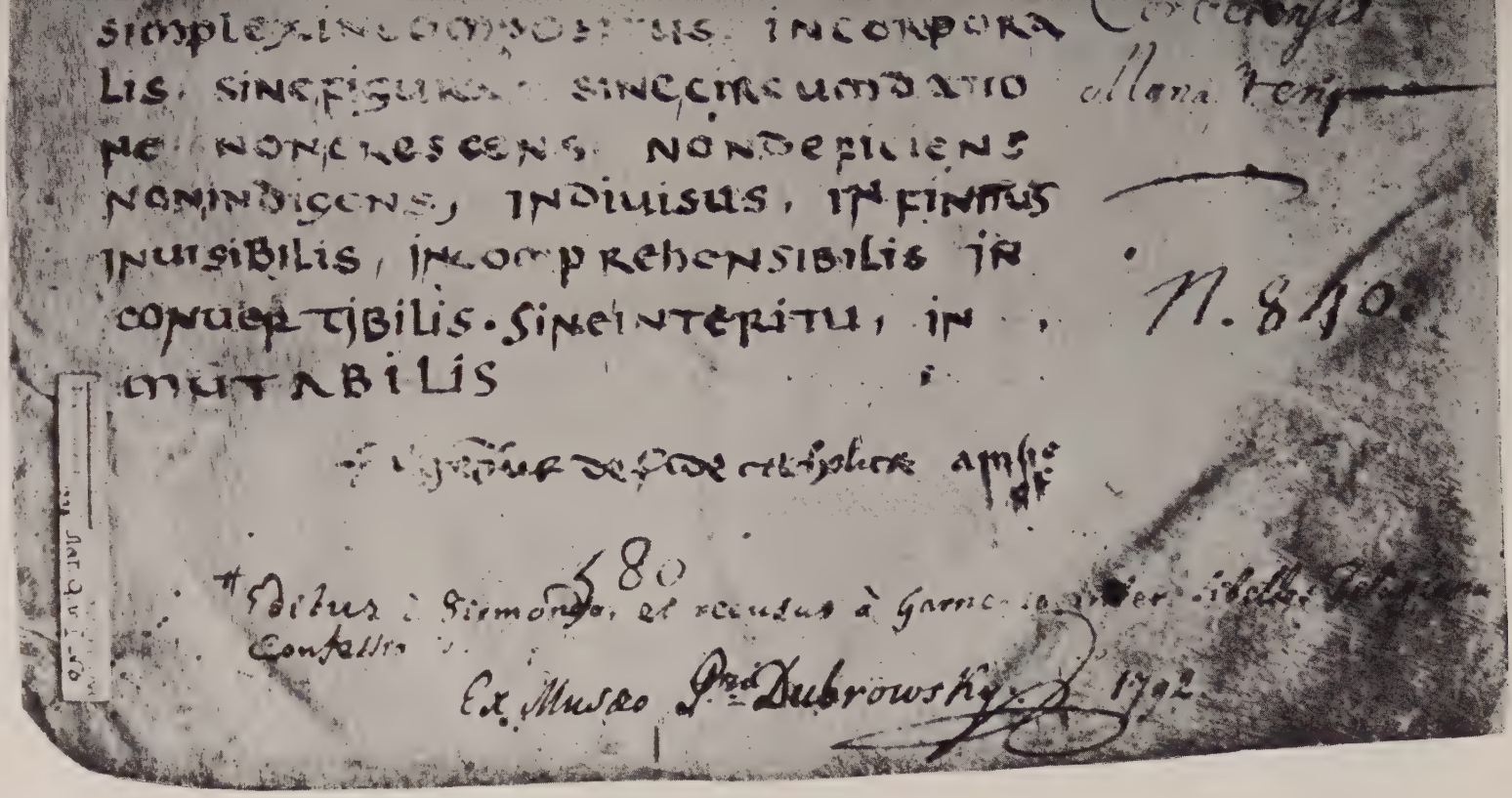


Planche I

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I. 6*, fol. 1r

presque carré:[1] encore une preuve d'ancienneté. Le nombre de lignes est toujours 22. Bien que le volume soit conçu comme un tout, les groupes de cahiers destinés à des traités séparés s'y présentent indépendants, comme composition et numérotation. Les scribes de ces divers groupes travaillaient séparément: l'un n'avait pas épuisé son parchemin, que le suivant commençait un cahier nouveau.

Le scribe de Pseudo-Rufin, ayant à sa disposition 7 quaternions + 1 trinion, a laissé blanc le dernier folio (qui est coupé — à quelle époque?). Cela fait 61 folios, numérotés d'une façon identique (1–61) en France et en Russie. Mais dans cette première partie, l'ancien scribe n'a inséré nulle part les indications des quaternions. Le volume, comme les autres, est précédé d'un folio de papier, dont nous n'allons plus mentionner la présence.

Le copiste de Fulgence — 7 quaternions — a laissé blancs les quatre derniers folios, qui ont été ensuite coupés (au total ce sont 52 folios écrits, numérotés 62–113 en France, et 1–52 en Russie). Indépendant de son successeur à cet égard, il l'était également par rapport à son prédécesseur, car il a numéroté ses cahiers de quaternion I à quaternion VI, les derniers quatre folios n'étant pas numérotés.

Celui d'Origène — 5 quaternions + 1 folio (numérotés 114–153 + 137bis en France, 1–41 en Russie) — les a numérotés d'une façon énigmatique: de quaternion XXVIII à quaternion XXXII.

Celui de saint Jérôme I^r — 4 quaternions + 1 trinion (numérotés 154–191 en France, 1–38 en Russie) — ne les a pas numérotés du tout.

Enfin, celui de saint Jérôme IIe — 3 quaternions + 1 trinion, le dernier folio blanc (coupé: au total 192–220 ff., numérotés ainsi en France, 1–29 en Russie) — les a numérotés de quaternion I à quaternion III, en chiffres minuscules, élégants, ornés de légers traits.

L'encre, jaunâtre, a pâli, jusqu'au point d'être parfois complètement effacée. En dessus des traces de l'ancienne écriture, sur plusieurs folios (1, 24, 25, 40–41, etc.) le texte a été récrit (au XVIIe siècle?).

Un système uniforme domine l'emploi du rouge à travers le volume entier. On s'en sert avec beaucoup d'esprit pour mettre en relief le

[1] Il faut noter que la marge droite est coupée en partie.

démembrement du texte: (1) pour les initiales [1] de chaque alinéa (de quatre à sept, sur chaque page); (2) pour les trois-quatre lignes initiales de chaque traité; (3) pour les mots importants au milieu du texte: *deus, moyses, helia, saluator* (ff. 101, 206, 207); (4) dans le traité de Fulgence pour l'apostrophe, qui revient quarante fois: *Firmissime hoc tene et nullatenus dubites;* (5) pour les chiffres romains en marge qui indiquent l'ordre (*a*) de ces exhortations, (*b*) des stations du peuple hébreu (*ad Fabiolam*); (6) enfin, pour les explicits (ff. 61, 113, 131, 153, 191, 220), où les lignes rouges alternent avec les noires; (7) on peut mentionner encore les guillemets rouges au début du traité *Ad Fabiolam;* et enfin (8) les numéros I et II au milieu du texte du f. 163.

Chaque traité débute par une initiale d'environ 70 × 30 mm. (l'*I* de 90 mm. × 3 mm.). Ce sont, au début de tous les traités, les initiales *H, E, O, I, A, I, I,* en rouge, jaune, et vert-bleuâtre, ornées d'entrelacs. Des petites fleurs aux pétales pointues (des lys?), des volutes très fines, des 'perles' rouges minuscules, suspendues aux fils légers qui décorent les initiales en haut et en bas, font preuve d'un goût délicat et d'un pinceau fin, malgré les formes un peu lourdes des entrelacs qui remplissent les champs des lettres. Il faut noter que des *J* tout-à-fait analogues, avec entrelacs des mêmes formes et des mêmes couleurs, se retrouvent précisement dans les MSS italiens, comme l'attestent les planches et les descriptions de Zimmermann (voir *op. cit.*, Planches 13 c, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, et 32 et le texte pp. 146 suiv.). Les vignettes de notre manuscrit aux ff. 114, 153, 191, 220, sont composées de lignes brisées, jaunes et rouges, ornées de volutes et de pétales. Très différent se présente le cadre autour de l'explicit au f. 113 avec ses entrelacs très lourds, coloriés de vert très vif, de jaune-brun et de rouge (cf. ci-dessous, p. 33 suiv. et la Planche IV).

L'écriture, bien qu'elle varie d'un traité à l'autre et ne soit pas le produit d'une seule et même main, est pourtant d'une seule et même école. Libre et élégante aux ff. 1–61 (Rufin), elle est molle, allongée, et inégale aux ff. 62–113 (Fulgence), pour revenir ensuite plutôt au premier type et devenir gauche et négligée au cinquième traité. Malgré ces nuances, elle garde toujours le même air de famille. Celui

[1] Faites également en onciale: ce qui est propre aux manuscrits très anciens.

qui confronterait nos Planches II et III (le premier folio beaucoup récrit) avec la Planche XVII de Châtelain (*Uncialis, cit. supra:* col. I, Ambros. D 26 sup. Bobiensis. Prudence) serait saisi de l'air de parenté entre notre MS. et celui de Bobbio du VIe siècle. Les formes identiques des lettres (*A, F, L, T, P, R, S*) dans les deux MSS, ainsi que leur aspect analogue, donnent le sentiment d'être en présence de frères jumeaux et se trouvent en accord avec les observations de Châtelain (*Uncialis,* p. 24) sur les MSS du VIe siècle.

Aucune division des mots. On a essayé de la faire ensuite au moyen de petites virgules retournées (époque caroline: encre roussâtre) et de traits (XVIIe siècle? encre grise).

Un goût bien marqué pour les alinéas s'accuse, ainsi qu'une tendance à démembrer le texte *colis et commatibus*, à faire ressortir les citations en leur conservant des grandes marges, à disposer des séries de locutions brèves en colonnes:

quia ceruix tua
quia oculi tui
quia genae tuae, etc. f. 128 (cf. Planche III.)

Une autre chose qui est digne d'être notée, c'est le système achevé des *distinctiones*, observé fidèlement:[1] des points toujours petits et élégants entre les phrases et leurs membres. L'encre de ces signes, identique à celle du texte, l'art avec lequel ils y sont insérés, pour faire avec celui-ci un ensemble organique, attestent que ces signes sont contemporains du MS. La ponctuation postérieure, celle de l'époque caroline (points et virgules, virgules retournées), faite en encre différente, et dérogeant à l'harmonie de l'écriture, révèle au premier abord sa nature hétérogène.

La clarté de la disposition du texte, assurée par ces moyens, est encore rehaussée par l'emploi du rouge (cf. ci-dessus, p. 24).

Les explicits sont écrits dans notre MS. en *capitalis rustica.* Il n'y a pas d'incipits proprement dits, si ce ne sont ceux de l'époque postérieure. L'hypothèse qu'ils auraient disparu avec les feuilles coupées n'est pas exclue. Deux fois, au-dessus du texte, on relève (dans les homélies d'Origène et dans l'épître de saint Jérôme, *Ad Demetriadem*)

[1] Sauf, comme toujours, le dernier traité, surtout à partir du f. 208.

une espèce de titre en petites capitales. Les marginalia sont riches en onciales et cursives d'époques différentes.

En ce qui concerne les abréviations, tous les copistes sont également sobres. Ils ne connaissent que sept *Nomina Sacra:* $\overline{ds}$, $\overline{dns}$, $\overline{ihs}$, $\overline{xps}$, $\overline{sps}$, $\overline{scs}$, $\overline{isrl}$. $\overline{Dns}$ et $\overline{scs}$ n'ont pas nécessairement de sens sacré: *hester loquebatur ad* $\overline{dnm}$ ('au roi': f. 195 = *CSEL*, LV, 177); *olibarius . . . clemens* $\overline{dns}$ (f. 195 = *CSEL*, LV, 178); *si* $\overline{spm}$ *potestatem habentes* (f. 203 = *CSEL*, LV, 187). Mais *spiritalis* est écrit en toutes lettres et parfois aussi *sanctus:* $\overline{sca}$ *sanctorum* (f. 114), *sancta trinitas* (f. 63), une fois $\overline{sci}$*ficetur*. Souvent, mais pas toujours, le *que* est remplacé par *q̣*. Mais le *-bus* est écrit en toutes lettres. Le *m* est remplacé par un trait à la fin de la ligne. L'*n* ne l'est presque jamais.[1] Lettres conjointes (*nt*) sont rares. Tous les copistes écrivent l'*o* exclamatif avec un trait: *ō altitudo, ō sponsa, ō adulescentula* (ff. 8, 129, 146).

Notre MS. a une particularité qui tient au contenu du texte et aux habitudes littéraires des auteurs latins grécisants et hébraïsants, que les copistes suivent déjà avec une peine évidente. Ce sont des locutions grecques et hébraïques, citées de temps en temps. Il suffit qu'un siècle se passe pour que tout empire rapidement. Dans les copies du VIIe siècle, les formes grecques dégénèrent définitivement: les formes graphiques tout d'abord. Elles nous apparaissent décomposées, éclectiques: mi-grecques, mi-latines, jusqu'au jour où la transcription latine s'y substitue pure et simple.

Cette dégénérescence apparaît déjà dans notre MS. Les efforts faits pour rendre les formes authentiques sont pénibles et imparfaits. Les mots grecs présentent un mélange curieux d'onciales et de capitales, de lettres grecques et latines. Ils ont des traits horizontaux au-dessus de chaque syllabe. Que l'on examine ces ilôts grecs dans l'épître *Ad Demetriadem* (= *CSEL*, LVI): $\overline{\text{cv}}\overline{\text{и}}\overline{\omega}\overline{\rho}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\delta}\overline{\epsilon}$ (f. 199 = *ed.* p. 182); $\overline{\xi\text{v}}\cdot\overline{\text{lo}}\cdot\overline{\text{кic}}\cdot\overline{\text{moi}}$ $\overline{\text{аи}}\overline{\partial}\overline{\text{рос}}$ (f. 179 = *ed.* p. 75), $\overline{\text{какiас}}$ $\overline{\text{iиас}}$, où les ω, ρ, *c*, etc. sont grecques, et les *L* et *a* latines, les *e* et *a* sont onciales et

[1] Le système est très ancien: celui du VIe siècle au plus tard. Cf. L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra* (Munich, 1907), pp. 132–245; E. A. Lowe, 'Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts,' et 'More Facts,' etc., *The Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925) et XXII (1928); W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, les premières pages et *passim*.

les *M* et *N* capitales; le mot *spudasmatia* est écrit en latin (f. 218 = *ed.* p. 200), et au mot ἀγνή un *agminis* s'est substitué (f. 218).

Les procédés sont analogues dans la copie d'Origène. Ce sont toujours les traits au-dessus de chaque syllable, la confusion des formes grecques et latines, onciales et capitales. Mais on remarque une tendance à éviter le grec. Au lieu du long passage de la *Patr. Graeca*, XIII, 43, on ne trouve au f. 125 du MS. qu'un fragment mutilé: ΕΠΙCΤΗΡΗΖΟΜΕΝΕ, *sed* ΕΠΙCΤΙΘΗΖΟΜΕΝΗ. A la place du *'οιναν θένον* (*Patr. Graeca*, XIII, 54) nous avons au f. 144 *in uinaria*. Le sentiment latin commence à voiler les reminiscences grecques.

Pour les mots hébraïques on adopte le même procédé des traits au-dessus de chaque syllabe. Ils sont écrits en lettres latines. Ces mots ne sont jamais déclinés; voir dans l'épître *Ad Fabiolam: hīrōth, sūph, dēfēcā, hālūs, raphidim* (ff. 159, 163 = *CSEL*, LV, 55, 59). Les traits horizontaux au-dessus de chaque syllabe ici, comme dans les mots grecs, ne font qu'indiquer les mots étrangers.[1]

En résumé: tout parle, dans notre MS., pour le VIe siècle: la qualité du parchemin, les dimensions de la page, le caractère de l'écriture, la disposition du texte, le système des abréviations, et, plus particulièrement des *m* et *n* (cf. E. A. Lowe, *op. cit.*), les dessins et les couleurs des initiales.

On verra que l'écriture des gloses marginales et l'orthographe du codex plaide pour la même époque (cf. pp. 30 suiv. et 40 suiv.).

§ 2. Le Contenu

Nous passons au contenu du MS.

Ainsi que nous l'avons dit plus haut, il y a dans notre MS. cinq parties, cinq œuvres différentes, qui sont actuellement comprises dans des reliures à part. Nous en allons décrire le contenu, une à une.[2]

[1] L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 48, tout en notant ce procédé dans les MSS en onciale du VIe siècle par rapport aux mots hébraïques et grecs ('in der *Unciale* war, wegen der Ähnlichkeit der beiden Schriften, ein solches Verfahren fast unumgänglich'), ne paraît sousentendre que les traits au-dessus des mots entiers.

[2] En transcrivant les textes, nous ne donnons des majuscules que si elles sont données par le MS. même. Comme signes de ponctuation nous ne mettons que le minimum: quelques

I ⟨ *Pseudo-Rufini de Fide* ⟩

Folios 1–61: *Haec nostra fides est quam didici/mus a d[e]o et doctis uiris* × *similiter habentem cui/ gloria in saecula saeculorum. amen./ exp[licit] rufini pr[es]b[yteri] prouinciae palestinae/ liber de fide translatus de graeco in latinum sermonem. amen.*

Le texte a été publié en 1650 par J. Sirmond,[1] d'après deux MSS corbéiens dont l'un est le nôtre; en 1745 il a été reimprimé par Domenico Vallarsi (= *Patr. Lat.*, XXI, 1123–1154).

II ⟨*Fulgentii Ruspensis epistola de fide catholica*⟩

Folios 62–113: *epistulam fili petre tuae caritatis / accepi in qua te significasti te uelle hierosolymam pergere* × *fideliter perseueret et si quit/ aliter sapit et hoc quoque illi d[eu]s reuelauit. amen./ fulgenti episcopi s[an]c[t]ae/ ecclesiae catholicae ruspensis de regula uerae fidei lib[er] exp[licit].*

Les Mauristes dans l'édition des œuvres de saint Augustin, de 1679–1700 (= *Patr. Lat.*, XL, 752–778) ont collationné notre MS. et en donnent les variantes.

III ⟨*Origenis in Canticum Canticorum homiliae duo beato Hieronymo interprete*⟩

(*a*) ⟨Prologus beati Hieronymi⟩

Folios 114–114 v.: *beatissimo papae damaso hieronimus./ Origenes cum in ceteris libris omnes uicerit* × *cum sic possint placere quae parua sint/. d[omĩ]no d[e]o/ gratia sunt/ sae/ cu/. la/a/m/e/n.*

(*b*) ⟨homelia prima⟩

Folios 115–131: *In exordium cantici canticorum* × *et eris uere diues in sponsi domo sponsa perfe/cta cui est gloria et imperium in sae/cula saeculorum amen/. cantici canticorum lib[er] .I. exp[licit].*

---

points, et ceci d'après notre système moderne. Le texte omis entre l'incipit et l'explicit est symbolisé par une croix oblique. Les titres des traités, sauf dans les cas où ils rendent *exactement* ceux du MS. original, sont pris entre parenthèses angulaires ⟨ ⟩.

[1] *Rufini presbyteri prouinciae Palestinae liber de fide*, etc., Paris, 1650.

(*c*) ⟨homelia secunda⟩

Folios 131–153: *Incipit eiusdem liber secundus amen/. Ab eo loco in quo scribtum est/ nardus mea dedit odorem* × *ut digni efficiamur sponso serm/one sapientia xp[ist]o ih[es]u cui est imperium et gloria in saecula saecu/lorum amen/. exp[licit] expositio origenis de/ cantico canticorum quod bea/tus hieronimus de graeco sermone in latinum transtulit. amen.*

Notre MS. n'a été collationné ni par l'éditeur des œuvres de l'auteur: Origène (Ch. de la Rue, *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1733–1759) = *Patr. Graeca*, XIII, 35–58), ni par celui des œuvres du traducteur: saint Jérôme (Martianay–Pouget, 1593, revisé par Domenico Vallarsi = *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 1117–1143). Les divergences étant considérables, une collation systématique s'impose.

IV ⟨*Beati Hieronymi epistola ad Fabiolam: De* XLII *mansionibus filiorum Israel per heremum*⟩

Folios 153–191: *In septuagensimo septimo psalmo que[m] iuxta euangelistam* × *praeuicatores autem corruent in illis. amen. qui legis/ ora/ pro/ m/e/. expl[icit] de mansionibus israhelitici populi. d[omi]no gratias.*

L'édition du texte de Martianay–Vallarsi (= *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 698–724) ignore notre MS. I. Hilberg, qui a, en 1912, publié ce texte d'après cinq MSS (*CSEL*, LV, 49–87), dont le plus ancien est celui du IXe siècle, ne le connait point non plus. Très proche du texte de cette édition, notre MS. fournit pourtant des variantes intéressantes.

V *beati hieronimi ad demetriadem/ uiriginem xp[ist]i inc[ipit]*

Folios 191–220: *Inter omnes materias quas ab adulescentia/* × *quarum imitatio forma uirtutum est/ beati hiero/nimi ad demetriadem uirginem/ epistola exhortatoria/ exp[licit].*

Notre MS. n'est collationné ni par Martianay–Vallarsi (= *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 1107, No. CXXX), ni par Hilberg, *CSEL*, LVI (1918), 175–201. Le texte, très proche de celui de cette édition-ci, ne saurait fournir beaucoup de variantes intéressantes. La copie elle-même est loin d'être correcte. A partir de f. 208, elle devient assez négligente.

Peut-être aurons nous l'occasion de publier ailleurs les variantes de notre MS. dont nous avons dressé la liste. Mais cette liste, étant trop longue, aurait encombré le présent article. Sans parler de la haute ancienneté de ce MS. qui donne une valeur particulière à son texte, il y a des variantes qui ont une importance absolue. Il est évident que le Leninopolitanus du VIe siècle ne serait point à dédaigner dans une édition critique du texte.

§3. Les Marginalia

Mais ce qui est non moins intéressant dans le MS. (et importe encore plus dans le plan de cette étude) ce sont ses marginalia, qui jettent une lumière sur ses origines et ses destinées. Nous allons les citer dans leur ordre chronologique, établi d'après l'examen de l'écriture.

Tout d'abord celles qui, à notre avis, sont du même siècle que le MS., bien que le *Nouveau Traité* les date du VIIe siècle (III, 155, note). D'époque très reculée doit être la glose du f. 113 au dessous de l'explicit où l'on ne peut déchiffrer presque rien: *ex . . . iudae*(?) *die uero*(?) *. . udis tui dicit dns ad populum/ sub sacerdot . .*(?) *populi . . . publicum/ . . . illos . . .* [*con*] *firmans . . .* (v. Planche I de notre Catalogue). D'autres se présentent en onciale, en semi-onciale, et en cursive romaine, inscrites en marge des passages (= *Patr. Lat.*, XXI, coll. 1131, 1132, 1144, §§ 17, 19, 38). Ce sont: f. 14v.: *de ori/ge/ n/e* (onciale); f. 17: *de sol et luna et stellis* (cursive romaine); f. 39: *sollicite lege/uide/ quid lateat* (semi-onciale). Cette glose-ci est en marge du texte: *Quod liberi pro parentibus non puniantur nec parentes pro liberis*, où l'annotateur (cf. ci-dessous, p. 31) a senti, sans doute, le 'venin pélagien.' [1]

Du VIe siècle, ou du VIIe peut-être, seraient, en marge du traité de Fulgence, les gloses en cursive qui indiquent les hérésies visées par le traité: f. 64: *contra arium;* f. 65: *contra fotinianos uel manichaeos;* f. 68: *contra apollinaristas;* f. 70: *contra nestorium;* f. 71: *contra euticianos;* f. 72: *contra pelagianos;* f. 78: *contra marcionitas et alias pestes huiusmodi similes.*

[1] Cf. *Analecta medii aeui*, Fasc. III, 'Les anciens manuscrits latin de la Bibliothèque Publique de Léningrad,' Léningrad, 1929.

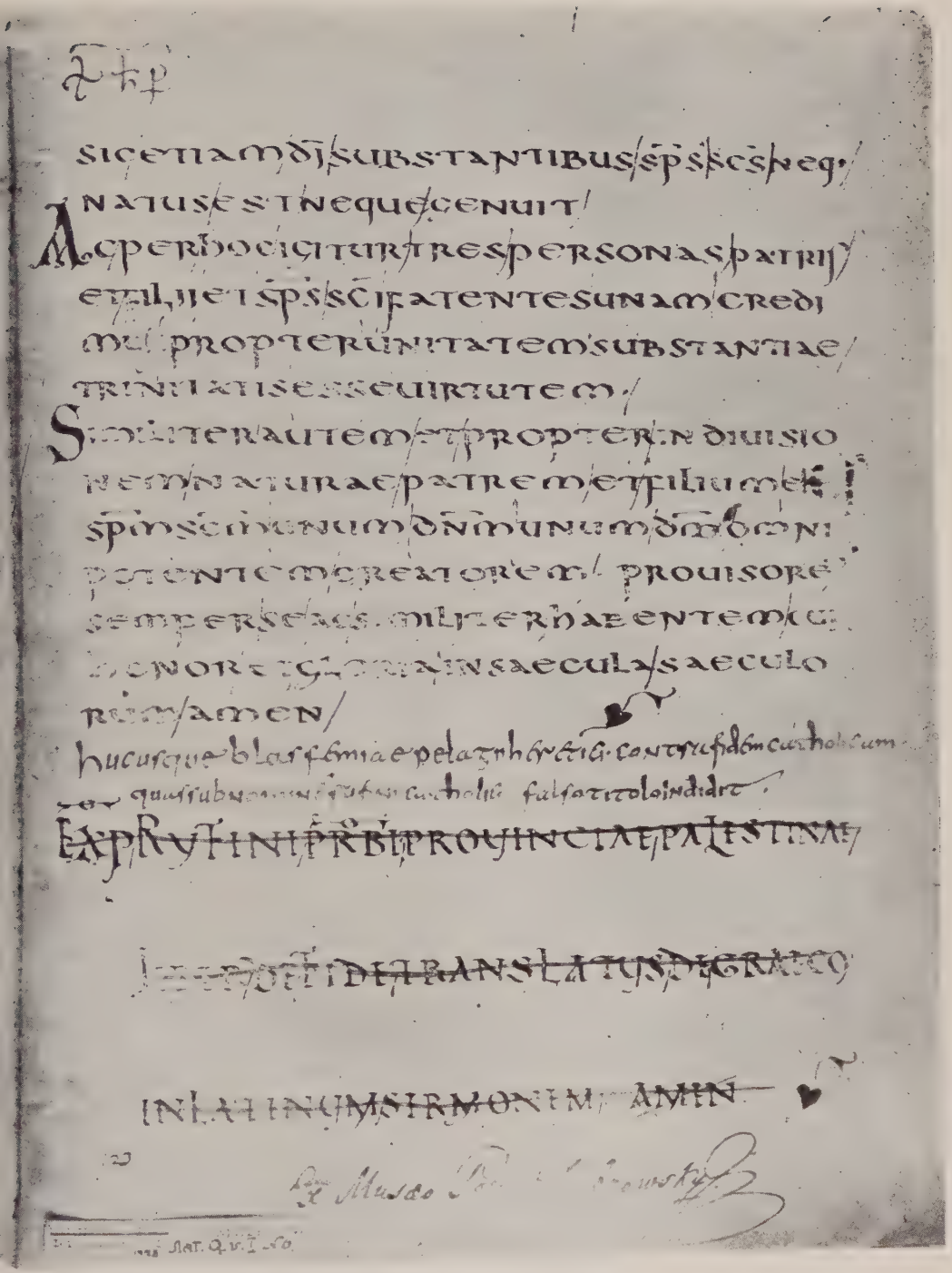


Planche II a

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I. 6*, fol. 61r

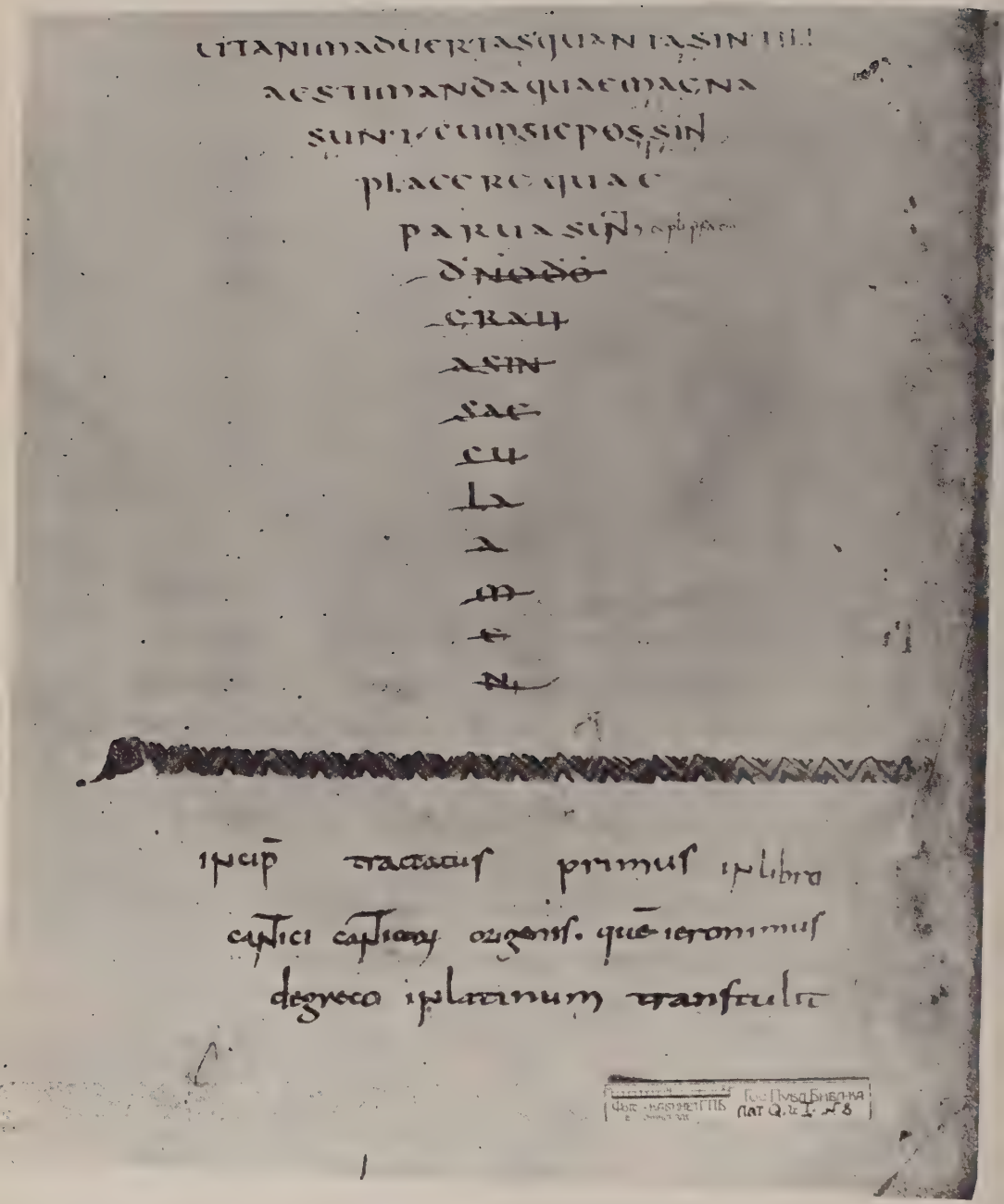


PLANCHE II B

LÉNINGRAD, BIBLIOTHÈQUE PUBLIQUE (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I. 8*, fol. 114v

Mais, en dépit du *Nouveau Traité* (*cit. supra*), nous attribuons au VIe siècle (conclusion que, vu son importance, nous allons examiner à part, p. 34 suiv.) une inscription, qui se trouve en marge supérieure du f. 1^r^. Déchiffrée jadis par les auteurs du *Nouveau Traité* (III, 155, note), très effacée depuis, récrite en partie, elle contient des mots qu'on ne lit plus. Il y a d'autres que nous croyons avoir lus d'une façon plus exacte, comme on pourra vérifier sur notre Planche I.

hic liber qui attitulatur rufini non te seducat o pie lector/ quia pelagianus est et blasphemiis pelagianorum plenus/ simulans enim contra arrianos disputationem uenena suae/ haereseos inseruit unde hortor caritatem tuam ut hanc/ blasphemiam de uestro codice abscidatis et pro ea librum sc̄i/ augustini de uera religione describite ut quantita/tem codicis reparetis.

Nous croyons devoir attribuer au VIIe siècle un fragment très effacé, écrit en cursive 'barbare' au verso du f. 220 (qui est le dernier de tout le codex). Le *Nouveau Traité* (III, 416) donne la lecture de deux lignes du milieu: . . . *cane una uinum p[er] totum estu[m] per singulas diae flascune una / alaeo laride pane quantum d[eu]s scit* . . .

On peut déchiffrer aisément, ça et lá, encore un nombre de mots isolés. Nous nous abstenons de les citer ici, tant que nos efforts pour identifier le texte intégral (qui est sans doute un fragment ou une paraphrase d'une règle monacale) n'ont pas abouti à quelque chose de certain. En attendant, un érudit versé dans la littérature des règles le fera, peut-être, avant nous, d'après le facsimilé que nous donnons ci-dessous sur la Planche V.

Il faut sans doute attribuer à l'époque précaroline: VIIIe siècle, à un scriptorium franco-gaulois, deux gloses (Planches I et II) dont la seconde, celle du f. 61, est très caractéristique de la main qui a conservé les habitudes 'mérovingiennes.' L'autre qui lui est symmétrique est très corrompue, se trouvant récrite sur les traces de l'ancienne écriture. La parenté intime de ces deux gloses nous oblige à les attribuer à une seule et même époque et à les considérer comme une application du conseil donné par la glose du VIe siècle: f. 1, cursive: *hic liber non est rufini sed / pel[agii] her[etici] in quo contra fidem chatolicam mul/ tae continentur blasphemiae;* f. 61, au dessus de l'explicit

qui est rayé: *hucusque blasphemiae pelagii heretici contra fidem catholicam/ quas sub nomine rufini catolici falso titolo indidit.*

C'est à l'époque caroline (VIIIe–IXe siècles) qu'il faut attribuer les signes de ponctuation qui modifient le système original.

Du IX/X est l'incipit du f. 115 v.: *incip[it] tractatus primus in libro/ cantici canticor[um] origenis que[m] ieronimus/ de greco in latinum transtulit.*

Du X/XIe siècles est l'incipit, surajouté devant le traité *Ad Fabiolam*, f. 114, minuscule: *tractatus de quadraginta mansionibus filiorum israel.*

Du XI/XIIe siècle est sans doute le sommaire en minuscule 'gothique' inséré vers la fin du MS., f. 220: *liber cuiusda[m] heretici pelagii de fide quem sub nomine rufini edidit./ ep[isto]la fulgentii ep[iscop]i de fide catolica./ origenis libri. II. in canticum canticorum./ tractatus de .XLII. mansionibus filiorum israel./ epistola s[an]c[t]i hieronimi ep[iscop]i ad demetriadem uirginem.*

Au XIIIe siècle nous attribuons l'inscription du f. 1: *fulgentius de fide catholica.*[1]

Le XVIIe siècle a inséré plusieurs annotations dont les plus importantes au f. 1 sont qui suivent: *Pelagii sub Rufini no[m]i[n]e errores.* En bas: *580* (le numéro du catalogue de St-Germain de 1677).[2] En marge: *Corbeiensis monasterii* et en bas: *Editus a Sirmondo, recusus a Garnerio inter libellos pelagianae confessionis.*

Au XVIIIe siècle, on a inscrit: *N 840* (du catalogue de 1740). De la fin du même siècle, aux ff. 1, 61, 62, etc.: *Ex musaeo Petri Dubrowsky 1792*, et aux folios du papier, les références de Doubrovsky au *Nouveau Traité.*

Du XIXe *passim:* annotations des bibliothécaires de la Léninopolitana.

[1] Se trouvant au premier folio, l'inscription, qui n'a rapport qu'au 2e traité, para^t être déplacée. Elle exprime, pourtant, peut-être, une idée du contenu du MS. qui s'est formée par suite d'un examen superficiel. Cf. ci-dessous, p. 33.

[2] Leopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1868), II, 139; B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Noua* (Paris, 1739), II, 1133.

§ 4. Indications Intérieures sur L'Histoire du MS.

L'inscription du XVIIe siècle atteste la présence du MS. (voir Planche I) à Corbie. Quand y est-il entré? Les notices des catalogues des XIe et XIIIe siècles (Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 430, No. 140 et 437, No. 173), où Staerk cherche une mention de notre MS., semblent, au premier abord, n'avoir rien à faire avec lui. Ces indications parcimonieuses: *Fulgentius De fide catholica*, et, tout simplement: *De fide catholica* — saurait-on les identifier avec le riche contenu de notre MS. où quatre auteurs célèbres sont représentés?

Et, tout de même, l'hypothèse n'est pas invraisemblable. Au contraire. Comme au f. 1^r^, quasi en titre de tout le MS., on trouve l'inscription: *fulgentius de fide catholica* (Planche I; cf. p. 32), il est évident qu'à un certain moment de la vie du MS., la confusion se produit: on a designé ainsi le MS. en simplifiant son contenu. Une erreur analogue pouvait se produire dans le catalogue. La source du malentendu aurait pu être identique.

Il est donc probable que, à une époque très reculée, le MS. se trouva à Corbie. Mais alors une question se pose: n'est-ce pas là qu'il fut écrit? Ce qui aurait modifié d'une façon décisive l'attribution chronologique, Corbie n'ayant été fondée que vers le milieu du VIIe siècle.

E. H. Zimmermann[1] le prétend. N'ayant — chose incompréhensible — examiné le MS. qu'à partir du No. 7: le traité de Fulgence (les nos 6 et 10 ne se trouvent même pas mentionnés par lui), et s'appuyant surtout sur l'examen des dessins et des couleurs qu'il caractérise comme corbéiens: sur ceux surtout de l'explicit de Fulgence, il attribue le MS. à l'atelier de Corbie, et par suite, au VIIIe siècle. Il se trouve ainsi en contradiction avec le *Nouveau Traité* (avec Staerk également) et avec l'aspect, très ancien et très italien, du MS. (cf. ci-dessus, pp. 23 suiv.).

Pour la plupart des vignettes (dessins: spirale, très légère; couleurs: jaune et rouge, assez délicats) et des initiales même, avec leur vert qui est bleuâtre, on ne saurait dire si elles appartiennent aux nuances spéciales à Corbie, que Zimmermann a décrites avec maîtrise. Quant aux dessins, ils s'accordent très bien avec l'attribution

[1] *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Texte, p. 201, Pl. 113.

italienne (cf. p. 24, ci-dessus), et même s'opposent à celle de Corbie (*ibid.*).[1] Il n'y a que le cadre de l'explicit de Fulgence[2] (f. 113, Planche IV) qui a vraiment l'aspect très corbéien par rapport à la couleur et au dessin, et qui, étant unique, déroge à l'harmonie de la décoration. Devant une contradiction sans issue, ne doit-on pas avoir recours à un moyen héroïque? supposer que ce cadre-ci a été peint dans l'atelier de Corbie, mais postérieurement, le reste de la décoration étant ancien? Ce qui est d'autant plus vraisemblable que la glose 'mérovingienne' du f. 61 (v. Planche I) fait penser que le MS. est parvenu au nord de la Gaule vers la fin du VIIIe siècle. Quant à son berceau, nous reviendrons à cette question après avoir examiné le problème de la date de la glose du f. 1^r^.

En 1638, au nombre d'autres MSS corbéiens, il est entré à la maison de St-Germain et se trouve indiqué par le no. *580* (Planche I) dans l'ancien catalogue de cette bibliothèque: celui de 1677 (Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, II, 1133). Il est numéroté ensuite par le no. *840* (inscription au f. 1, Planche I) qui est celui du catalogue de 1740. Enlevé en 1791, comme l'atteste la liste de Dom Poirier (Delisle, *op. cit.*, II, 55), il a été vendu à Doubrovsky qui a mis ses notices là-dessus (cf. p. 22). Sur sa division en cinq volumes voir ci-dessus page 22.

§ 5. La Date Probable de la Glose du Folio 1^r^

Il serait d'une importance particulière de pouvoir dater cette glose (voir Planche I) qui, malheureusement, à cause des retouches postérieures, a, en partie du moins, perdu son caractère authentique. Le fond original, pourtant, lui est resté.

Il faut faire abstraction de toutes les lettres (particulièrement nombreuses dans les deux premières lignes; exemple: l'*e* 'mérovingien') qui ont été récrites à une époque incertaine. La main qui a retouché ce fragment paraît être la même qui a résumé son contenu en marge droite, à côté.[3] Les formes et l'encre (roussâtre) sont ana-

[1] Disons entre parenthèses: tout d'abord cette attribution a provoqué des doutes dans la section occidentale du Département des MSS. Exprimés par mon élève M. Bakhtine, ces doutes me furent une raison de plus pour examiner le MS. plus attentivement.

[2] Il ne donne (Taf. 113) que le facsimilé de cet explicit. De même ce n'est que celle-ci qu'il mentionne sur cinq planches données par Staerk. Cf. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[3] Cf. ci-dessus, p. 31.

logues. Donc, le fragment aurait été retouché á la fin du VIIIe siècle. Les lettres plus récentes éliminées, le fond de l'écriture se révèle plus pâle.

En examinant ce résidu, nous avons eu l'occasion d'appliquer les observations de W. M. Lindsay ('The Letters in Early Latin Minuscule,' *Palaeog. Lat.*, I). Cette occasion, pourtant, s'est présentée moins souvent que nous l'avons espéré. C'est que les recherches de M. Lindsay concernent plutôt les régions transalpines et l'époque qui, semble-t-il, est postérieure à notre glose.

Ce qui saute aux yeux dans notre glose, c'est, qu'en dépit de formes cursives (on n'y trouve ni l'*a* oncial, ni le *N* capital, les *d* et *b* étant toujours cursifs, excepté un *d* dans le mot *disputationem*), les allures générales en sont 'onciales.' Les mots ne sont pas séparés: les lettres, au contraire, le sont, sauf les cas de lettres conjointes: les *a* et *e* avec leurs voisines (*as*, *er*, *en*, *em*, *a;* Planche I, lignes 1, 3 et 4). L'*a* est fermé, la haste droite inclinée à gauche. L'arrondissement du *b* a l'aspect d'un œuf élargi en haut, serré en bas. Le *c* monte au dessus de la ligne, mais il est écrit d'un seul trait (cf. Lindsay, *art. cit.*, § 14). L'*e*, partout où il n'est pas récrit, a l'aspect très ancien: c'est un *e* oncial, incliné et parfois très allongé (cf. Lindsay, *art. cit.*, §§ 26 et 27). Le *g* dans les mots *pelagius*, *pelagianus*, *augustinus*, *religio* a des formes qui varient chaque fois (v. lignes 2 et 6). Le *h* est arrondi légèrement en bas. Le *q* frappe par son arrondissement, de forme disgracieuse et à peine collé à la haste. Les *r* et *s* sont très énergiques et le *t* n'a qu'une seule forme, 'grecque' (*τ*).

Ces formes parfois si archaïques, le caractère général des 'lignes pâles' du fragment feraient attribuer la glose à l'époque très reculée. Une forme, pourtant, inspire des doutes. C'est l'*a* fermé. On sait qu'il est ouvert dans les cursives des VI–VII siècles.

En quête d'analogies, nous avons essayé de confronter les 'lignes pâles' de notre glose avec les marginalia de saint Augustin du VIe siècle [1] et même avec celles de Térence (le Bembinus).[2] L'analogie

[1] Paris. 12214 + Leninopol. *Q. v. I 4*. L. Delisle, *op. cit.*, IV, Pl. VI; Emile Châtelain, *Uncialis Scriptura Codicum Latinor.* (Paris, 1901), Pl. XXXII et p. vii; Staerk, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XX.

[2] Le *Vaticanus 3226*. Cf. E. Châtelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* (Paris, 1884–1900), Pl. VI; Zangemeister–Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII; Palaeographical Society, Pl. 135; C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, etc., No. 37; *Hermes*, II, 27; M. Prou, *Manuel de Paléographie. Recueil de fac-similés d'écritures du XIIe au XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1892), p. 49.

avec celles-là est souvent parfaite. Le ductus des scholies en marge du Bembinus est sans doute différent. Mais ce qui est curieux, c'est que les formes isolées sont très proches à celles de notre glose. Dans ces scholies, qui sont généralement attribuées au V–VI siècles, l'*a* est fermé. L'arrondissement du *b* est exactement de la même forme que chez notre anonyme. Le *c* est très haut, écrit d'un seul trait. Le *d* est cursif, le *h* est arrondi en bas. L'*e* (de forme onciale) est conjoint à ses voisines. Le *q* a la forme disgracieuse de notre glose et le *t* n'a que la forme 'grecque.' Les mots ne sont pas séparés et les lettres le sont. Postérieure sans doute à l'époque des scholies, proche à celle des *marginalia* du *Q. v. I 4*, notre glose peut être attribuée à l'époque de l'antiquité en déclin: la 'Spätantike.'

Et ceci d'autant plus que d'autres indices soutiennent cette date. Est-ce qu'on pourrait attribuer au VIIe siècle une glose si correcte? A citer le mot énoncé par L. Traube à un autre propos: 'propter orthographiam adhuc incorruptam infra saeculum VI extremum descendi non potest.' [1]

Que l'on prenne, par exemple, un échantillon en semi-cursive que Steffens date du commencement même du VIIe siècle (F. Steffens, *Lateinische palaeographie*, 2me éd., Trèves, 1909, Pl. 22). C'est une liste des saints de Rome dont les lampes des reliques ont fourni à un certain clerc Jean l'huile pour la reine Théodelinde. La suscription de Jean qui atteste avoir recueilli ces huiles *temporibus domni Gregorii papae* (voir la planche citée de Steffens), fait attribuer le document à l'époque après, mais peu de temps après, la mort du Pape. Dans cette liste avec ses *cum tres filias suas* (col. 1, l. 5), *Pauli apostholi* (ll. 1 et 2), *Cornilii* (l. 8), etc., la confusion, la barbarie fait déjà son avènement. Tout est, au contraire, irréprochable dans notre glose. Non seulement un bon latiniste se révèle dans ce texte, mais un grécisant, dans la forme du mot *haereseos*. En outre, ce doit être un écrivain de l'époque reculée, et en tout cas antérieure au VIIe siècle qui ne connaît point d'autres abréviations que $\overline{sci}$.

Enfin: le contenu de la glose fait penser qu'elle ne saurait être de beaucoup postérieure au texte foncier. L'angoisse d'une âme ortho-

[1] L. Traube, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq.*, XII, 462.

doxe en face du texte soupçonné de l'hérésie pélagienne, est-elle du VIIe siècle?

L'attribution de la glose au VIe siècle s'impose avec une grande probabilité.

§ 6. Les Origines du Manuscrit

Qu'il nous soit permis maintenant d'ajouter quelques considérations plus hypothétiques concernant les origines du MS. précieux.

Quatre annotateurs du MS., ceux des VIe, VIIe, XIe, et XVIIe siècles (cf. les inscriptions), reviennent au nom de Pélage, inspirés sans doute par l'autorité du premier qui a suggéré ce nom. Les érudits des trois derniers siècles ont rejeté cette hypothèse.[1] Il n'est pas de notre intention d'y revenir. Mais une autre question pourrait être examinée: le premier annotateur, où a-t-il puisé cette idée? Ce nom, comment lui est-il venu? Enfin, qui était-il lui-même? Une réponse plus ou moins certaine à ces questions ne peut être déduite des données dont nous disposons. On peut pourtant essayer de restituer le milieu dans lequel le MS. a surgi, tracer un cercle plus étroit autour de la personnalité de l'annotateur anonyme.

On relève dans notre codex nombre de traits qui ramènent la pensée vers les instructions données jadis aux bibliothécaires et copistes de l'Occident par 'le dernier des Romains et le premier des hommes du Moyen Age':[2] le fondateur du Vivarium, Cassiodore. Notre recueil contient deux traités contre l'hérésie, deux homélies, deux épîtres. Ne dirait-on pas que c'est là l'exécution du programme des lectures pieuses, proposé par Cassiodore, programme qui, en même temps, peut être considéré comme un renseignement sur le contenu de la bibliothèque rassemblée par lui pour l'instruction de moines du Vivarium?[3]

[1] Cf. J. Sirmond, *op. cit. supra*, Préface (Lectori); D. Vallarsi, dans *Patr. Lat.*, XXI, 16 et 294; Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*, article 'Pelagius' par Fr. Loofs: 'Ersteres Werk (Pelagii de fide trinitatis) bis jetzt spurlos verloren'; H. Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 13 et 15; Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur* (2e éd., Freiburg im Br.: Herder, 1912–1924), III, 558.

[2] Feodor Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1926), p. 90.

[3] Le fait est attesté par le *De institutione* avec ses: *reliqui uobis, uobis dereliqui, habeat bibliotheca uestra* . . . (coll. 1112, 1114, 1115, 1126, 1130, 1134, et *passim*); cf. surtout le premier chapitre. Les recherches des prédécesseurs de Rud. Beer (A. Olleris, *Cassiodore, Con-*

Epistolae quoque patrum, sermones et libri diuersorum nec non et homiliae uel cum haereticis altercationes fidelium magno studio relegantur (*De instit. diuin.*, *Patr. Lat.*, LXX, 1130).

Pour choisir sa matière, le rédacteur de notre recueil s'adresse à celui qu'il croit être Rufin, au traité de Fulgence contre l'hérésie, au commentaire d'Origène sur le *Cantique des Cantiques*, aux épîtres de saint Jérôme. Du reste, Origène est offert dans la version de saint Jérôme, avec l'épître introductoire de celui-ci, adressée au Pape Damase.

On dirait que c'est encore le génie de l'auteur de *De institutione* qui inspire ce choix. Il recommande beaucoup la lecture de Rufin et la copie de ses œuvres, versions et commentaires (*ibid.*, coll. 1117, 1121, 1125, 1133).[1] Tout méfiant qu'il est vis-à-vis d'Origène, *quem multorum . . . sententia designat haereticum* (*ibid.*, col. 1111), tout de même, plein d'un intérêt passionné pour lui, il se sent rassuré par le fait que *sanctus Hieronymus eius aliqua opuscula sermone disertissimo transtulit in latinum* (*ibid.*). Il revient constamment à son œuvre au cours du traité *De institutione* (coll. 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1117, 1120). Ses sympathies pour les homélies d'Origène *In Canticum Canticorum* sont d'autant plus exemptes des inquiétudes d'une conscience catholique que, traduites et recommandées par saint Jérôme, expliquées par Rufin (*ibid.*, 1117), l'un et l'autre sont garants de l'orthodoxie du poème extatique. Celui-là plus particulièrement. L'admiration de Cassiodore est sans réserve pour saint Jérôme: *Planus, doctus, dulcis, parata copia sermonum ad quamcunque partem conuertit ingenium* (*ibid.*, col. 1135), ce sont ses épîtres surtout qu'il apprécie. *Copiosas epistolas fecit: beati quibus scribere . . . dignatus est* (*ibid.*). Il y goûte des nuances de cœur et de style, en insistant sur le culte que saint Jérôme a eu pour la virginité:

servateur des livres de l'antiquité latine, Paris, 1841; A. Frantz, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, Breslau, 1872; cf. L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 107) sur cette bibliothèque, ainsi que ses recherches à lui, sont résumées par R. Beer dans les 'Bemerkungen über den ältesten Hss. bestand des Klosters Bobbio' (Acad. de Vienne, *Anzeiger*, hist.-phil. Klasse, Mai, 1911, pp. 78–104): 'Cassiodorus die in seinen Werken herangezogenen Schriften nicht bloss nennt, sondern in den meisten Fällen vor sich hatte, ja zumeist ausdrücklich versichert, dass er sie der Studienbibliothek der Mönche in Vivarium einverleibt hatte' (*op. cit.*, p. 83).

[1] 'Dass Rufin einer der von Cassiodorus am meisten geschätzten Autoren war, ist bekannt' (*ibid.*, p. 98).

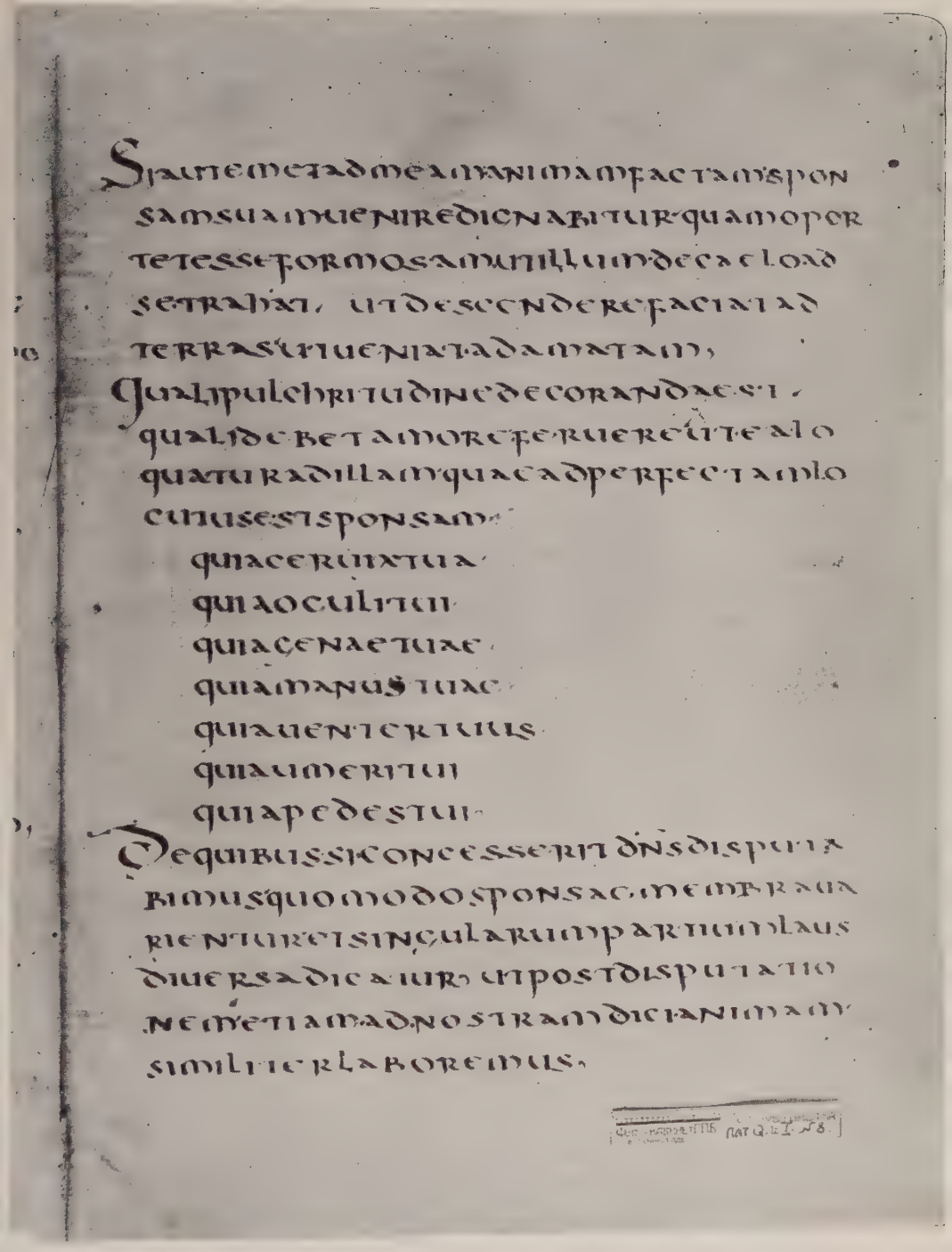


Planche III

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I. 8*, fol. 128r

modo uirginitatem praedicans . . . (*ibid.*). Qu'on se souvienne que la belle *Epistola ad Demetriadem Virginem*, apologie ardente *aeternae pudicitiae* (notre codex f. 193 = *CSEL*, LVI, 182), achève et couronne notre recueil.

Ce n'est que Fulgence seul qui n'est pas nommé *expressis uerbis* dans le traité de Cassiodore. N'y est-il pas, pourtant, visé, lui qui a été l'âme *altercationum fidelium cum haereticis?* (*ibid.*, col. 1130). En somme, plus on examine le *De institutione* en le confrontant avec notre codex, plus il devient difficile d'échapper à l'idée que ce sont les prédilections du Maître qui ont inspiré le choix du recueil, jusqu'à ce que Cassiodore nous apparaît presque comme un génie invisible de la rédaction.

N'est-il pas également celui de l'exécution?

On sait quels soins minutieux le fondateur du Vivarium donnait aux moindres détails de la confection des livres de son atelier.[1] La fidélité à ses prescriptions n'est pas caractéristique sans doute que pour le Vivarium, devenue la loi de tous les scriptoria qui l'imitèrent. Il faut pourtant concéder que c'est au Vivarium qu'il faut penser, plus particulièrement du vivant du maître, avant que l'orage longobard ait éclaté. Quelles sont les observations suggérées à cet égard par notre codex?

Cassiodore appréciait beaucoup et recommandait à ses disciples la netteté, le dessin énergique comme loi de la disposition extérieure: ce qu'il appellait le 'démembrement' du texte (col. 1129). Il admirait saint Jérôme qui disposait son texte *colis et commatibus, quoniam illustrem et planissimam faciunt orationem, quando suis locis aptata resplendent* (*ibid.*, col. 1129).[2] Or nous avons vu ci-dessus (p. 25 suiv.) que les tendances à 'démembrer' le texte, en l'entourant d'espaces libres où les locutions puissent 'respirer' librement, le système des alinéas fréquents, des grandes marges auprès des citations, des lignes brèves, formant des colonnes — que toutes ces tendances animent les copistes de notre MS. (cf. Planches II et III).

[1] *De institutione, passim;* A. Olleris, *op. cit.;* F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, VIe chap.: 'Cassiodore'; Fr. Milkau, *Zu Cassiodor*, Berlin, 1928 (Sonderabdruck aus *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Ernst Kuhnert*).

[2] 'Meminisse . . . debemus . . . Hieronymum omnem translationem . . . propter simplicitatem fratrum colis et commatibus ordinasse' (col. 1124; cf. col. 1109).

Mais, en dehors de ce procédé, Cassiodore croyait utile un autre (*praeter translationem S. Hieronymi quae colis et commatibus ordinata consistitit*): le système des *distinctiones:* points qu'il voulait petits et élégants: *puncta breuissima pariter et rotunda et planissima* (*ibid.*, col. 1129), etc., *nam si corpus noster indiget per membra cognosci, cur lectio, cum suis partibus uideatur esse distincta, confusa relinquitur?* (col. 1129). Le système de nos copistes, nous l'avons vu (p. 25, ci-dessus), se trouve en harmonie avec ces prescriptions.

Les problèmes de la grammaire préoccupent Cassiodore au cours de *De institutione*, surtout par rapport aux noms hébraïques: géographiques et personnels. Et s'il est si éloquent à déconseiller à ses disciples la méthode erronée de les décliner: *hebraea uero nomina hominum uel locorum nulla declinatione frangatis: seruetur in eis linguae suae decora sinceritas* (col. 1127), il faut constater que les copistes de notre MS. ne semblent avoir péché contre cette prescription que trois fois: *ramassem*, *maram* et *manassem*, ff. 158, 161, et 190). En examinant le traité *De mansionibus filiorum Israel* (ff. 153–192), où l'occasion d'appliquer cette règle ou de l'enfreindre se présente à chaque pas, on a presque envie de se demander si ce n'est pas en vue de ce traité que la règle a été énoncée? En tout cas les sectateurs de Cassiodore s'y sont montrés pleins de zèle, de respect pour la *decora sinceritas linguae.*

D'autre part, que l'on étudie notre MS. au point de vue de l'orthographe. On y saura relever certainement (chez le dernier copiste plus particulièrement) des infractions aux règles que préconisait le maître. Mais on ne peut s'empêcher de penser que ce sont justement les peccadilles, propres aux copistes de notre MS., qui ont servi de matière à ses observations. Le MS. ne semble présenter que celles que le chef du Vivarium connaissait si bien.[1] En même temps il faut constater que les erreurs sont relativement rares, et que la copie est plutôt correcte.

Ae *in fine aduerbii non relinquas*, ae *iterum casui genitiuo non subtrahas* . . . (col. 1129). Cette prescription-ci est observée sans faute à travers tout notre MS. sauf un seul '*male*' au lieu de '*malae*' (f. 163).

[1] '. . . nunc dicimus in quibus litteris sunt librariorum uitia corrigenda' (*ibid.*, col. 1123).

Quod, cum pronomen est, per d, *non per* t *litteram, cum uero aduerbium numeri est, per* t *litteram, non per* d *scribendum est* (*ibid.*). Nous avons relevé quelques cas où l'on pèche contre cette règle. Au f. 212 le copiste écrit *quod* (= *quot*) *oris* et au f. 113, *si quit* (= *quid*) *aliter sapit*. Les erreurs de cette espèce sont pourtant peu nombreuses. Et d'une façon générale tout se présente bien avec les *d* et *t* dans notre MS., si l'on fait abstraction de plusieurs *capud* et *reliquid* chez le dernier scribe, et *aliut* et *istut* chez l'avant-dernier. C'est aux spécialistes de discerner si la source de la confusion est la même pour le *torridam* (f. 160 = *turritam*, *CSEL*, LV, 56, l. 5).

B *pro* v, v *pro* b, o *pro* u *uiciose positas non relinquas* (*ibid.*). Ces lettres préoccupaient Cassiodore d'une façon tout à fait particulière. La place qu'il leur donne dans son recueil de textes des orthographes est considérable, et reflète l'intérêt qu'il leur témoignait.[1] Pour en expliquer l'importance, il importune beaucoup les Mânes d'Adamantius Martyr.[2] Si l'on examine notre MS. à ce point de vue, on verra que la confusion augmente plus on avance: *parbuli*, *renobantur*, *pugnauit* (*futurum*), *temptabit* (*perfectum*), *uinas* (= *binas*), *nobi* (= *noui*), *uaculus* (= *baculus*), *uellum* (= *bellum*), *pleue* (= *plebe*), etc. (resp. ff. 155, 157v, 160v, 161, 162, 172, 174, 175, etc. = *CSEL*, LV, 50, l. 4; 53, 18; 56, 18; 57, 11; 58, 12; 68, 16; 70, 17; 75, 2; 76, 16). La confusion des *u* et *o* est un phénomène beaucoup plus rare dans notre MS., et les formes comme *epistula* et *consolatum* (*consulatum*, ff. 62 et 194) sont exceptionnelles.

Aspirationem uero superfluam deme aut adice competenter (*ibid.*). De nos copistes les deux derniers méritent quelquefois le reproche de 'l'incompétence.' Des *halii* (= *alii*), *hora* (= *ora*), *hisdem* (= *iisdem*), trouvent leur pendant dans des *ordaceis* (= *hordaceis*), *aut* (= *haud*), *edus* (= *hedus*), etc. (resp. ff. 184, 167v, 153, 178, 204, etc.). Ces fautes sont pourtant assez rares, et l'ouvrage des trois premiers copistes en est exempt.

[1] 'Ad amantissimos orthographos discutiendos anno aetatis meae nonagesimo tertio . . . perueni': W. S. Teuffel, *Gesch. d. römischen Litteratur* (6me éd., Leipzig: Teubner, 1910–1916), III, 496; 'Ex XII orthographorum libris rectitudinem scripturae docentium defloratas regulas posteris legendas exhibui' (*Gram. lat.*, VII, 209).

[2] *Gram. lat.*, VII, 165–199.

Multa etiam respectu euphoniae propter subsequentes litteras probabiliter immutamus, ut illuminatio, irrisio, immutabilis, impius, improbus (*ibid.*, col. 1129). Les scribes de notre MS. se sont montrés parfaits en ce qui concerne l'observation de cette règle. Contrairement à l'usage qui a prévalu depuis et qui s'est reflété: (1) dans les corrections carolines du MS. même; (2) dans les MSS du IXe siècle qui se trouvent à la base de l'édition de *CSEL;* donc (3) dans cette édition, — nos copistes écrivent presque sans exception: *ammirantur, imminutio, commiscuit, assumans* (ff. 158, 166v, 165, 159v, etc.). La même loi sans doute les incite à écrire: *impleat, compositum, compensabit* (ff. 166, 169, 175, etc.). Et bien que tous écrivent d'une façon systématique: *scribtum, scribtura*, etc., et que ceci ne semble pas être prévu par Cassiodore, nous demandons aux spécialistes: cette orthographe-ci serait-elle condamnée par lui?

Résumons: sauf le dernier copiste, notre MS. est assez correct. Si l'observation de Traube: 'propter orthographiam adhuc incorruptam infra saec. VI extremum descendi non potest' ne saurait être appliquée à notre MS. qu'avec certaines réserves, s'il n'est pas libre d'erreurs, ce sont, en tout cas, celles au milieu desquelles Cassiodore a vécu, qui lui étaient familières. De cette dégénérescence radicale ou, si l'on veut, de cette vie nouvelle de sens et de formes qui se fait jour dans les manuscrits du VIIe siècle, il n'y a pas de traces dans le nôtre.

Il y a dans les souvenirs littéraires de Cassiodore un point un peu obscur. En tout cas, au chapitre xxvi (col. 1140), *De notis affigendis*, nous n'avons compris que ceci: en relisant au déclin de sa vie (*senex aut longa peregrinatione fatigatus*) les volumes de sa bibliothèque, Cassiodore, pour en faciliter la revue à ses élèves et pour en faire la lecture plus agréable (*ut uos labor noster instrueret et qualicunque munusculo studium uestrae sanctitatis ornaret*), annotait, à l'aide de minium (*presentes* notas minio designatas, *quae sunt indices codicum, quibusque* locis *competenter impressi*), les *loci* qu'il croyait dignes d'être relevés.[1]

[1] W. Weinberger, *Die Handschriften von Vivarium*, 1925 (*Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, IV, 1924), prétend que les lignes initiales de chaque traité faites en rouge sont l'application de ce procédé de Cassiodore et, en même temps, l'indice de la bibliothèque du Vivarium. E. A. Lowe

Ces *loci*, étaient-ce les *initia* des paragraphes, et le minium servirait-il à faire plus nette la division du texte? Etaient-ce les passages ou les mots les plus importants qu'il soulignait à l'aide de rouge? Mettait-il ces signes (*notae*) en marge (les chiffres romains?), en soulignait-il le texte même? Tous ces procédés, peut-être, sont sous-entendus par lui? Ensuite, après avoir parcouru le volume, *quos tamen sub ipso studio transire praeualui*, il dressait à son début un sommaire: *quas in primordiis codicum semper ascripsi.*

D'un pareil sommaire (ce souvenir devait sans doute servir de modèle aux travailleurs de son *scriptorium*), pas de traces au début de notre volume. Aurait-il disparu avec les folios coupés? La table des matières du XIe siècle, au f. 220, n'en est-elle pas une copie? Peut-être. Quant à l'emploi du minium, il est abondant et très varié dans notre MS., on l'a vu (pp. 23, 24, ci-dessus). Si les chiffres romains en marge de Fulgence et de l'épître *Ad Fabiolam*, si le vêtement rouge des exhortations *Firmissime hoc tene*, si les mots, faits au minium: *HELIA*, *MOYSES*, etc. aux ff. 101, 206, et 207, si le rouge des lignes initiales et des explicits n'a rien à faire avec l'expédient de Cassiodore, nous ne savons ce que ces procédés peuvent bien vouloir dire. Encore une observation: toujours sur ses gardes contre l'hérésie, Cassiodore recommande une lecture très attentive, comme qui dirait le crayon à la main (voir ci-dessous), des traités qui la combattent. *Cum haereticis altercationes fidelium magno studio relegantur* (col. 1130). Ne dirait-on pas que ces gloses que nous avons citées (p. 30, ci-dessus) qui indiquent, un à un en marge de Fulgence, les ennemis contre lesquels le texte est dirigé, sont conformes à l'esprit de Cassiodore? On relève dans ses mémoires une allusion à des procédés analogues. Se méfiant d'Origène, bien qu'il s'efforçât d'y relever des choses vraies et utiles (*aurum in stercore quaero*, *ibid.*, col. 1112), il n'omettait pas d'autre part d'y marquer les passages suspects: *loca quae contra regulas patrum dicta sunt* ἀχρήστων *repudiatione signaui* (col. 1112; cf. col. 1122). Quels avaient été les

('Some Facts about our Oldest Latin MSS,' *The Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 197 suiv.) rejette ce criterium, en tant qu'un indice de Vivarium; ainsi que certains autres (par exemple: les majuscules au début de chaque colonne) qui sont l'indice de la haute ancienneté du MS.: IVe–Ve siècles. Donc ils ne peuvent être un indice du scriptorium Vivariense fondé vers le milieu du VIe siècle!

signes, dont il marquait ces endroits 'inutiles' (ἀχρήστων)? Il se vante, en tout cas, de le faire d'une façon intelligible, lui qui détestait les énigmes des notes tironiennes: *quibus libris, iuuante Domino, capitula insignire curauimus, ne in tam necessaria lectione . . . confusa tironis nouitas linqueretur* (col. 1117). Notons ceci: sauf les deux gloses, relativement postérieures (cf. p. 31), en notes tironiennes, notre MS. est remarquable par l'absence absolue de ces symboles dans les marginalia.

Le lecteur qui aura confronté le facsimilé de notre MS. avec la Pl. XVII de Châtelain, *Uncialis* (*cit. supra*), qui est celle du MS. de Bobbio, devra s'aviser d'une analogie frappante des deux MSS. Mais évidemment, ce rapprochement n'amène point à l'attribution de notre MS. à l'atelier de Bobbio. Le MS. de Prudence, lui-même ne saurait lui être attribué. Les deux MSS étant du VIe siècle, et la maison de Bobbio ayant été fondée en 614, tous les deux proviennent d'un berceau plus ancien.

L'hypothèse, bien sûr, n'est pas exclue que, frère jumeau du MS. de Prudence de Bobbio, notre codex aurait, comme lui, séjourné dans cette maison où, avec le nombre d'autres MSS, il n'a fait que passer d'un fonds plus ancien. On sait que R. Beer (*op. cit. supra*) en quête d'une ancienne bibliothèque qui aurait formé le gros de la Bobbiensis, rejette successivement celles du Pape et d'Eugippe, pour conclure à celle, 'die Cassiodorus Senator in Vivarium gesammelt hatte' (pp. 82 suiv.). Que l'on refasse la série de raisonnements qui, en 1911, l'ont amené à chercher, dans les collections 'antecolumbanes' de la Bibliothèque de Bobbio, l'héritage du Scriptorium Vivariense: 'Keine frühmittelalterliche Bibliothek' — telle est sa conclusion — 'die Bücherversammlung Cassiodors so deutlich wiederspiegelt, wie der älteste Handschriftenvorrat des Klosters Bobbio' (*op. cit.*, p. 104). Il ajoute une observation qui devient singulièrement vivante dès qu'on l'applique à notre MS.: 'Jene ehrwürdigen Bobbienses selbst, zu Cassiodors Wirksamkeit in Beziehung gesetzt, eine beachtenswerthe persönliche Note erhalten' (*ibid.*).

Dans ce qui précède il y a eu des rapprochements un peu larges. Certains d'entre eux, tout de même, ont contribué — nous l'es-

pérons — à resserrer le cercle autour de notre MS. et à indiquer le milieu d'où il a pu surgir.

Ce milieu, n'est-il pas concevable de le chercher dans le groupe des disciples de Cassiodore, adeptes des méthodes indiquées par l'auteur de *De institutione*?

Avec le même degré de probabilité on peut tenter la reconstruction des destinées ultérieures du MS. Les recherches de L. Traube ont mis en lumière les circonstances dans lesquelles les MSS italiens du VIe siècle ont passé en Gaule à l'époque de Charlemagne.[1] Notre codex dont la présence à Corbie est attestée par le catalogue du XIe siècle s'est trouvé, certainement, beaucoup plus tôt au nord de la Gaule. C'est là sans doute que le cadre en couleurs avec dessins 'corbéiens' a été peint autour de l'explicit du deuxième traité. C'est là aussi qu'à la même époque (VIIIe siècle), en écriture 'mérovingienne,' on a renouvelé aux premier et dernier folios du premier traité l'avertissement de l'annotateur anonyme. Lors de la confection du catalogue au XIe siècle, on a dressé au f. 220 la table des matières qui revient toujours à cet avertissement.

Celui-ci reçoit une valeur tout à fait particulière sur le fond des observations recueillies ci-dessus. On peut réduire au nombre de cinq les thèses sur lesquelles insiste l'annotateur anonyme, tout en discutant l'attribution du premier traité à Rufin.

1. Ce traité est celui de Pélage ou d'un auteur pélagien: *Hic liber pelagianus est et blasphemiis pelagianorum plenus.*

2. Pour mieux séduire le lecteur, tout en simulant la polémique, l'hérésie se cache sous l'autorité d'un nom vénéré: *Hic liber qui attitulatur Rufini non te seducat . . . simulans . . . contra arrianos disputationem.*

3. C'est au moyen de cette ruse que l'auteur caché *insère* les *venins* de l'*hérésie: uenena suae haereseos inseruit.*

[1] Les recherches de L. Traube sur ce problème dans la *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (2me éd., revue par H. Plenkers, Munich, 1910) sont résumées dans les *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* du même auteur: 'Karl der Grosse hat zielbewusst Codices der Klassiker und andere Texte . . . im Original oder in Abschrift aus Italien in sein Reich schaffen lassen . . .' (p. 132). 'Im allgemeinen ist der Weg der, dass alte Hss. aus dem VI. Jht. nun in karolingischer Zeit fortgeplanzt werden, ohne dass irgendwelche Zwischenstufen da sind' (p. 133). Cf. F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

4. Le 'lecteur pieux' (ce doit être un du groupe qui a créé le recueil, plutôt le 'groupe' lui-même: le singulier *tuam* passe en pluriel *uestro*) est supplié d'expurger le recueil de ce traité: *hortor caritatem* tuam *ut hanc blasphemiam de* uestro *codice* abscidatis.

5. A sa place on est invité de mettre le traité de saint Augustin, *De uera religione*, pour ne pas déroger à l'intégrité du volume: *pro ea librum s[an]c[t]i augustini de uera religione describite ut quantitatem codicis reparetis.*

Encore une fois, la glose fait penser aux aveux de Cassiodore qui, toujours hostile à tout ce qui sentait l'hérésie de Pélage, prétendant avoir bon œil pour la discerner,[1] s'adresse à ses disciples avec une exhortation que nous allons citer, tout en mettant en italiques tous les passages dont la coïncidence avec la glose anonyme nous a frappée.

In epistolis tredecim sancti Pauli adnotationes conscriptas in ipso initio meae lectionis inueni quae in cunctorum manibus *ita celebres habeantur ut eas a sancto Gelasio papa* urbis Romae, doctissimi uiri, studio *dicerent fuisse conscriptas. Quod solent facere qui res uitiosas cupiunt gloriosi nominis auctoritate defendere. Sed nobis* ex praecedentibus lectionibus diligenti retractatione *patuerunt* subtilissimas quidem esse et breuissimas dictiones sed *pelagiani erroris uenena illic esse seminata.*

Et *ut procul a uobis fieret error haereticus*, Epistolam ad Romanos *qua potui curiositate purgaui, reliquas* in chartaceo codice conscriptas *uobis emendandas reliqui.* Quod facile subiacebit, quando praecedenti exemplo audacior redditur sequentis imitatio (*De instit., Patr. Lat.* LXX, 1119).

Les thèses de l'anonyme se retrouvent, parfois littéralement, dans les aveux de Cassiodore (ou inversement, si l'on veut).

1. Dans les commentaires sur saint Paul, l'arrière-fonds pélagien se révèle: *patuerunt.*

2. Il se cache sous l'autorité d'un nom vénéré: le Pape Gelase.

3. Ainsi on cherche à *insérer* le *venin pélagien: pelagiani erroris uenena* illic esse *seminata.*'

4. Cassiodore s'efforce d'en expurger le volume — *purgaui* — pour en confier l'exécution définitive à ses disciples: *uobis emendandas reliqui.*

[1] Cf. H. Zimmer, *Pelagius* (*cit. supra*), pp. 15 et 200 suiv.

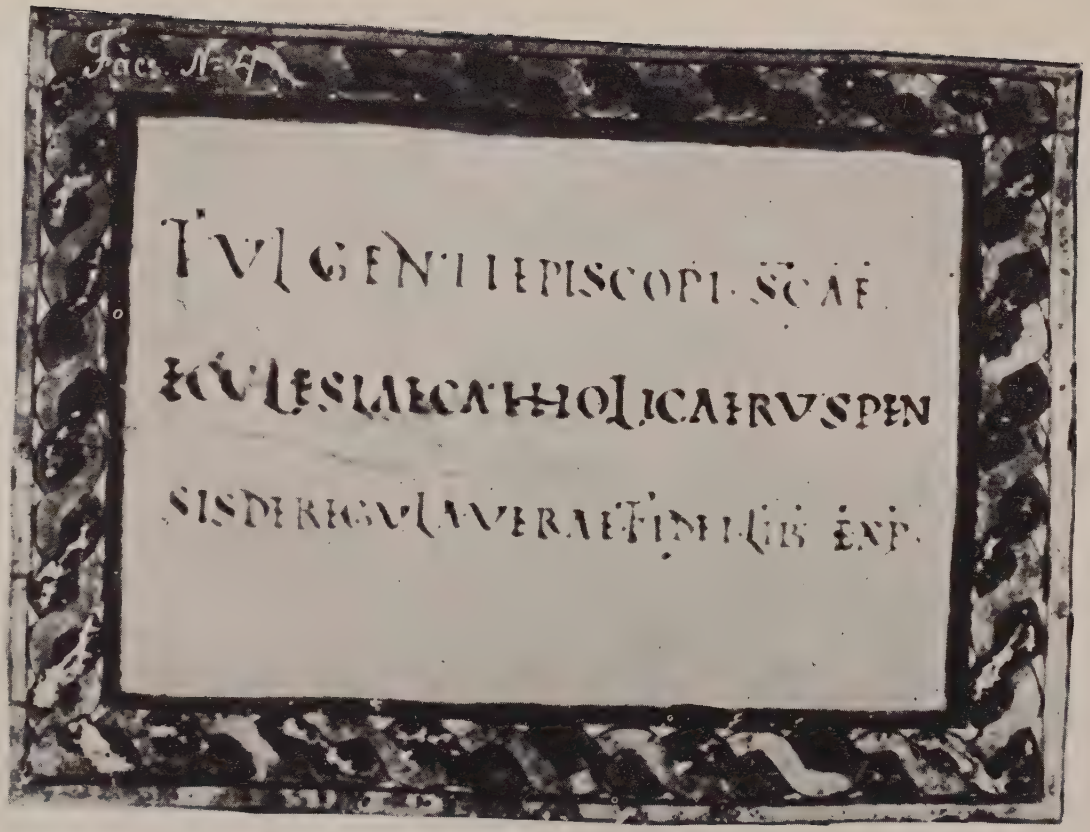


Planche IV

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I. 7*, fol. 113r

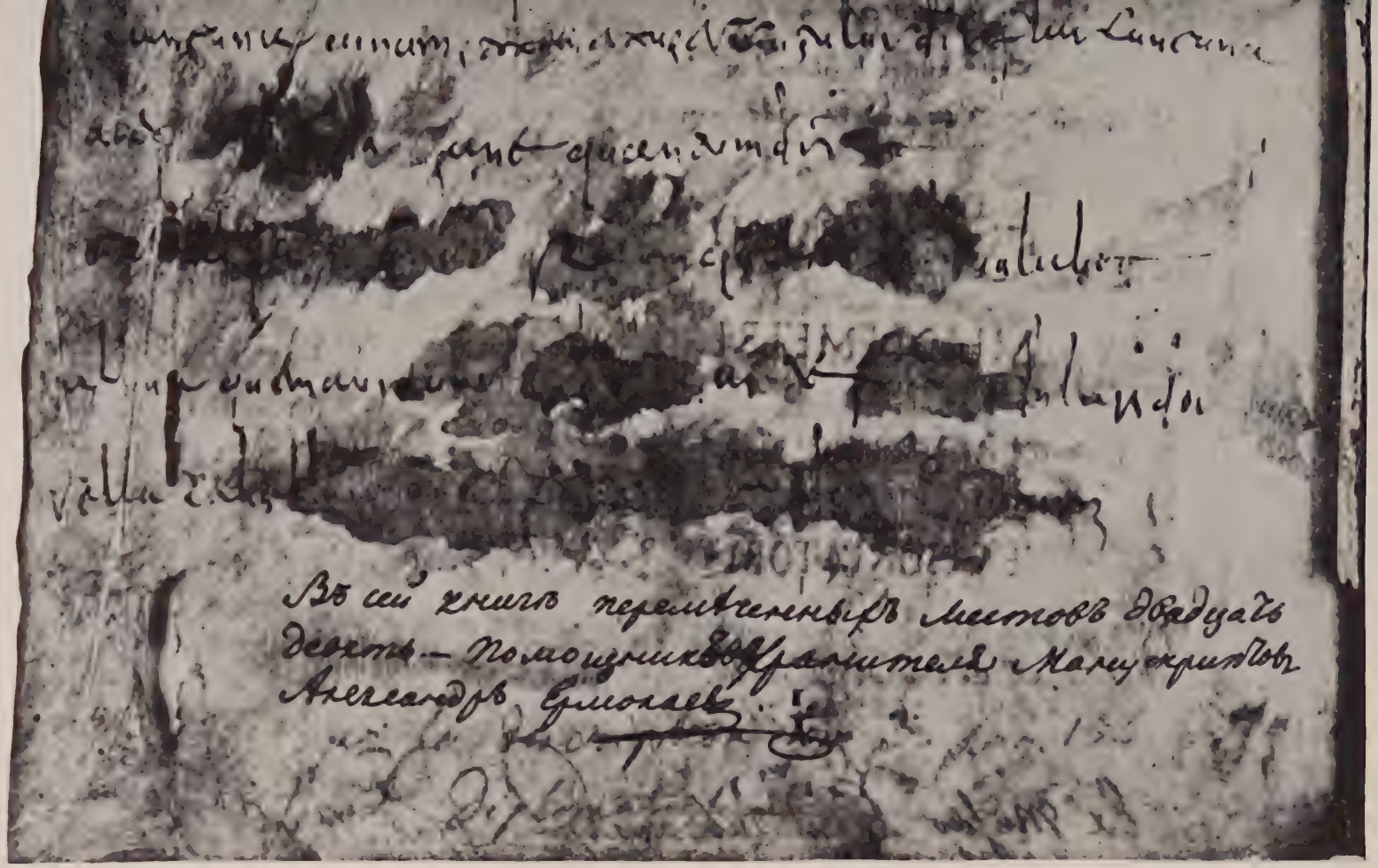


Planche V

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I. 10*, fol. 220r

Il n'y a que le conseil de l'auteur anonyme de la glose concernant le *De uera religione* de saint Augustin qui manque dans la déclaration de Cassiodore. Mais, en effet, on le retrouve encore dans le *De institutione:*

> Utiles etiam sunt ad instructionem ecclesiasticae disciplinae memorati sancti Ambrosii de Officiis melliflui libri tres, nec non et beati Augustini *De uera religione* liber unus (*ibid.*, col. 1132).

La liste des œuvres de saint Augustin recommandées par Cassiodore n'est certainement point réduite à ce traité qui, par ses dimensions, aurait suppléé l'œuvre suspecte. Cassiodore, ayant indiqué, dans le paragraphe qui précède, toute une série d'œuvres de saint Augustin — dans ce paragraphe-ci, qui porte sur la discipline ecclésiastique, recommande, *en premier lieu, le traité mis en avant aussi par notre anonyme.*

Résumons.

(1) L'hypothèse qui présume que le Vivarium fut le berceau de notre MS. au VIe siècle est très vraisemblable.

(2) Un groupe de disciples et de sectateurs de Cassiodore en a été l'auteur, resp. le rédacteur, du vivant même du Maître.

(3) Ils l'ont composé d'après son programme et l'ont exécuté, au point de vue de la disposition du texte, de l'orthographe, de la phonétique, des formes des noms hébraïques, de la méthode de l'emploi du minium (peut-être), et des gloses indicatrices, conformément à l'esprit et à la lettre des indications de Cassiodore.

(4) Les erreurs qu'ils y ont commises sont toutes propres à l'époque de Cassiodore et très bien connues de lui, étudiées par lui d'une façon systématique.

(5) Un de ces sectateurs, qui n'a pas pris part à l'exécution du recueil, mais qui était imprégné des idées antipélagiennes du Maître, a annoté le MS. à son début et, en se servant de certaines des expressions propres à Cassiodore, a condamné le premier traité, comme pélagien.

(6) Il conclut à la proposition de le rejeter tout à fait, pour mettre à sa place le traité de saint Augustin, recommandé également par le Maître, au début du paragraphe de la 'discipline.'

Quelqu'un qui aura examiné et accepté ces raisonnements va, peut-être, poser une question que (inutile de le cacher) nous nous sommes posée nous-mêmes.

Un sectateur, un disciple. . . . Et pourquoi pas le Maître lui-même? . . . *Senex aut longa peregrinatione fatigatus*, ne pouvait-ce être lui-même qui, après une intervalle, *relegere praeualuit* ce qu'on a exécuté dans son atelier, pour *in primordiis codicis* en donner son avis? Il le faisait parfois: *loca quae contra regulas patrum dicta sunt ἀχρήστων repudiatione signaui.*

Mais alors serions-nous donc en présence de l'autographe de Cassiodore?

L'hypothèse serait beaucoup trop séduisante. L'attribution de la glose du premier folio au VIe siècle n'est pas exempte de doutes. La main courante de Cassiodore nous est inconnue. Nous n'avons donc rien qui aurait donné une certitude parfaite. Il vaudrait mieux de nous arrêter là. Puissions-nous ne pas être atteinte des foudres du Maître, au nombre de ceux *qui res uitiosas cupiunt gloriosi nominis auctoritate defendere.*

Léningrad, U. R. S. S.

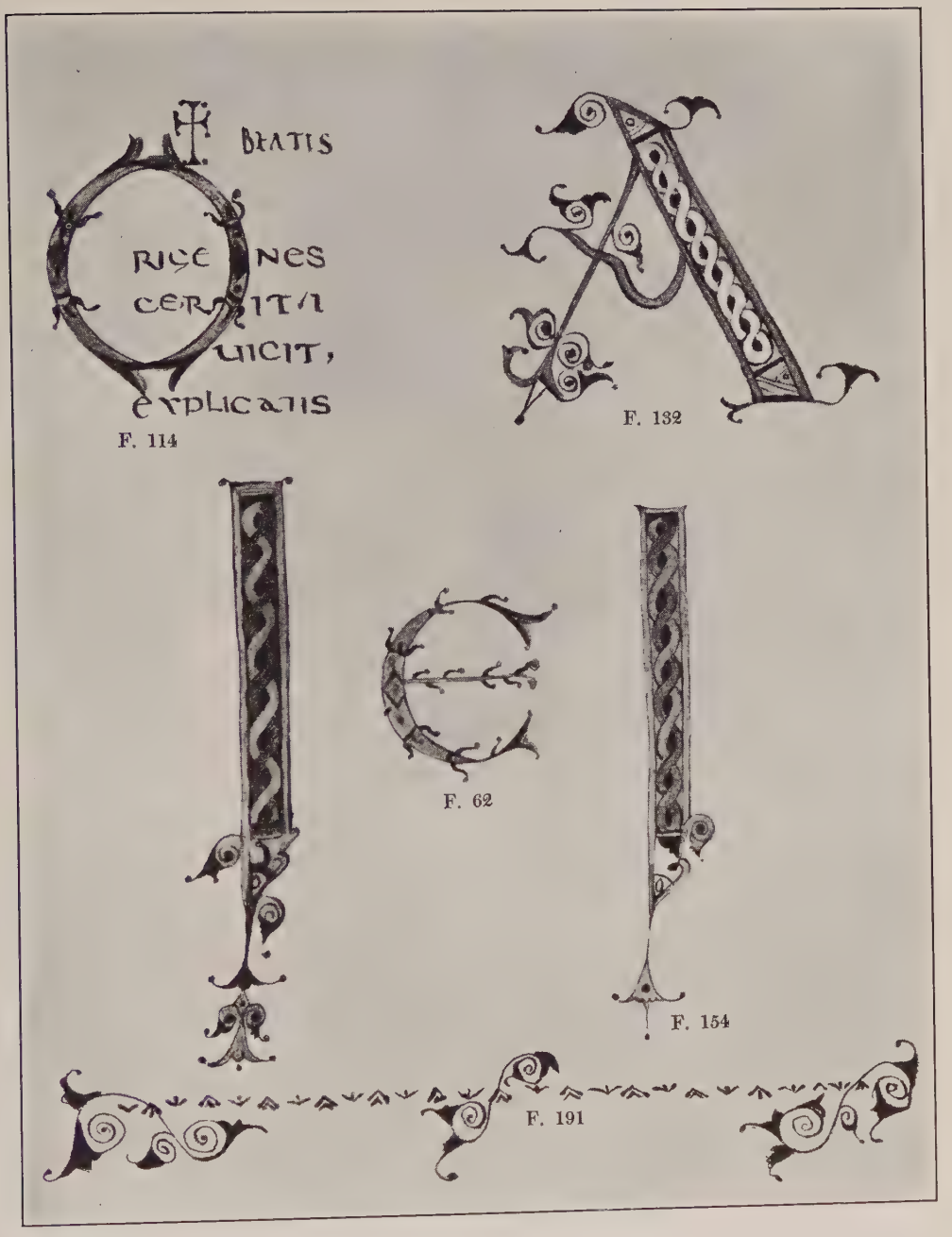


Planche VI

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. Lat. Q. v. I, 6–10*, ff. 62, 114, 132, 154, 191

THE *BELLUM TROIANUM* OF JOSEPH OF EXETER[1]

By WALTER BRADBURY SEDGWICK

IT WILL be convenient to begin with a short account of the Metre and Grammar before proceeding to the main business, a detailed examination of the Style of the *Bellum Troianum* of Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus): we conclude with remarks on the Text and Vocabulary.

I. Metre

Joseph's hexameter is carefully modelled on that of the Silver Age, in particular of Lucan (and Claudian)— though he manages to some extent to avoid their monotony: in his bold use of elision he reminds us of Virgil, though he sometimes — not often — goes too far (e.g. *qua acies*, vi, 274; *boum hasta*, vi, 501; *cum ad*, iv, 506). On the whole his versification is little, if any, inferior to the average of the Silver Age. When we consider the futility of the usual mediaeval handbooks of metre, we are lost in admiration of a poet whose ear was so true that it enabled him to reproduce exactly niceties of the hexameter only revealed by nineteenth-century scholarship (particularly in respect of elision, e.g. of cretic words[2]). His chief weaknesses are: (1) The Golden line (two nouns with their adjectives and a verb); in the examples below I have included a few which are not quite strictly such, but have virtually the effect of the true Golden line; (2) verses of the type *aequoreum* | *sulcabat* | *iter* || — which are

[1] I use the Delphin reprint (London: Valpy, 1825) of the edition of S. Dresemius (Frankfort, 1620), who claimed to be the first to restore the poem to its true author, as did J. Morus in his edition (London, 1675). But the authorship was known to Leland and Camden (see Jusserand, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 82 ff.); cf. also Samuel Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme:* 'Josephus Devonius who wrote *de Bello Troiano* in so excellent manner, and so resembling antiquity, as printing his work beyond the seas they have ascribed it to Cornelius Nepos.' I am also indebted to Mr R. K. Root's article on 'Chaucer's Dares' in *Modern Philology*, xv (1917), 1 ff., and to J. J. Jusserand's early thesis, *De Iosepho Iscano* (Paris: Hachette, 1877). Reference is also made to my article, 'Style and Vocabulary of the Latin Arts of Poetry . . . ,' Speculum, iii (1928), 349 ff. For key to abbreviations employed, see this article and Speculum, ii (1927), 331 ff.

[2] These are not elided by Joseph and the best classical poets.

characteristic of Lucan; (3) lines with noun and adjective rhyming at the middle and end of a line, an Alexandrian trick, common in Latin from Ovid onwards — carried to excess in some Christian poets, e.g. Paulinus' *Vita Martini* (see statistics for all in Max Manitius' *Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Poesie*, Stuttgart, 1891) — and leading to the Leonine: it is not very common in Joseph. These three types occur in succession in vi, 8–10:

At (*read* ac) sonipes animi | non argumenta superbi || (3)
Iratas | iterat uoces ||, non puluere capto (2)
Multiplicat suspensa leui uestigia gyro. (1)

There is a certain amount of monotony, especially in the almost inevitable pairing off of noun and adjective, but not more than in say, Claudian, who, for instance, in *De Raptu Pros.*, Book ii, has 19 Golden lines in the last 60 verses.[1] But on the whole Joseph's verse is very fine indeed, especially when compared with that of any other mediaeval poet. Bad verses are very few — e.g. vi, 302:

Argolica: illic ante ipsum mactatus Achillem.

The endings *erit una*, ii, 285, *minus uno*, ii, 161, can be paralleled from Virgil. I have noted no other verses as defective (*foeda ubi uictus*, ii, 327, as an ending will, I think, pass muster).

Like other mediaeval writers he retains a short final vowel before *sp*, *sc*, and so forth, and lengthens a short syllable at the strong caesura — but mostly only with Virgilian precedents. (Unlike his contemporaries he never lengthens a short final *vowel*.) Whether this license extends to the strong caesura in the fourth is doubtful: there is *clarēt* in iii, 366, but that is all, except *perīt* at vi, 262, which has ī always in the best poets. I have not found any mediaeval poet who habitually allows lengthening in the fourth foot, although mediaeval theorists admitted it both there and in the second, quoting Virgilian precedent (see Reichling on *Doctrinale*, 2414, and SPECULUM, III (1928), 360 n.).

[1] Dryden notes that Claudian perpetually 'closes his sense' with a Golden line (9 times in 22 paragraphs in *De Raptu Pros.*, Bk. i). Lucan also employs it to excess, and Ovid is very fond of it. It is more a rhetorical than a metrical device, connected perhaps with the late rhetorical rule that an adjective should be separated from its noun.

False quantity is extremely rare: all cases are quoted below.

Golden lines: i, 487, 488, 489, 496, 499, 500 (6 in 14 lines, of which 5 have adjective at caesura, with its noun at the end — 3 with rhyme); iv, 172, 176, 182, 184, 185, 191, 192 (7 in 21 lines, of which 6 have rhyme); iv, 503, 505, 518, 522. Golden lines end three of four paragraphs at vi, 395, 414, 419.

Strong caesura at second and fourth foot (usually weak in third). 9 cases in i, 95–106, 5 in i, 116–121; (combined with rhyme i, 219, 225, 227, 233); 12 cases in i, 388–402, 5 in 5 lines i, 418–422. With the word *iter* in the 4th: i, 140, 170, 408, 521; iii, 277, 347 (425); iv, 189 (508); v, 5, 44 (160); vi, 781, 871 (except in the cases bracketed, the first foot-and-a-half consists of the adj. which qualifies *iter*). The form is nearly always $-\underset{\smile}{\smile}-|--\smile|\smile-||$.[1]

Varia. *excītus*, i, 114; ii, 208; iii, 312; iv, 250 (cf. *Brunellus*, ed. Wright, p. 74, l. 10; 123, l. 8; 135, l. 10 up: Speculum, iii (1928), 362). *rĕiectus*, vi, 60 (analogy of *rĕicit?*); *artĕriae*, iii, 96; *geomēter*, ii, 126 (cf. Speculum, iii (1928), p. 364); *suspĭcio*, ii, 192; *spūrius*, ii, 515 (Henricus Septimellensis, iv, 153; *Graecism.*, ix, 188; Hugo Sotovag., p. 224, l. 12 up, ed. Wright); *Philŏctetes*, iv, 326; *Mĕrĭon* for *Mērĭones*, v, 258, 278; *febrĭcitent*, vi, 82 (*Architren.*, ix, 479, Baudri, cxcvi, 308); *luscīnia*, vi, 384. Metrical license: *Prīamides*, iv, 33, 58; *Pōlydamas*, vi, 676.

II. Grammar

Of Joseph's grammar there is little to say: he imitates and surpasses the bold constructions of Silver Latin, but he rarely sins through ignorance. The fewness of the irregularities collected below (of which fewer still are definitely unclassical) shows how closely he follows his models, and how vastly he surpasses his contemporaries.

A. Accidence

Noun. Constantly used adjectivally: (see Vocabulary, pp. 75, 76, below) *iudice causa*, 'the facts of the case determining,' i, 375; *fossor rostrum*, vi, 384; *uisus excubitor*, iv, 181; *uictor uultus*, iv, 90; *praeco uultus*, iv, 100; *uector uterus*, iv, 81; *euersor Asiae uultus*, vi, 956; *pugil = pugnax*, v, 32, vi, 492, 688; *fossor ictus*, vi, 561; *cantatrix buxus*, i, 511; *praeceptrix tuba*, vi, 166; *cornus uenatrix*, i, 509; *interprete uultu*, iii, 336;[2] *uindice uultu*, iv, 169: *uindice actu*, iv, 106; *indice curru*, iv, 387; *indice aure*, iv, 236; *augure plausu*, iv, 238; *leno oculus*, iii, 244; *opera nutrix*, iii, 351; *licito maiore*,

[1] Virgil rather affects this rhythm (with rhyme), e.g. *Aen.*, vi, 299, 327, 374.

[2] Cf. *interprete lingua*, Hor., *A.P.*, l. 111 (*nutus interpres*, iii, 242).

'with greater license,' v, 530; *necesse* (a noun), iii, 111, vi, 257; *uelle* and *posse* as nouns (often in Middle Ages), e.g. iv, 420; *ultra uelle nihil, nil citra posse; Salamina* (nom. sing.), ii, 156; *Merion* = *Meriones*, v, 258, 278 (from Dares, 19).

Pronoun: *istos* = *hos* (as often in Middle Ages), ii, 179; *sese*, 'each other,' iv, 14; *ille quidem* (wrong use), v, 300; *haeccine*, ii, 52; v, 63, but *hicne*, ii, 261 (cf. 268); *altera* = *aliena*, v, 282; *quisquis*, 'all' (often in Middle Ages), v, 56 (?).

Adjective: *denus* = *decimus*, ii, 534; *altus* as p. part. of *alo* ('plump,' etc.), iv, 183; iii, 4, *a. sanguis* ('fat victim'); *progressior* ('more advanced'), iii, 168; *fastiditior usus* ('more fastidious'), i, 77: cf. vi, 777, *in mensas noctis productior usus*.[1]

Iunonior (so *P* = *nouercatior*, Σ[2]: read *nouercalior*), i, 268 (see Speculum, iii (1928), 359); *uoce fauenti* (abl. abs.), iii, 359; *tanti* = *tot*, vi, 104, 629; *asperior* = positive, iii, 280 (see Speculum, iii (1928), 355); *suis liuere secundis* ('grudge his luck'), iii, 268; *indigena*, fem. adj., iv, 26.

Verb: *depingier*, i *Arg.*, 5; *peregrinat* for *deponent*, i, 74, 516; *transiet*, future indic., vi, 34 (not uncommon in class. poetry; *Anticl.*, ii, 304, Wright, Voigt on *Ysengrimus*, p. xlii); *rēperit* (perf.), iii, 469 (Speculum, iii (1928), 355), but *Brunel.*, p. 125, l. 14, has *ĕ* in the perf. Dietrich, *Pyr. et Thisbe*, l. 160 has *repperiens*, l. 163 *rĕperisset*.

B. Syntax

Noun: Most striking is the transference of the ablative with *plenus: nata cerebro plena* (= *pleno*) *Iouis*, ii, 429 f.; cf. *plenum galea caput* = *galea plena capite*, v, 253.

Genitive: *fraudis hebes*, iv, 120; *caeca freti*, iv, 298; *dubius aquae*, i, 83 (so *P*); *fas precandi* ('chance of prayer'), iii, 248.

Dative: *Iunoni celebris* ('thronging to worship'), iii, 207 (?); *urbi mediantibus aruis* ('fields coming between [it and] the city'), i, 505.

Accusative: *exire lares*, vi, 782.

Vocative: *Sic Helenam uisure ueni*, v, 324; cf. i, 286. Joseph affects the vocative of participles in *-us*.

Ablative: agent (without *ab*) *laudor censore caduco*, ii, 244; *principe iussus*, v, 453; *habetur Pallade* (= *Palladio*), i, 536.

Verb: Most characteristic is his use of the fut. participle, as in Silver Latin (6 in St., *Theb.*, vii, 776–794), e.g. i, 158, 164, 169, 521, 532; iii, 434, 437, 439; iv, 517, 519; v, 225, 226, 229; *non sensurus* ('unfeeling'), v, 198. Connected with this is his use of the gerundive as a fut. pass. ppl., e.g. *frangendus* ('doomed to be broken'), i, 120 ('breakable,' i, 267); cf. iii, 343;

[1] For other cases of participles in the comparative (a favorite device) see pp. 75, 76 below.

[2] See p. 69 below.

vi, 712; strange is ii, 175, *rapienda minatur* (= *se raptum iri*). Characteristic also is the extended use of the prolative infinitive: e.g. with *negat* ('refuse'), ii, 240, iii, 118, v, 22, 322, vi, 260: only quoted in lexica from Silius, but see Claud., *Ruf.*, ii, 223; cf. Voigt on *Ysengrim.*, p. l; *sociare superbit* ('scorns to'), v, 180, vi, 490; *bellare proterua*, vi, 503; *negat ire* ('forbids to go'), iv, 450; *impatiens* (= *non patiens*) *abesse*, v, 446. This is combined with a perfect infinitive for present in ii, 28, *exorant habuisse;* iv, 392, *uolo latuisse* (with *iubeo*, i, 431): Cf. Voigt, p. xlvi. *monstrorum domitor reminiscere*, i, 284 ('remember that you are . . . '); cf. *rapienda minatur*, above.

Conditions: *si haesit* (for fut.-pf.), ii, 246; *si* with imp. subj. for ppf., i, 491 f. (very common in Middle Ages).

profando = *profata* (very common in Middle Ages), ii, 315.

ausa ('by an act of daring') ii, 277 (see Speculum, iii (1928), 372).

moderantior = *-atior*, ii, 422, iii, 235, v, 216; either imitation of a late usage (Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*, 4th ed., Munich, 1910, pp. 236, 299, 481) or *moderantior* may be comparative of the Lucretian *moderanter*).

Ellipsis: (*rogauit*) *ne quicquam temere*, iii, 194.

non . . . que = *neque*, ii, 527 (but read *-ue?*); *-que tamen* = *tamen*, vi, 111; *ut quid?* ('why?'), i, 6.

retro iter ('way back'), v, 468.

III. Style

While normal in verse and grammar, and closer to classical usage than other mediaeval poets, in style Joseph casts aside all restraint. One would have thought that the ever-increasing ingenuity in the use of every conceivable rhetorical device and contortion of speech, from Virgil onwards, had reached its culmination in Statius and Persius; but a study of Joseph will show that there were still further possibilities. It is true that he avoids the mere childishness taught in the schools, of which Matthew of Vendôme is perhaps the best (or worst) exponent, and Architrenius the most thoroughgoing disciple — see, for instance, the description of a maiden at the end of Architrenius, Book i. Here ingenuity of expression is merely a cloak for exiguity of thought;[1] but in Joseph the case is reversed. Thoughts come crowding on each other in such profusion that language is left

[1] I give one case from *Planct. Nat.*, p. 482 (Wright): *dum Charybdis ingluuiosae hyatus uoraginosos subterfugiendo deuitant, in Scyllae malignantis abysso inopinata periclitatione miserabiliter naufragantur.*

panting behind. To compare small things with great, we are reminded of Bagehot's dictum that if Shakespeare had tried to write an epic he would have died of plethora of thought. But here it is the ingenuity of a rhetorician which takes the place of the imagination of a poet: I doubt if there is a single line of poetry in the highest sense in the whole six books. And over and above the ingenuity of thought, comes an almost incredible ingenuity of expression. Let me quote an extreme example:

> Sic fatur, diroque animam depascitur aestu;
> Has tamen, has cordis rugas, haec praelia mentis
> Frontis oliua domat, faciesque dolosa sophistam
> Mendicat uultum, et blandos peregrinat in usus.
> (i, 236–239.)

All he means is that the man conceals his anger, but he uses seven metaphors, most of them unparalleled in classical poetry (those of 237 smack of the schools: cf. examples from *Poetria Noua*, SPECULUM, III (1928), 358: an even worse case is ii, 124 ff. (Hercules and Antaeus):

> Pestem Libycam librauit in auras,
> Edocuitque hostem noctiuris artibus astra,
> Qui quondam geometer erat . . .

i.e. raising him aloft, he taught by painful experience astronomy to one who had before been an earth-measurer. More typical is the opening Book iii: a careful study of this will reveal many of the secrets of Joseph's workshop (I do not comment on every point):

> Soluuntur uario consulta silentia plausu:
> Idalium paeana canunt, plebs, aula, senatus:
> Hic fatis uouet, ille deis, una omnibus, una
> Voce animoque frequens plaudit Venus; altus ubique
> Sanguis obit, sacris ultro cessantia cedunt
> Arua, coronato luget spoliata marito
> Inachis, et raptos gemebunda reposcit alumnos.
> Illustres superis epulas molita potestas
> Sacrificis bibulos lictoribus instruit ignes,
> Totaque thuricremis Panchaia spirat in aris,
> Venales emptura deos: at pauper acerra,
> Principe digna Deo, nostro placitura tonanti,
> Mente litat pura, uotis exorat honestis.
> Celsior explicitas rapturus in ardua flammas
> Regius exstruitur congestis floribus ignis,
> Perstringitque aciem: procul his expirat ab aris

Hostia dira, cruor; Veneri quod dulce propinat
Ductor Aristaeos latices, Meliboea fluenta,
Icarios haustus, fracti Phoenicis odores.

In 1, *consulta silentia* = 'the silence of the council.' In 2, *Idalium paeana* is no doubt an intentional oxymoron. In 4 f. *frequens plaudit Venus* = 'the name Venus resounds from many a throat' (*plaudit* = *sonat*, as ii, 86); *altus*, p. part. of *alo* (as in Virgil); *sanguis obit*, cf. l. 16 *cruor expirat*. *Sacris* . . . seems to mean 'yielding place to sacrifices, the fields are idle,' i.e. 'the plough oxen are sacrificed.' In 6–7 note rhyme of noun and adjective — the effect in both is that of a Golden line: 9–10 are Golden lines, and 8 has the same effect. *Inachis* = *Io* = a cow. 10 is an ingenious refinement on Virgil's *totaque thuriferis Panchaia diues arenis*. 11–13 each begin with adjective agreeing with noun at caesura (or *vice versa*) and end with another noun-adj. pair. 14 again has Leonine rhyme. 15 is a Golden line. 16 ff. are difficult. The meaning apparently is (I have altered the punctuation of 17) 'far from these altars [i.e. not here] is blood sacrificed: the King offers what is pleasing to Venus, viz. honey, milk [Joseph learnt from a commentary on the Eclogues the meaning of *Meliboeus*], wine, and incense [*fracti* = 'aged'].' The whole is in imitation of Statian circumlocution; see Dresemius, *ad loc.* He not only avoids saying 'milk,' 'wine,' etc. but even avoids using the plain circumlocution with *liquorem*. A bloodless sacrifice is clearly described (cf. 29 f., 46) yet 23 seems to say a dove is sacrificed: does the line mean something else?

It is instructive to compare Joseph with his immediate source, Dares, in the descriptions in Book iv (see Root, *art. cit.*, where Root proves that Chaucer deliberately imitates Joseph).

Perhaps the most striking is the characterization of Neoptolemus. Dares has *Neoptolemum magnum, uirosum* ('manly'), *stomachosum, blaesum* (like Hector), *uultu bonum, aduncum, oculis rotundis, superciliosum*. See what Joseph makes of it!

Ore uirum fassus, indignarique minaces
Suspendens ceruice genas, liuore superbo
Obliquat socios Pyrrhus, scribuntque ferocem
Ardua membra, teres oculus, proiectior aluus,
Texendis uox aegra sonis, teneroque laborans
Eloquio, lingua blaesos frustratur hiatus. (iv, 136 ff.)

In l. 136, *uirum = manhood, indignari* depends on *minaces* (both typical usages, see examples of grammar and style); in 2 ff. the use of the verbs is characteristic (*obliquat*, 'looks askance at'), so is *proiectior* and the use of *texendis*, and the adjective *aegra:* in 4 *teres* = Dares' *rotundus:* Joseph must have been thinking of Horace's *teres atque rotundus.*[1] *Lingua* looks like nom. sing.: if so, this is the only case I have noticed of lengthening a short final vowel at the caesura. It is safer to make it ablative.

In spite of its length, I cannot forbear quoting the description of Helen. Mediaeval poets vied with each other in full-length descriptions of female beauty, as prescribed by the textbooks, so we may assume this will represent Joseph's art in its highest elaboration:

Inclyta cognatos aequat Spartana Lacones (*Golden line*)
Vultu, crine, genis: sociae cunabala stirpis
Par oris testatur honos; at plenius haurit
Sidereum | Ledea Iovem ||, totosque par artus
Lactea materni spirant mendacia cygni. (*Golden line*)
Natiuum | frons fundit ebur ||, caput exerit aurum
Aequatis | crinale comis ||, gena candida byssum (*note symmetry*)
Aequat, dextra niuem, dens lilia, colla ligustrum. (*ab, ab, ab, ab*)
Auris inexpleto crispata uolumine, uisus
Excubitor, nasusque uagi uenator odoris,
Poscunt alternum titulo certante triumphum. (*Golden line*)
Productum | modice mentum || candescit, et alta
Lenius ut pressis | insidant basia labris ||, (*quasi-Golden line*)
Parcius in roseum | consurgunt ora tumorem ||. (*do.*)
Fundit apex humeros, pressum tegit ubera pectus, (*note symmetry*)
Ilia succingit leuitas, tractusque lacertos:
Pes breuis incessu | terram libante supino || (*quasi-Golden line*)
Lasciuum | suspendit iter || crurumque decora
Mobilitas comto libramine ponderat artus. (*quasi-Golden line*)
Sola superciliis labes interflua raris
Audaci macula tenues discriminat arcus (*edd.* artus) (*Golden line*)

I have indicated the extreme artificiality of the metre: I add a paraphrase:

She resembles Castor and Pollux: the origin of a common descent is indicated by equal beauty, but she has imbibed more of Jove, and her milk-white skin breathes the deceit of the swan which tricked her mother. Her forehead, hair, and so forth, are like ivory, gold, and so on. The incom-

[1] Joseph seems to have thought *teres = rotundus:* cf. iv, 88, *gena tereti* (= Dares' *ore rotundo*); iv, 150, *teretes artus* (= Dares' *rotundus*).

plete circle of her ear, her eyes — the body's watchmen — the nose tracking the fleeting odors, alternately demand the prize, with competing claims. Her white chin slightly protrudes, and that rich (*alta*) kisses may rest more gently on her lips when pressed, they delicately rise in a rosy swelling. Her shoulders spread out from her head, a subdued bosom restrains (*or* tops) her breasts, her flanks are light and slender (*succintus*), her arms long: her foot is small and she skims the ground with the sole of it (*supino?*), poised with dancing gait: her light legs keep her body delicately balanced: a single mole between her eyebrows divides them into two slender arches by a bold splash.

I think this will be enough: but after describing her exterior, Joseph gives us a physio-psychological description of her interior — her lungs are, of course, for talking (*modulamina linguae limat pulmo loquax*), the spleen causes laughter (*sum petulanti splene cachinno*, Persius, i, 12, apparently misunderstood), bile anger, and the liver love — and there's the rub; '*sic Helenam totam pars unica mergit*,' her too active liver spoils all! This seems to have been part of the contemporary doctrine of physiology: we find in the *Grecismus*: '*cor sapit et pulmo loquitur, fel commouet iram, splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur*,' xix, 106 f.[1] It would be a mistake to laugh at all this: it was evidently admired in the Middle Ages, and Chaucer was not above imitating it — not only in the *Parlement of Foules*, vv. 176–182 (cf. Root, *art. cit.*), but in his ripest work. Joseph simply beats the rhetoricians at their own game.

Fairness demands that we should now quote some more favorable passages. For vigorous rhetoric Joseph equals any of his Silver-Latin models, e.g. i, 59 ff.

> Cui iam satis est quod regna, quod urbes,
> Ipsaque quod pateant rapiendis Tartara gazis?
> Itur in ignotos fluctus, ultroque procellis
> Insultare iuuat, et soli uiuere fato.

We should have to search a long time in mediaeval poetry to equal that. Or this:

> O superi, quo thura meant? O fata, quis error
> Imperat? O hominum casus! Paucosne reseruat
> Ut multos Fortuna premat? Iam sentio, traxi
> Inuito mea regna deo . . . Voluine sub Arctos

[1] The source seems to be Claud., *IV Cons. Hon.*, ll. 241 ff.: cf. Isid., xi, 1, 125.

Proscripsisse uirum? Regnat. Fregisse? Superbit.
Extinxisse? Viget. Titulos minuisse? Triumphat.
Ergo deos dita (*edd.* dico) ingratos: da thura tonanti;
Cum dederis, sperata neget, donisque retentis,
Rideat elusum: melius Fortuna pianda est,
Quae pacem, quae fulmen habet, quae prima tyrannis
Imperium partita tribus, concessit, abegit,
Mutato lusit caelo, rursusque iubebit
Quos fecit reges mecum migrare sub umbras,
Et Iove proscripto Saturni leniet iras. (i, 216 ff.)

(The last line rather spoils the climax, and it is followed by the shocking lines quoted above, p. 54, *sic fatur*, etc.) Another effective passage, still in Book i, begins (vv. 436 ff.):

Parcite, uictores, Danai, compescite dextras:
Labe pari peccat, pariter crudelis uterque,
Que cunctis parcit et nulli, nobilis ira est
Citra iram punire reos.

Or, take the following:

miratur Achaea iuuentus,
Duxque iterum: superisne manus et tela negamus,
Inachidae? uocat ecce deus: sol laetus anhelis
Instat equis, Neptunus aquas ac peruia mollit
Caerula: credo equidem uires (*ui res?*) a gentibus istis,
Laomedonteo poscunt ex hoste triumphum.
Sed moror. Exclamant Danai, totoque resultat
Vox animosa freto. (v, 106 ff.)

Heu, heu, quam tenui nutant mortalia filo!
Nil homini fixum: fortunae munera blandae
Insidias, non dona reor, semperque timebis,
Sirenum turbae similes, sub sole sereno
Nubem, sub risu lacrimas, sub melle uenenum.
Si tibi res, fallit casus; si forma, senectus;
Si uires, morbus; si nomen grande, litura
Postera, et in nullis fati constantia donis. (v, 511 ff.)

tandemque dierum
Plenus obit, felix senio laetusque iuuenta,
Si stabili fortuna fide, si fixa maneret:[1]
Post Zephyros plus laedit hiems, post gaudia luctus;
Unde nihil melius quam nil habuisse secundum.[2] (vi, 801 ff.)

[1] Cf. ii, 24, *felix coniugio, felix natalibus aruis: si superi, si fata sinant, si stare beatis permissum.*

[2] *secundum* 'prosperity,' but there may be a pun on the other meaning. The sense is exactly Dante's *nessun maggior dolore, Inf.* v, 121, rather spoilt by Joseph's cleverness: Jusserand quotes the last two lines only to condemn them, but how superior are they to Lucan, viii, 29 ff., their source!

Andromache's dream (modelled partly on Aeneas' vision of Hector in *Aeneid*, ii) achieves true pathos, but is too long to quote here (vv. 423 ff.). Like his models, Joseph excels in *sententiae*, e.g.:

> tempora certe uirtutem non prima negant, non ultima donant. (i, 21)
> premit ultio noxas tunc gravius cum tarda uenit. (i, 38)
> litigiis audax et citra proelia fortis. (i, 317)
> pronius in facinus, tardis ultoribus, itur. (i, 378)
> sibi quisque uideri dux aliis, milesque sibi. (i, 394)
> nam summe miser est cui nec sperare relictum est. (i, 474)
> dignetur nemo priorem, erubeat sibi quisque parem. (v, 78)
> cur uixi? heu, miseris longo nil tristius aeuo. (vi, 826)

The above specimens suffice to give a good general idea of Joseph's merits and defects, his luxuriance and over-ingenuity, his astonishing mastery of every rhetorical device of classical poetry, and his frequent bursts of vigorous and fiery eloquence. It is the luxuriance of the young Shakespeare of *Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, or of the young Pindar who 'sowed not with the hand but with the whole sack,' and we may well suppose that when Joseph mellowed down he might have produced something of enduring merit. Unfortunately his other work (notably an *Antiocheis* on the Third Crusade, promised i, 47 ff.) is not extant, and we shall probably never know whether he fulfilled the promise of this early work. As it is, Joseph does not attempt to palliate or deny the 'atrocious crime of being a young man,' rather he glories in it (i, 19 ff.), and he would no doubt have answered his critics in the words of the young Accius to the veteran Pacuvius, who found his grandiose style was marred by immaturity and harshness: 'I admit the justice of your criticism and would not have it otherwise: time will mend that.'

Let us now take a more detailed survey of Joseph's style. Though it is hardly possible to illustrate it exhaustively in a few pages (even were that desirable), one can perhaps give some idea of the bewildering variety of expedients Joseph can command. The conduct of the story was the last thing he troubled about; in fact he seems, like Lucan, mainly concerned to get away from the story and concentrate on speeches, descriptions, rhetorical outbursts and moral and theo-

logical disquisitions. For instance, being bound by the rules of the game to introduce gods and goddesses, he either makes them a peg on which to hang satirical disgressions, or, as in the Judgment of Paris, puts in their own mouths speeches which lay bare the crudities and puerilities of heathen mythology. Like his model Statius (and *his* model Antimachus) he take up half his poem before he gets to the story proper. A synopsis of part of Book i will illustrate the 'tricks of the trade.'

Proem and dedication (1–51). The invention of ships due to greed; greed scours the earth and flouts the elements (52–62). The Argonauts were the first sailors (63–69). The first attempt was on a modest scale (70–82). The crew hesitate (83–86). Why ask for trouble and invent new deaths? (87–90). Sea do your worst! (90–93). But the sea-gods welcome new votaries (94–108). The Argonauts land at Sigeum (2 lines!). Uproar at Troy (111–115). Why fight the favorites of the gods, O Trojans, doomed to destruction? (116–128). The fight begins (129–135). Nestor advises patience; speech (138–149). The Greeks sail on to Colchis (2 lines). Description of harbor and landing (151–173). Why describe the plowing, the dragon, etc.? (174–178). What a wicked conspiracy! (179–190). They return (191–194). What rejoicings! (195–205). But Pelias is angry (206–215). His speech: 'What are you about, O Gods?' (216–235). His dissimulation (236–239). Victors' feast (240–258). [Satire on luxury 241–248.] Hercules cannot rejoice (259–262). His self-reproach (soliloquy) (263–290). Compared to bull (291–297). Remarks on Fama (298–307).

An analysis of the above gives us 59 lines of satire, 44 of description, 120 of rhetoric, 51 of preface — and 19 of narrative!

An extreme case is the Judgment of Paris in Book ii, where after some 400 lines of description and speeches, Joseph abruptly terminates the book, and forgets to give the judgment at all!

I shall now attempt to classify in detail some of the most noteworthy features of Joseph's style.

A. Use of the Noun

fur oculi somnus, ii, 238; *metu praedone animi*, v, 50; *custos animi timor*, v, 469.

Periphrasis for person: *bellum consumite* (= *bellantes*), i, 368; *alter cum Polluce error* (i.e. Castor), ii, 176 (cf. *gratus parentibus error*, *Aen.*, x, 392); *funera exilii tui* ('of those you exiled'), ii, 20; *occursus omnes rogat* ('asks all she meets'), v, 448; *armant fugam* (= *fugientes*), vi, 152.

Person for quality: *exuo regem* ('kingship'), ii, 42 (cf. *exuo fratrem; Ant.*, p. 299, l. 4 up); *dedecoro regem*, vi, 799; *regem profatur*, iv, 101; *reginae meminit*, ii, 316; *similem animis indutus Achillem* (a pupil of Chiron become a second Achilles), v, 242; *ueniunt cum principe* ('kingship') *pestes* v, 292; *liquidus Iupiter* (= Neptune), i, 286; *Phoebus uterque* (sun and moon?), vi, 664 (Dresemius' 'rising and setting sun' does not give the required sense); *detersa meretur Iuno Iouem* ('the cleared-up atmosphere wins back a clear sky'; Juno = *aer inferior*, Σ i, 243), iv, 311; *Atropon auxit* ('added to the ways of death'), i, 187; *inuersa est uetus alea* ('old fortune changes'), iii, 44; *pulchra genarum rapta dies* (the eye), v, 369.

B. Use of the Verb

With characteristic use of *in: animum procudit* (*extendit*, Σ) *in ausus*, i, 290: for this use of *in* cf. iv, 65, 125, 144, 156–157 (3 cases), 159, 165, 288, 359, 458, etc.; *in uoces dissuta breues* ('voice broken by sobs'), vi, 816.

medicati uulnera muri respirant, i, 477; *dura angere* ('crush misfortune' (by fulfilled wish)), iii, 342; *armati aëris ira*, iii, 438; *ramos loquaces ore premit* (of seer, δαφνήφαγος), iii, 364; *funera librat* ('kills equal numbers'), v, 355; *mediumque coronat armata statione uirum*, vi, 426 ('surrounds'); *ultricem cogit plebescere dextram*, vi, 348 (from Stat. *Theb.*, xii, 738; *cetera plebeio desaeuit uulnere uirtus*); *fregerat* (v. l. *fugerat*) *undas Phoebus* ('broke into flashes (ripples)'), ii, 269 f.; *saeuos diffibulat urbem murus in egressus*, v, 131; *pennificat formido gradus*, v, 203 (from Virgil's *pedibus timor addidit alas*, but is *pennificat* right in this construction?).

C. Use of the Adjective

Cirrhaea iuuenta = young laurel (on Mt. Ida!), iii, 218 (*si uera lectio*); *consulta silentia* ('silence of the council'), iii, 1; *ardens somnus* ('dream of a torch'), iii, 157; *cognata oracula* ('native (local) oracle'), iii, 302; *sociae ruinae* ('death of friends'), v, 262; *mellita pericula* ('fight (of bees) for honey' (?)), vi, 19; *spondeo stabilit animos pede*, vi, 87 (from Hor., *A.P.*, 256; *spondeos stabiles*); *reditus Ledaeos* ('of Helen'), vi, 673; *Herculeis imbuta uadis* (ref. to the poison of the Lernean hydra), vi, 233 (cf. *Herculea unda*, iii, 289; *Hectoreum femur*, v, 263; *Hectoreos manes*, vi, 75; *inscitia Plisthenia*, v, 286); *campestres iterare manus* ('renew fight on the plain'), vi, 565; *fraxineo peplo* ('banner on ash pole'), vi, 583; *fulminei Tyrias pars alitis alas incestat Ganymede suo* ('defile with a picture of their native Ganymede the purple wings of the lightning-bearing eagle' (of a banner)), vi, 586; *Carpathias linguis aequare figuras* ('equal the numbers of the waves'), vi, 764; *somnus uigil* ('awakening from sleep'), vi, 773 (but in vi, 778 *uigilata quies* = 'keeping awake').

D. Other Cases of Involved Diction

segni morantes crescentesque cibos gustu ieiuna fatigat, ii, 153, seems to mean 'she tires the lingering food by the slowness of her eating'; *minus uno in natum producte gradu*, ii, 161, 'advanced to sonship by one step less,' i.e. he would have been his son if he had not been his grandson! (?); *frequens plaudit Venus*, iii, 4 (cf. *ululatum 'vale,'* iv, 494); *fessa reclinat flamma apices*, iii, 48; *indutus Nessum*, iii, 91 (cf. *indutus ignes*, iii, 145); *praesentius audet* ('has readier daring'), iii, 274; *armatos in pacem reddidit annos* ('gave me years of peace after war'), iv, 435; *prima ducis facies nascenti uagit in aere* ('the bronze depicts his earliest childhood'), iv, 462 (cf. *accingens pictura uirum* 'represents him in armor,' iv, 471); *uoluntas omnis in effectum causas habet* ('will always gives motives for action'), v, 382; *decimus rotabat speratum Titana labor* ('the tenth year of war brought the hoped-for day'), vi, 661 (cf. *denus tumebat mensis* = tenth month of pregnancy, ii, 534).

We may compare the way he paraphrases Dares, e.g. in the descriptions of Bk. iv. *uisus acies obliqua cadentis in geminas spargit partes* (Dares' *strabo*), iv, 54; *gratior aequato Menelaum forma uenustat fulta statu* (Dares' *mediocri corpore*), iv, 104; *uirusque comae geniale* (natural?) *rubentis mens domat* (Dares' *rufus:* but a mediaeval writer has to explain how a red-haired person can have any good qualities),[1] iv, 105; *in pectus laterum laxatur culmen* (Dares' *pectorosus*), iv, 110; *uox en eris* (*teneris?*) *discincta iocis* (Dares' *iucundus:* Joseph falls into the usual confusion with *iocundus*), iv, 116; after describing Briseis' hair, *umbraeque minoris delicias oculus iunctos suspendit in arcus* (Dares' *iunctis superciliis:* the 'delights of lesser shade' are the eyebrows!), iv, 158 (cf. *umbra supercilii*, Claud., *Nupt. Hon. et Mar.*, 268).

Joseph is fond of catalogues; of course no epic is complete without a catalogue of trees. Virgil (*Aen.*, vi, 179 ff.) imitated Ennius, and was in turn imitated by Ovid (*Met.*, x, 86 ff.), Seneca (*Oed.*, 532 ff.), Lucan (iii, 440 ff.), Statius (*Theb.*, vi, 91 ff.), Claudian (*De Rapt. Pros.*, ii, 105 ff.): Joseph starts a new line (i, 505 ff.), though he knew all his predecessors, and was in turn imitated by Chaucer (*Parl. Foules*, 176 ff.; cf. Root, *art. cit.*, p. 18) and Spenser (*F.Q.*, I. i, 8 f.): each tree has its appropriate epithet, which is so ingenious that all have to be explained by the commentator in the Paris MS., e.g.

[1] Cf. *suspectus crinis*, iv, 88. I may perhaps be allowed to refer to my semi-popular article on the subject in the *English Review* (June, 1927): note *Anticlaud.*, IV, ii, 16 f.

uaga pinus, because ships are made of pine (Chaucer's '*sayling firr*'; cf. Spenser, *loc. cit.*; *cantatrix buxus*, because flutes are made of box-wood (Chaucer's '*boxtree piper*').[1] A mediaeval trait appears in lines of the form *nil refert quis, ubi, quando sed qualiter et quid* (vi, 33); *in quam, quid, quare* (ii, 492); *cur, quo, unde* (iii, 201). Whatever Joseph does, he does with all his might; if Virgil's prophetess is mad (*Aen.*, vi, 241 ff.), his must be madder (iii, 366):

> claret interprete uultu
> Extorti uindicta dei, furiosa potestas
> Imbelles uexat artus, ceruice rotata,
> Crine umbrante humeros, oculis spargentibus ignem
> Et facie (MS. *facula*) prodente fidem, nunc liuida uitrum,
> Nunc flammata facem superat, nunc pallida buxum.
> Tali se mediis procerum tot milibus infert
> Ore ferens, tremulosque gradus uix ebria figit.[2]

(The first words mean: 'the revenge of the god for having been forced is manifest, as interpreted by her appearance . . .')

Joseph is revolted by no violence: in v, 253 f., a decapitated head continues speaking;[3] in v, 416, the hero kills seven at a blow; in vi, 228, the spear enters the back of the head and comes out taking the left eye with it; in v, 350, Aeneas *traiicit, et fixae 'moriere' immurmurat auri;* in vi, 158 ff., Thetis, for pity of Ajax, *altius attolens pontum . . . uenienti occurrit Phoebo* — and so makes the sun set. In ii, 430, the virgin Minerva leaves incomplete the word her chaste lips refuse to utter; *cumque exule mentu . . . erubeo ulteriora loqui.*[4]

Like other mediaeval poets Joseph pushes oxymoron to a stage where it borders on the absurd; an extreme case is ii, 418 f. (of love)

[1] On this tradition, see the notes in *Classical Weekly*, XXII (1929), 66, 184.

[2] Yet even this is better than Lucan's prolix ineptitude, *Phar.*, v, 169–192.

[3] Cf. Ennius, *Ann.*, 472 f., 519 f.; Virgil, *Aen.*, x, 395; Ovid, *Met.*, vi, 556; Statius, *Th.*, xi, 56 ff.; Silius, xv, 470; Zola, *Débâcle*, ii, 7.

[4] The phrase *exul mentula* itself, referring to the mutilation of Cronos, is typical of Joseph; but he was not the only mediaeval poet who indulged in this novel form of aposiopesis. In *Ysengrimus*, I, 928, the speaker is interrupted by a howling mob at the words *tu au(-tem)*. In the *Speculum Stultorum* the dying calf has not the strength to name her friend, Brunetta — she can only gasp out *Bruna, uale!* It almost looks as if this were a device taught in the schools, but I can find no trace of it. In later times it has been relegated to burlesque, e.g. *The Critic*, III, I (see my note in *Times Lit. Supp.*, May 26, 1927), where *Gustavus Vasa* is parodied: a notable modern use is at the end of Verdi's *Otello* (last page), 'un bacio, un ba . . .'

uirus dulce, piae Syrtes, amentia ('rage'?) *supplex, molle malum, morbus hilaris;* this, though an extreme case for Joseph, is mild compared with some mediaeval examples.

Likewise in his use of paronomasia,[1] Joseph is a child of his age; although this is one of the earliest ornaments of Latin style (for instance in Plautus and Ennius), and no doubt native to the genius of the language, it was very sparingly used in later times. Among the most striking examples are: i, 19, *mento canescant alii, nos mente;* i, 72, *e ramis, remos;* i, 351, *colles colit;* ii, 96, *arteriae non artus;* ii, 131, *uector eras et uictor* (MSS *uector*) *eris;* ii, 254, Juno calls Minerva, by a pretended slip of the tongue, *dira* for *diua;* ii, 286, *una sed unica;* ii, 288, *absque pari parit;* ii, 413, *uenatrix hominum uernet Venus,* and later (420) *exitium uenale Venus;* iii, 48, *solatam solare domum* ('console a desolate house'); iii, 108, *audit et audet,* cf. iii, 240, *ardet et audet;* iv, 382 and vi, 361, *fugit, fugat;* vi, 847, *thalami tumulique;* vi, 961, *uiue liber, liberque uige.* Akin to these is the passage (ii, 271 ff.) where Juno suggests that Pallas was so called *quia pallet,* and *Mauortia* because *mares uorat* (an ancient derivation?); while in her reply Pallas points out that the true derivation is from *polleo.*

Joseph's use of alliteration is moderate: the most striking cases are: i, 284 (5 *p*'s); i, 294 (*f* and *p*); i, 409 ff. (12 *p*'s); i, 453 (*p*); i, 477 f. (*m*); ii, 413 (*v*); ii, 490 (*f*); iv, 50 f. (*c*); iv, 337 (*p*); iv, 388 (*f*); v, 32 (*p*); v, 41 (*v*); v, 486 ff. (*p*); vi, 162 ff. (*c*); vi, 452 (*c*); vi, 663 (5 *m*'s).

But in spite of all his ingenuity Joseph cannot always avoid monotony; this is perhaps chiefly due to his metre, though there are other contributory factors. First comes his excessive use of symmetrical arrangements of words, particularly in triple pairs, either in the form *aaa, bbb,* or *ab, ab, ab.* In fact Joseph's great defect is that he can hardly think of a noun without an adjective, a trick which when twice or thrice symmetrically repeated becomes very wearisome. Attention to Joseph's love of symmetry sometimes helps to a better understanding of the text, e.g. ii, 236 ff. In the Delphin edition this makes nonsense: we should read and punctuate

[1] See M. B. Ogle, Speculum, 1 (1926), 170 ff.

Si gena (= *facies*), si generis auctor, si denique mores
Quaerendi, in curis regnat pudor, a Ioue sanguis,
Censori facies oculo patet: haec mihi (*edd.* haeccine) forma,
Hoc genus, hic mentis cultus.

There is a triple group of three, *abc*, *cba*, *abc*. Compare ii, 208 ff. (here again we can improve the punctuation):

Ocyus exciti, qui casse uel ore uel aure,
Fraude, sono, sensu, ludentes proelia casse
Fallunt, ore cient, uestigant aure.

And vi, 154 f.:

Incendunt, sternunt, perimunt, face carbasa, contis
Arces, ense uiros.

An ingenious case is v, 67 f.:

quos obuia Scylla, secuta
Tellus, et socio fregit Thetis hospita fluctu:

i.e. 'Scylla before, Tellus behind, Thetis accompanying' (this last expressed by both *socio* and *hospita*).

Then comes his excessive love of various tricks of style — strings of words, use of the future participle, ablative absolute, adjectival use of noun in apposition, over-fondness for certain words and types of compound. For instance in the 14½ lines 388–402, eleven have a weak caesura (or none) in the third foot, strong in the second and fourth. In ll. 385–410 there are six ablative absolutes: the word *asper* (*asperrimus*) comes in ll. 392, 397, 401; in l. 404 we get one of his favorite compounds in *de — decaluo* (which occurs in the Vulgate); *iam copia muri* (l. 398) is echoed by *iam copia regni* in l. 439. Among his most overworked words are the Statian words *castigo* ('check'), *fatigo, fatisco, furatur* (*furatus, furtum*), *incesto, iugalis* ('steed'), *libo* (and compounds), *mentior* (*mentitus*), *obliquo, roro* (*roratus*), *sidereus, superbio, titulus* ('glory'), *uerno*. From Lucan he adopts *laxus* (*laxo*), *roto, spargo, uaco, uotum*. Other favorite words are *arduus, fastidio, geminus, nego* with prolative inf., *nuto, peregrino* (met.), *suspendo* (met.), *ausus-ūs*, and *ausum* used as a noun. But of all, the most overworked is *libro;* Statius uses it 13 times in 14 books (excluding the *Siluae*, which Joseph did not know): Joseph in six books has it more than 20 times, often in the most extraordinary uses (also

libramen twice, and *libra*). It is most often used of the poise of the body, e.g. *stabiles libratur in artus* (iv, 74), *gressum libare* (iii, 225, 330), sometimes simply of poising a weapon, sometimes in a metaphorical sense, *rerum librare uices* (iii, 135), *consilii librata fides* (iv, 129)— see VOCABULARY, pp. 72 ff. below.

This brings us to the question of Joseph's borrowings. His familiarity with such Latin poetry as was accessible in his day is astounding; unlike most mediaeval writers, he does not clumsily imitate a limited number of poets studied for the purpose of pilfering: he has mastered the whole corpus. Yet, unlike his contemporaries, he does not as a rule borrow slavishly: what he takes, he has so thoroughly assimilated as to stamp it with his own individuality; we do not get the impression of a cento, although in a sense he owes more to the classics than any of them, for his style is, with all its eccentricities, essentially classical. But he imitates as an equal: what Statius and Claudian are to Virgil and Ovid, that — and neither more nor less — is Joseph to them. His metre, grammar, and vocabulary are essentially Classical; he does but carry further the process of elaboration which marks the whole succession of Latin poetry.

Accordingly it is difficult to apportion his indebtedness. Perhaps he comes nearest to Statius in general treatment; in satirical passages he owes much to Claudian; on moral themes he often comes nearest to Juvenal (who, by the way, often recalls Joseph's style; e.g. *genua incerare deorum*, x, 55; *unum ciuem donare Sibyllae*, iii, 3, are just the sort of phrase Joseph loves); in his inexhaustible ingenuity he was an apt pupil of Ovid; in battle-pieces he chiefly uses Virgil and Statius. But his borrowings are usually too subtly interwoven with his own texture to be readily detached. I have collected a number of parallels — with the help of Dresemius; had my knowledge of later Latin poetry been more thorough, I should no doubt have found many others. I append a list of the most striking:

Book I

Iliadum lacrimas, l. 1 = Juv., x, 261; *bis adactam cladibus urbem*, l. 2: *b. a. legibus Istrum*, St., *Theb.*, i, 19; *ueri sacra fides*, l. 7 = Claud., *Bell. Get.*, l. 553; *mens conscia ueri*, l. 28: cf. *m.c. recti*, *Aen.*, i, 604; *unde ruat*

tabulata struit, i, 38: cf. *t. unde altior esset casus*, Juv., x, 106 (cf. M. R. P. McGuire on Ambr., *Nabuth.*, 4; Claud., *Ruf.*, i, 22 f.); *felix iniuria uoti*, l. 41 = Claud., *IV Cons. Hon.*, l. 618; *deum genitore metu mens caeca creauit*, l. 99: cf. *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*, St., *Theb.*, x, 384 (= Petron., *Epigr.*, 27.1); *omni homini commune solum*, i, 123: cf. *o. h. natale s.*, St., *Theb.*, viii, 320 (*omne s. forti patria est*, Ov., *Fast.*, i, 493); *prudentia, turbae rara comes*, l. 134: cf. *fors, ingentibus ausis r. c.*, St., *Theb.*, x, 384; *procul o procul, ite profani*, l. 181: *p. o. p. este p.*, *Aen.*, vi, 258; *paucosne reseruat ut multos Fortuna premat*, l. 217: cf. *quicquid in altum Fortuna tulit, ruitura leuat*, Sen., *Agam.*, 100; *Fortuna multis parcere in poenam solet*, Pub. Syr.; and nearer still, Caes., *B.G.*, i, 14,4. Cf. other passages in Dresemius' note: *sponte deorum*, l. 222 = St., *Theb.*, v, 136; *uenantes uenata uiros*, l. 247: cf. *uenatrixque metu uenantum territa fugit*, Ov., *Met.*, ii, 492; *i nunc et . . .* i, 270, v, 323: Mayor on Juv., x, 310. Simile of bull, ii, 291 ff.: cf. Lucan, ii, 601 (from Virgil); *amplexus non aspernata minores*, l. 336: cf. *thalamos minores*, St. *Ach.*, l. 90; *latrantibus undis*, l. 361 = Sil. Ital., iii, 471 (which Joseph could not have read); *dux aliis, milesque sibi*, l. 395: cf. *miles in hoc, Libyco dux primus in orbe*, Luc., vii, 223; *thoracisque moras*, l. 429: cf. *loricaeque moras*, *Aen.*, x, 485; *fit fuga*, i, 432, vi, 344, 652 = Ov., *Fast.*, ii, 497; *lucro iactura fuit*, l. 484: cf. *par iactura lucro*, St., *Theb.*, x, 513 and *ex aliena i. lucrum*, Vulg., *Acts*, xxvii, 21 (the idea is quoted five times in the lexx. from the *Digest*).

Book II

Pyliam senectam, l. 73 = Mart., viii, 2, 7; *redimit moras*, ll. 90 f. = St., *Theb.*, vii, 139; *si iusseris, ibunt.*, l. 133: cf. *si i., ibit*, Juv., iii, 78; *sibi commodus uni:* cf. *mihi c. u.* Hor., *Ep.*, i, 9, 9; l. 186 is a quotation of St., *Theb.*, ii, 429; *speciale bonum*, l. 195; cf. Prosper Aquit. in Dresemius' note; *gratissimus error*, l. 222 = Hor., *Ep.*, iii, 2, 140, and *Aen.*, x, 392; *nostrum est quod regnat*, l. 387: *n. e. q. uiuis*, Pers., v, 131; *rara securis*, l. 416 = Hor., *Sat.*, i, 7, 27 (i.e. reward of honesty: Joseph is thinking of Acron's note); *Phyllidas Hysiphilas*, l. 488 = Pers., i, 34; *fatis nulla fides*, l. 575: *fronti n. f.*, Juv., ii, 8; *flos Asiae*, l. 589 = Juv., v, 56.

Book III

totaque thuricremis Panchaia spirat in aris, l. 10: cf. *Georg.*, ii, 139; *Hesione contentus eat*, l. 40 = l. 195; *mater secunda*, l. 206 = *matertera:* cf. Paulus, p. 121, Lindsay, *matertera quasi mater altera; falcatur in arcus*, l. 213: *falcatus in a.*, Ov., *Met.*, ii, 229 and *Her.* ii, 131; *praeceps it fama per urbes*, l. 218; cf. *Aen.*, iv, 173; *non dabit illa manus*, l. 250 = Claud., *in Eutrop.*, i, 367; *Cicero . . . non opus est ubi fantur opes*, l. 251 f.: cf. proverb '*nummus ubi loquitur Tullius ipse tacet*,' or *Brunellus: munera cum clamant*

caetera quaeque tacent (p. 101, l. 15 up, ed. Wright), or as the *Planctus Nat.* has it (p. 488), *ubi nummus loquitur Tulliani eloquii tuba raucescit,* also *Carm. Burana,* xix, 9 f., *ubi nummus loquitur et lex omnis tacet; tendentemque manus et laeta fronte uocantem,* l. 283: *pandentemque sinus et tota ueste uocantem, Aen.,* viii, 712; *aerium suspendit iter,* l. 347: *a. sibi portat iter,* St., *Theb.,* x, 842; *decoctius audet,* l. 433: *d. audis,* Pers., i, 125.

Book IV

plenis fibris, l. 205: *tumidae fibrae,* Claud., *IV Cons. Hon.,* 247 (a similar passage); l. 219: cf. St., *Ach.,* ii, 196; *Balearicus augur,* l. 231, from false reading of St., *Ach.,* ii, 419 '*tortae Balearicus actor habenae*' (cf. *Balearis tortor habenae,* Luc., iii, 710 — see on v, 311); *nimborum pincerna Notus,* l. 295: cf. *Anticlaud.,* p. 338; l. 12, ed. Wright, *Auster pluuiae p.;* Vulg., *Psalm,* cxxxiv, 7 (ταμίαν νότου, *Job,* ix, 9, is not represented in the Vulg.); *agnoscens ueteris uestigia cursus,* l. 331: *agnosco u. u. flammae, Aen.,* iv, 23; *Et responsuris inuitant uocibus Echo,* l. 517: *et r. ferit aera u. Amen,* Paul. Pell. (see Dresemius).

Book V

numine laesa, l. 61: *n. laeso, Aen.,* i, 8 (did Joseph read *laesa ?*); *et pietas et clara fides,* l. 64: *heu p. heu prisca f., Aen.,* vi., 819; *bibit unda cruorem,* l. 179: *b. acta cruorem, Aen.,* ii, 804; *reliquisque superbior umbris,* l. 191: *aliisque iactantior umbris,* St., *Theb.,* ix, 559; *deos in uota fatigat,* l. 199: *superosque in u. f.,* St., *Theb.,* ii, 244; *formidabile frendens,* l. 206: *f. ridens,* St., *Theb.,* viii, 582; *contorquet plenum galea caput,* l. 253: *galeas rotat plenas,* St., *Theb.,* viii, 700; *tortoris Iberi,* l. 311: *Balearis tortor habenae,* Luc., iii,710; *Iouis igne citatius,* l. 328 = St., *Theb.,* i, 92; *si septem forte fuissent,* l. 417 = Juv., vi, 642; *rorantes sanguine ramos,* l. 432 = St., *Theb.,* ix, 597; *omnia certa timet,* l. 443: *o. tuta timens, Aen.,* iv, 298; *quam tenui nutant mortalia filo,* 511: *omnia sunt hominum t. pendentia filo,* Ov., *Pont.,* iv, 3, 35; *Fortunae munera . . . insidias,* l. 512 = Sen., *Ep.,* viii, 3.

Book VI

nil refert quis, ubi, quando, sed qualiter et quid factum, l. 33: (on *facti ratio*) *refert quis, cui, quando, quae, ubi,* Sen., *Ben.,* ii, 16; *medius descrescit ager,* l. 43: *medium decrescere campum,* St., *Theb.,* viii, 397 (*in spatium iam crescit ager,* l. 638 below); *litis litui testes,* l. 167: derivation from Paulus, p. 103, Lindsay; *portae maritat* ('fastens'), l. 367: *ferrumque maritat aura tenax,* Claud., *Id.,* vi, 38; *temone iugales,* l. 320 = Claud. *Cons. Prob. et Ol.,* l. 4; *unica Phoenix,* l. 382 = Lact. *Phoenix,* l. 31 (*Carm. Bur.* 33. 4, 96.3, H. Sept., 155, *Delic. Cleri,* 747); *mille licet mortes hinc inde fatigant,* l. 448: *mille modis leti miseros mors una f.,* St., *Theb.,* ix, 280; l. 449 'no room for

more wounds' spoils an excellent passage, yet is the one line for which Joseph had the fullest classic authority. The idea occurs Ov., *Met.*, iii, 237, vi, 388, xv, 529; *Pont.*, ii, 7, 41, iv, 16, 52, *Ibis*, l. 344 (where these parallels show Ellis is wrong and the Scholiast right), Luc., ii, 177, ix, 814 (cf. ix, 769), St., *Theb.*, v, 598, Sil. Ital., x, 513, Claud., *Ruf.*, ii, 415, Chaucer, *Troil.*, i, 713 f. (where a gloss refers to Ovid), Eurip., *Her. Fur.*, l. 1250 (many of these examples from Dresemius); *Te, Delos . . . te Bacchica Naxos, raderet*, l. 484: *raditur Lemnos*, St., *Ach.*, ii, 3, and *B. Naxos, ibid.*, ii, 4; *breuior manus*, etc., l. 610: cf. St., *Ach.*, ii, 205. On l. 760, *nox fera*, etc., see Speculum, iii (1928), 351 n.

IV. The Text

The text of Joseph is as pure as that of most contemporary poets, though his extreme boldness makes emendation uncertain: for instance, nobody would suspect that the vulgate of i, 125: *phariscat*, concealed the bold coinage *phariseat* ('separates,' from *pharisaeus*), as we know from the Paris MS. that it does.[1] We can judge of the merits of this MS. (*saec. xiii*, referred to as *P.*— it leaves off early in Bk v) from Jusserand's reprint (*op. cit.*) of Bk i. It is certainly better than the unknown MSS used by the older editors, but is already full of corruptions; for instance it is clearly wrong in ll. 270, 313, 446, 477, 481 (apart from mere slips). Its value is enhanced by the commentary it contains (referred to as Σ). This, like other commentaries in MSS of mediaeval poetry, is rather a puzzle. We know that mediaeval authors who prided themselves on their obscurity or cleverness, glossed their own MSS — e.g. the vain Liutprand and the enigmatic Abbo (author of the *Bellum Parisiacum*). Possibly the custom was fairly common. In the case of Chaucer, certain MSS of *Troilus* (see Root on v, 799, and *art. cit.*) quote in the margin the passages of Joseph imitated — with the very corruptions read by Chaucer in his copy (e.g. *Calydonius heres* for *heros*, Jos., iv, 349). I feel confident that the information came originally from Chaucer himself. (The same applies to some glosses on the *Nun's Priest's Tale* — see K. Sisam's notes to his edition, p. 59 *ad fin*, Oxford, 1927.) On the other hand neither the Chaucer glosses nor those on Joseph are always right: I conclude that the nucleus proceeded from the

[1] *Pharisaeus* (adj.), 'separate', occurs in *Carm. Bur.*, 173a, 2.

author, and was expanded by commentators with varying degrees of knowledge. An instructive case is *Troilus*, i, 713, which is glossed *quaere in Ouidio* — the reference to Ovid would be Chaucer's, but the scribe could not find it: see on vi, 449, pp. 68, 69 above. Certainly the information in Σ is often of such a nature that it could only have emanated from Joseph himself — e.g. on *phariseat* (p. 69 above). Sometimes it is right when the text is wrong, e.g. ll. 478, 495; at other times it is itself wrong, e.g. on ll. 39 (a mere slip), 88, 94 f., but on the whole it is better evidence than the actual text. The other MSS which appear to be known are one in the Bodleian and one in the Chapter Library at Westminster Abbey. Probably a collation of the three MSS would settle most of the difficulties with which the text abounds. I have, thanks to the skilled help of Miss E. G. Parker of Oxford, ascertained the reading of the Bodleian MS. (*Digby 157*, here called *B*) in some 150 places where I suspected the vulgate.[1]

B supports the Paris MS. in Book i, ll. 11, 38, 44 (*sacerdos*), 68, 80, 92, 95, 105, 125, 197, 228, 248, 257, 268, 365, 375, 397, 438, 453, 471, 477.

It supports the editions against the Paris MS. in Bk. i, 23a (*maronem*), 32f–g (same as Delphin ed., p. 640), 167, 174, 201, 266, 313, 446.

In i, 495, it has *indulsit* with Σ.

It supports Dresemius' conjectures in iii, 36; vi, 246; vi, 554; vi, 558; vi, 885.

It supports my own conjectures in the cases specified below.

It offers the following new readings: ii, 121, *dampnatis;* 162, *producte;* 282, *in uultum facie* (for *in florem cultu);* 415, *superbum;* 579, *nutricibus.* iii, 130, *armata decurre manu;* 150, *iugo* (for *neci);* 293, *o* for *non;* 342, *dux augure;* 360, *spectanti;* 370, *facie.* iv, 116 *uox teneris . . . locis;* 146, *ceu russa iacens;* 157, *aspectum* (so Westminster MS.); 158, *flauicies* (so Root); 192, *arcus;* 212 f., *at dephica missus fata exoratum;* 348, *sepulti.* v, 89 (supports *v. l.*); 110, *augentibus ipsis;* 292, *et . . . ueniunt;* after 530, five lines (Jusserand, *op. cit.*, p. 96). vi, 556, *uigilantibus;* 557, *mento;* 819, *famulate;* 895, *ternusium.*

[1] The MS. is well written on parchment in small folio, and assigned in W. D. Macray's catalogue of the Digby MSS to the *twelfth* century. It contains: (1) Bernardus Silvestris *de Creatione;* (2) Architrenius; (3) Poema *de Bello Troiano* ex Darete Phrygio. Miss Parker writes, 'No. 3 is written in very small neat hand, rubric notes in margin occasionally, e.g. *Oratio Veneris.* I see only one gloss, *uel sceptri* (to i, 225, *quam regni iactura mei*), written perhaps in the same hand but darker ink.' It contains the whole poem.

In some 60 other places examined it offered nothing new. It will be seen that *B* agrees fairly closely with *P;* in fact in Bk i, where we know the readings of *P*, it offers no new reading of any importance. It is to be feared that both *P* and *B* are by no means free from serious corruption. I conclude with a number of conjectures, on passages where no recorded reading seems satisfactory:

Book I

ll. 42 f., I think the vulgate is right, with *litata* (*P*) for *litatam;* translate: 'into whose charge that kind father and lofty pinnacle of the church [Becket] would wish to come all he gained by his noble martyrdom and the peace he brought by the sacifice of his life'; l. 73, *contenta: contempta?*, a constant confusion in MSS; l. 83, *stat dubius nouus hospes aqua* (*aquae, P*): perhaps *dubiae . . . aquae*, with Joseph's favorite rhyme; l. 201, *Cerauneis: Therapneis* (= Castor and Pollux, as in Statius); l. 380, *dicamne uiros?* is a parenthesis: delete query after *pudet;* l. 299, *aure: ore* (*consilio*, Σ); l. 377: punctuate, *Danaos: quae iam mora, segnes?*; l. 380, *traxere: cinxere* (*enixere B*); l. 387 read *inhospita.* (so *B*); l. 450, *effractis: effractam;* cf. l. 410 (so *B*); ll. 478 f., read *contempta*, i.e. *contenta*, and *senum* (so *B*): *see* Σ: l. 502, *nec . . . nec: nunc . . . nunc* (so *B*); l. 513, *canicolam; canticolam*, 'song-lover'? (*cancic. P, cancric.* Root, '*feruentem,*' Σ — implying *cānĭculam? cancicolā* [sic!] *B*); l. 526, *alterius: alternis;* l. 535, *naualia: muralia?*

Book II

l. 10, *fuit; fui* (so *B*); l. 94, *syrtis* (musical instrument): *sistris* (so *B*); l. 104, *docilis: dociles?*; l. 174, *uel omni: uolenti.*, l. 178, *cum leuis ascensu: tum l. assensu* (*assensu B*); l. 250, *ausus: ausit?;* l. 338, *haeccine forma: haec mihi f.* (no question); l. 394, *tractat: tractet* (a dependent question); l. 459 *positura: passura;* l. 535, *seuerum: fidelem?* or better, *serenum* (hardly *senilem*, = *anilem*, of the nurse Beroe); in l. 536, the query should come after *quid*, l. 588, *aspera: pocula?*

Book III

l. 51, *augustat: angustat?* 'reduces, constrains, to practical utility' (so *B*); l. 52, *praemensa futuri* seems impossible, in spite of *mensa futurum* in 75: *praesaga?;* l. 139, *facilis: faciles;* l. 151, read *reddite fatidicos, uictores ensibus, enses* ('ignore baleful prophecies'); l. 156, *proficit: profuit;* l. 207, *celebrem: celebris?* (see on style, above); l. 208, *uocabat: uacabat;* l. 230, *actus in armos: auctus* (so *B*), cf. iv, 43, 65; ll. 248 ff., delete comma after *stipatrix* and put colon after *inuidet*, 'grudges him the chance of asking'; l. 293, *non: nunc;* l. 303 *stridere: sordere* (?)

Book IV

l. 29, *certant: certat;* l. 66, *acie: facie;* l. 106, *iudice: uindice*, cf. 169 and see examples of style (so *B*); l. 129, *dandi: fandi;* l. 158, *planities* is probably sound, cf. *Planct. Nat.*, p. 432, Wright, *p. frontis* and *p. menti*, *Anticl.*, *ibid.*, p. 283, *p. menti;*[1] l. 199, *ac teneri scintillat: at* (so *B*) . . . *titillat* ('her anger was mild, but her love passionate'); ll. 212 ff., corrupt: for *ad*, perhaps *ac;* for *missum, missi? refugas, refugum* ('unwilling')?; l. 393, *fluit: furit* (*fuit B*); l. 395: full stop at end: delete colon in 396; l. 506, *uincet: uincent* (so *B*); l. 514, *lugens: ingens.*

Book V

l. 57: read *et precibus mens tarda negat; quin, aspera rerum* (*et* = 'also': *negat* = 'refuses to obey'?); l. 76, *et: at* (or semicolon after *erit*); l. 81, semicolon after *age:* delete comma at end; l. 110, see above, p. 58; l. 287, *bellis: belli;* l. 292, *et: ut;* l. 341, *mutat: motat?*; l. 372, *uiscera lapsa:* apparently *uiscere lapso;* l. 422, *bellis: stellis* (so *B*); l. 427, *passusne metus: pressoque metu?*

Book VI

l. 8, *at: ac;* l. 11, *non: sed* (*non* from previous lines)?; l. 97, *praerepta: praecepta* (so *B*); l. 174, *cum: dum;* l. 254, *hinc: huic* (*B*'s reading might be either); l. 279, *profundo: -a;* l. 688, *sic: si;* l. 769: punctuate *incurrit fatum fati fuga: sola* . . .; l. 771: delete comma: *passis* depends on *fas*(*est*) and dash after *dolores* — the next line is in apposition; l. 836, *pars: Paris* (so *B*); l. 861 *uulgo: uulgi;* l. 895, *Cernusium: Chersonĕsum* (cf. Dares, 43): Joseph could not know the quantity.

V. VOCABULARY

The following list contains the words which seem to me most striking and characteristic in Joseph; naturally it is only a selection, but I hope it is representative and omits nothing of real importance: for a real index of Latinity every line would have to be quoted at least once, often twice or three times. It will be seen that it is a fair length for a poem half the length of the *Aeneid*. The references to classical authors help to show Joseph's indebtedness, but in a few cases I could only exemplify a word from an author unknown to Joseph, e.g. Silius.

[1] *mentis* in Wright. The original is no doubt Sidon., *Ep.*, i, 2. 2, *p. frontis.*

A dagger (†) prefixed to a word shows it does not occur in the dictionaries based on Forcellini — at least in anything like the required sense. (This does not include metaphorical uses, which in Joseph are endless.)

NOUNS

angustia i, 162
apex rerum = *Deus* ii, 40
Argolidae v, 386
arteria ('throat') ii, 96
†articuli ('limbs') iv, 95
arx capitis vi, 584 (Stat.)
astus vi, 309 (Sen. Sil. Prud.)
ausus, -ūs i, 290 (ii, 250?), v, 53, 60, 69, 233, 244, vi, 693, etc. (v. rare)

baiula lethi (Minerva with Gorgon) ii, 253

causa ('pretext') vi, 704 (unclass. use)
cella secunda (*of brain*) vi, 255: cf. *thalamus*
†choraules ('conductor'?) ii, 102
consultus, -ūs = *consilium* (doubtful form and meaning in Class. Lat.)
cura tridentis Neptune, ii, 426; cf. *cura harae* (Eumaeus) Ov. *Her.* i, 104.

deitas ii, 542 (Prud.)
deliciae *lethi* 'fastidious choice' i, 991 (cf. Juv., x, 291)
deploratus vi, 402 (perhaps a verb)
dies ('daily bread'?) iv, 507 (cf. the M.A. use of *diaeta*, Speculum, iii (1928), 367)
dispendia Asiae ('wide Asia') iv, 20; d. noctis v, 38 (*d. siluae*, Luc.)
†distitium v, 230
dos *abs.* ('talent') ii, 98

euenta ('the past') iii, 144
exul *as adj.* ii, 430; exul bellum ('war banished from mind') vi, 863

famulatrix fama i, 248 (Sidon.)
†fauillae ('flames') vi, 838
†fauus ('sweetness') i, 464 (v. often in M.A.)
†fides mira ('a wonder') v, 99
†fimbria ('ornament') (*pauonis*) iv, 96 (cf. Speculum, iii (1928), 368)
foetura ('offspring') vi, 841 (Ov.)
†frons ('leaf of book' ?) ii, 401

genae ('eyes') vi, 820, 834: cf. *diesco.* (Ov.): (face) ii, 236; iv, 137
†in gyrum ii, 456

hiatus mortales (*greed*) i, 56
hyems, *met.* = *misfortune*, v, 60 (v. often in M. A.)

†iuga crurum v, 264

†lanugo (*of laurel*) vi, 408
Latonigenae iii, 258 (Ov.)
leno *oculus* iii, 244 (i.q. *adulter*) iii, 309 (cf. Speculum, iii, (1928), 369)
libra ('judgment') ii, 241
libramen (*met.*) i, 341, iv, 190 (Claud. Mamert.)
†liuor ('pride') iv, 137

maculae *of helmet* (?) v, 165
manus suprema ('final task') v, 477. m. campestris ('battle on plain') vi, 565

†necesse *as noun* iii, 14, vi, 257
nutrix *opera* ('providing daily bread') iii, 351

obsequium *corporis* ('pliancy') vi, 907 (Ov.)

pecten ferratum ('portcullis') i, 482
peplus fraxineus ('banner on ash-pole') vi, 583
pietas (Dares' *misericors*) iv, 162, iv, 217: cf. *pius.* (Suet.)
pincerna Notorum iv, 295, v. imitations. (late prose)
†plausus ('dancing') i, 504 (Σ) ii, 79 (93?)
praeceptrix tuba vi, 166
praedatrix i, 94 (these words in *-tor, -trix* are characteristic of Prudentius)
proreta i, 191 (Plaut. Gloss.)
pudor ('thing to be ashamed of'?) ii, 192
†pyralia ('chimneys') (*camini* Σ) i, 499
†pyropus (*ornament of armor*) v, 189

repetitor iii, 115 (Ov.)
respiramen ('respite') i, 530 ('windpipe' in Ov.)
rupes: non (laesit) rupibus aurum ('did not insult the gold with precious stones'?) i, 82

†scansilia ('stirrups') vi, 262 (Dresemius has an interesting note on the neo-Latin words for *stirrup*)
†sigillum ('epitaph') iv, 488
sititor belli iii, 65 (Apul.)
stipatrix turba iii, 249
†strata ('pavement') *neut. pl.* vi, 176
†stylus ('spear') vi, 342
sylvae trabalis robur (a spear) v, 208

teliger = Cupid ii, 421 (Sen., Trag.)
tempestas uulgi (= *popularis aura*) iv, 29
†tenor Libycus (*Syrtes*) iii, 294
thalami uitales iv, 194 (Speculum, iii (1928), 371, and *Planct. Nat.*, ed. Wright, ii, 453)
tractus ('length') iv, 187
tuba Nestoris (voice) i, 136

ultrix ('claimant') ii, 429 (analogy of *uindico, uendico*?)
umbo Maleae iii, 412 (= St., *Ach.*, i, 408), v, 313
†umbramen i, 429
†uespera (*of morning twilight*) v, 99
uestigia ('feet') vi, 619; cf. *Aen.*, v, 566

VERBS

adgemo *with dat.* vi, 374 (Stat.)
admissi (*equi*) vi, 639
aggerare iram v, 498 (Stat.)
alternant caedes v, 355
augusto iii, 51 (Stat.)
aspero iv, 396; vi, 489; a. cachinnum v, 144 (not in class. verse)
augesco iv, 165

candesco iv, 183, 454 (Ov.— rare)
canesco mente i, 19. See SPECULUM, III (1928), 366; add Liutprand, *Ant.* i, 44, Greg. Nys., *Enc. Bas.*, 1, ἤθεσι πολιός; *Architr.* ix, 200 (p. 384)
†causor ('blame') i, 211
clareo iii, 366
concido *with dat.* 'fall with' v, 473
coniecto ('guess'?) v, 397
corono ('surround') vi, 436: see on Style. (cf. *suspendo*)
crudesco ('be [grow] cruel') ii, 264, vi, 607, 643 (Virg.)

decaluo i, 404 (Vulg.)
dedisco i, 278
†defoedero ii, 436
deferueo i, 213 (Vulg.)
†degladiatus vi, 649
delambo ii, 256
†delinita (deflorata Σ) i, 150. *linio* = 'smear,' 'defile,' in Med. Lat. So *Brun.*, p. 129; cf. Joh. Monach., ed. Huber, p. 48. *Salomon et Marcolfus*, ed. Benary (Gloss.). *Linio, -onis* = *sordes*, Ad. Vien., 104
†demensus ('disproportioned' ?) iv, 144
deplango iv, 493 (Ov.)
†depotuisse, opposite of *potuisse* i, 281
dequestus i, 291 (Stat. — only in part.)
despumo iv, 288 (Luc.)
detersus ('clear' of sky): iv, 311, v, 384, 6, 854
†detitulo ('deprive of glory') ii, 349
†diescit toto ore ii, 608; cf. *genarum dies* ='eye' v, 369: (*Ant.* I. 160, and pp. 342, 345, ed. Wright: *Architren.: ad fin.* — with *noctesco*)
diffibulo (*met.*) v, 131. *lit.* in Stat., *met.* often in *Anticl.; Architr.* ix, ch. 11; cf. SPECULUM, III (1928), 373
dignor ('honour') *abs.* i, 529
discrimino ('separate') (*lit.*) vi, 192

effemino (*met.*) vi, 610
emasculo (*met.*) ii, 441 (*lit.* in Apul.)
emereor = *mereor*, i, 518, ii, 539; *with inf.* ii, 483 (as Ov., *A.A.*, iii, 410)
†emungi (*minui* Σ) i, 244 (cf. *Alda*, 415)
erigo ictum ('rise to strike') vi, 643
exarmatus vi, 324 (Luc. etc.)
exeo *with acc.* vi, 782 (Virg.)
†extenebro i, 303 (had Joseph somewhere misread *exterebro*?)
†exurens nuntius aures vi, 539

facit ad 'supports' v, 16
†falcatur in arcus iii, 213 (*falcatus* Ov.). Joseph often coins verbs from adjs. in *-atus;* see below.
fallenda senectus 'disguised,' opposite of *fingenda*, ii, 546
†fastidio = *fastidio afficio* i, 89, 198, 225; cf. *fastiditior.*
fatigat cibos ('won't eat')ii, 154
faxo *with subj.* vi, 295
febricitent vultus vi, 82
flauesco iv, 164
furor ('conceal' *body by dress*) v, 33 (Sen.); furatur uox blaesa sonos iv, 52

generat uoces ('gives derivation') ii, 400 (= *euoluit nomina, ibid.*)
gemisco vi, 678 (Claud.)
germinat in sensum ('comes into thoughts') vi, 770

hilaro i, 250 (Cic. Ov.)

ignescere (*of eyes*) iv, 397
impingo (equos) v, 244, 333 (Statian word)
†impraegnare vela i, 107
†incendit decor aliquem ('glorifies') iv, 79
infamo vi, 269
inserpit Atropos (*death*) labris iv, 440 (Stat.)
insignio iii, 168 (Virg.)
instrepo iii, 439 (Virg.)
integro i, 476, v, 52 (Virg.; oft. in Stat.)
interfatur ii, 186 (Virg.)
interiaceo vi, 680 (Claud.)
interuenio vi, 232
inuergo iii, 445 (Virg.)

laborat in cumulum apex i, 537
laxatur in pectus ('broadens out in the chest') iv, 110
libro i, 298, 385 (*v. l.*); ii, 124, 241, 581, 584; iii, 135, 225, 230; iv, 49, 74, 94, 129, 156, 196, 315; v, 2, 31, 172, 355, 406, 501; vi, 907
liuesco ii, 463, iv, 152 (St., *Th.*, iv, 58)

magistro ('teach') iv, 332 (*magistero* in Festus)
†medians *with dat.* ('intervening') i, 505
medicatus murus i, 477
mergo ('spoil,' 'ruin') iv, 148, 201, 206

†negauit furta ('refused [to win by] guile') v, 11; vi, 716. negat uicisse ('refuses') v, 22
†neutrata genas mixto nitore iii, 361 is explained by *Poet. Noua*, 572, *neutro colore*

obliquo dolos iv, 123; cachinnos vi, 963; ('insinuate') v, 289; ('look askance at') *with acc.* iv, 138. v, 219 (Statian word)
obuio iii, 437 (Jerome)
opimo iv, 117 (Auson.)

†pennifico v, 203 (see on STYLE)
†peregrino, *met. of anything strange* (*for deponent*) i, 73, 239 (526); cf. Henr. Sept. iii, 70, *Anticlaud.* i, 25
†perturbat equo = *deturbat*, vi, 299
†phalero iii, 394, iv, 102
†phariseo i, 125 (Σ)
plano vi, 384 (Corip.)
†plebesco vi, 348 (*Anticl.* i, 118, 165)
praecipio ('anticipate') vi, 655
praeradio iii, 170

†praeresero iv, 69
praetego ('hide') vi, 218 (late prose)
praeuelo iii, 162 (Claud.)

quadratur in artus (Dares' *quadratus*) iv, 125

raresco iii, 340
rigesco iv, 440
roboro v, 53 (Cic.)
rorantia tabo ii, 495: rorant clypei vi, 2

†sancio ('reconcile') ii, 540
sedet ('it is settled'), *with inf.* iv, 348
socio, *intr.* v, 180
soporo iv, 520
spargo (*of Fame*) i, 51, 111, 300
spatior (*of sailing*) iv, 324
stagno v, 374 (Ov.)
succingo ('make small') iv, 187 (*see the passage quoted* p. 56)
summitto ('press down' ?) ii, 219
superbio *with inf.* ('scorn to') vi, 268, 489 etc.
suspendit aquas (*of river*) i, 165; cf. i, 156, 523: s.iter i, 521, iii, 347 (cf. 356), iv, 189; s. ceruice genas ('*face*') iv, 137; medium suspendunt (= *habent*) Hectora v, 407; vi, 176
tepeo ('am hot') iv, 393; ('am cool') iv, 204 (see SPECULUM, III (1928), 376)
tinnio (of bird) vi, 306 (Calp.)

ululatum 'uale' iv, 494
unio iv, 270 (Sen., *Trag.*)
†uro aera clangoribus iv, 334
uerno (*artubus*) iv, 113; cf. 132, 453, etc. (Ov.)

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

adultera funera ('of adulterer') vi, 526
†adultae lacrymae ('big') i, 473; excessus 3, 238
alipedes (*of horses*) v, 338 (8 times in Stat.)
anhela litora; (?); iv, 521
ardua pingi gloria iv, 79; a. in fastum iv,144
astrifer i, 530 (Stat.)
†astriuagus vi, 115
auctius (*adv.*) iv, 85 (Hor.)
†auricomum uellus i, 185

castigatius (*adv.*) iv, 198 (adj. in Aug.)
cerea oscula (*of the dead*) vi 199
citatius (*adv.*) v, 328 (adj. in use)
complutus (*met.*) i, 471, ii, 76, iii, 246 (Jerome in lit. sense: *Anticl.* praef. 8, and often, in the metaphorical)
coniugus ii, 339, iii, 278 (Apul.)
consonus ('consenting to') vi, 711
contractior v, 104 (Cic. etc.)
cornipedes (*of horses*) vi, 176, 640 (often in Claud.)
crinalis aurum iv, 178 (Ov.)
†cunalis Mars ('fight in cradle') i, 263; honos ('noble cradle') iv, 463

dapsilis i, 257 (rare in class. period)
decoctior iii, 433 (Pers.i, 125)
discretus = *diuersus* i, 251, iv, 32
discinctus ('affable') iv, 116
dissutus (*met.*) vi, 816 (the word is in Jerome)

†elinguis nidus ('silent') iii, 431; cf. iv. 41

†falsigraphus ii, 485 (in Aegid. Corb., i, 80, of the corruption of a MS.)
fastiditior ('more fastidious') i, 77
fossor ictus vi, 561
fractus ('aged') iii, 19
fusus (*of limbs*) 'mighty' iv, 99, 116

genialis ('abundant' ?) iv, 104 (Plin.)
†glandifluus (*of sling*) vi, 225

†herilis = *superbus* iv, 97, 156
hospita, *neut. pl.* ('home') vi, 573
humilis manus ('feeble') v, 497

impatiens *with inf.*,= *non patiens* v, 446 (Claud.)
Inachus (*Greek*) v, 388 (Stat.)
inausus ('undared') iv, 135 (Virg.)
†indecoctus iii, 131 (v. *decoctior*)
†inexpletus ('incomplete') iv, 180, v, 149
inexplicitus ('concealed') i, 210. (Stat.)
infraènus v, 333 (once in Virg.)
inoffensus iii, 89
intensior v, 41 (Sen.); -ius v, 98 (only Fronto)
interflua labes ('intervening') iv, 191 (the word is in Pliny)
iaculabilis hasta vi, 227, 501 (Ov.)
iunctissimus ('very close') v, 430 (not used in local sense)
Iunonior i, 268 (v. SPECULUM, III (1928), 359; add *Carm. Bur.*, ii, 5, 8)

latrantes undae (Scylla) i, 361 (Silius)
liquidus Iuppiter = *Neptune* i, 286
longum = *diu* i, 313, iii, 365, vi, 540: longa (*n.pl.*) vi, 631
†luctificus vi, 370
lunatum robur (*horns*) i, 292

minax *with prolative inf.* iv, 136
mollius meminit ('worse memory') ii, 402
†monstriparus i, 414
mortalis rogus vi, 465
myrtea coma iv, 111

nudos hiatus ('toothless') v, 435
numerosus Proteus (= *varius*) ii, 444

obtrusus ('obstructed') iv, 450 (Prud.)
†occiduum lumen ('downcast eyes') iv, 56; coma vi, 228
†omnificus (*παναῦργος*) i, 52, ii, 435

†pius ('kind') ii, 418, 461 (*v. pietas*)
plena presagia ('fulfilled') iii, 159
pomposus ii, 487 (Sidon.)
populoso pignore ('many children') ii, 1
†proclivius ('lower') i, 511

productior vi, 777 (Colum., Prosp. Aquit.)
progressior iii, 168; progressus = *procerus* iv, 142 (Tert.)
proiectior aluus iv, 139
†prona *abs.*, (*of mind* 'grovelling') i, 324
†pugil v, 321, vi, 492, 688
putris nubes ('cloud of dust') vi, 217
†pygmaeus ('small') i, 538

remeabilis ('returning') vi, 536 (Stat.)
retro datus ('falling back') v, 491
riguus v, 377 (Virg.)
†rorificus vi, 853

†seductius = *remotius* ii, 212
separ (*abl.* separe) vi, 466 (as Stat., *Th.*, iv, 481)
sequestra pax iv, 351
specialis iv, 91
spirans uulnus = *spirantis* v, 474
succinctum caput ('small') iv, 51; sura iv, 77
surda manus ('not obeying') vi, 510 (cf. Stat., *Th.*, ix, 864)

teliger (*Cupid*) ii, 421
thuricremus iii, 10
tricuspis vi, 264 (Ov.)
trisulcus (*igne trisulco*) iv, 382 (Festus, p. 480, Lindsay)

uenialis v, 60 (Macr. Sidon.)
†uentripotens ii, 80

Wyggeston Boys' School,
Leicester, England

MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Research Associate in Archaeology of the Mediaeval Academy of America

V

The Date of the Ambulatory Capitals

THE technical studies carried on in connection with the Academy's excavations at Cluny in the summer of 1929 brought forth one conclusion of very great interest, which permits a final pronouncement on one of the most hotly debated questions in the history of mediaeval sculpture. The eight beautiful limestone capitals from the apse of the abbey church, now preserved in the local Museum at Cluny, were taken down from their shafts in order to be copied in plaster and photographed. While they were on the floor and thus accessible to close study, the writer observed that the sculpture of the sides of five of the capitals is carried over the upper edge and onto the top of the block for a short distance. This peculiarity would be of little importance but for the fact that such capitals in Burgundian Romanesque architecture invariably carried an overhanging moulded impost block, the dimensions of which were fixed by the outer angles of the capital. It follows that none of the upper surface of the capital was accessible to the sculptor's chisel after the impost block was set, and therefore that the great capitals were carved before the block was put into place. Messrs Porter, Oursel, and other archaeologists, including the present writer, had long believed this to be the case, without the categorical proof which is now in hand. The writer observed other capitals still *in situ* on the building which could not have been carved after they had been put into place: two on the minor portal which once connected the nave with the cloister, several in the Chapel of St Gabriel in the square tower of the transept, and a number in the transept itself, including one at the east on the exterior which strongly resembles one of the ambulatory capitals (Speculum, iv (1928), 25; *Bulletin Monumental*, lxxxvii (1928),

55 ff.). The certainty that the great capitals were carved at the time of setting completes the proof that this procedure was the one followed at Cluny, and it puts a great burden of proof on all who do not believe that the capitals were carved before 1095, when the sanctuary of the church was in condition to be dedicated by Pope Urban II.

All archaeologists must, in the light of the new observation, admit that the carvings date from shortly after 1088, when the church was begun, or shortly after a fall of vaulting in 1125, which, according to some writers, caused a far-reaching restoration, but before 1130 or 1131, the date of the definitive consecration of the church by Innocent II. Only these two dates are possible.

For the stone blocks from which the capitals were carved the proof is already complete, because all of the upper and lower surfaces are worked with vigorous strokes of the hatchet in the eleventh-century manner found in the oldest parts of the building, and already modified when the façade was built early in the twelfth century, as the excavations of 1929 have shown. If, therefore, the carving was done after 1125, it was upon blocks prepared a generation earlier, which is in itself unlikely.

We now know much more about the construction of the church than formerly, owing to the intensive study in connection with the excavations, and it is therefore possible to comment with much precision on the series of texts which give us our information about the building.[1] The texts come at short intervals and give a satisfactory account of the progress of the building. They prove that the disaster of 1125 cannot be magnified into an occasion for a general reconstruction, and therefore that the date 1125 for the capitals is inadmissible.

I. 1049. The Election of St Hugh

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1049. Sanctissimus et clementis[simus] Pater Odilo, Siluiniaci degens, uigila Circuncisionis Domini, mortalis uitae adeptus est finem. Quem locum praecessoris sui S. Mayoli insignem cor-

[1] The punctuation and capitalization are modernized; the modern use of *i* and *u* for *i*, *u*, *j*, *v* is adopted here.

pore, ipse etiam nobilitat proprii corporis tumulatione. . . . Pater Hugo electus. — M. Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (Paris, 1614), col. 1621; from the *Chronologia.*

St Hugh of Semur was twenty-five at this time; nearly sixty-five when the great church was undertaken (late in the year 1088), and eighty-five when he died.

II. About 1080. Letter of Alfonso VI to St Hugh

De cetero uero sciatis me ad presens in pacificandis Yspanie urbibus ualde adtentum esse, que postquam, quod, Deo annuente, in proximo futurum est, mihi adcline fuerint, ecclesie quam edificatis auxilium faciam et uoluntati uestre summopere adquiescam. Nunc uero per domnum Siguinum, uirum omni ueneracione dignissimum, decem milia talentorum uobis transmitto. De Nazara uero, illud quod domnus archiepiscopus precipiet et auctoritas domni pape confirmabit stabilitum erit. Orate pro me, pater et sanctissimum gregem uestrum, ut pro me oret, commonere facite. Domno uere Siguino de his que uobis de mea parte dicet, tamquam mihi si presens adessem, credite. — A. Bernard and A. Bruel, *Recueil de Chartes* (Paris, 1888) iv, 697.

This letter is important because it seems to give the financial basis of the church, and to show that its construction was under consideration for some time before 1088. It is fair to state that the Chapel of Notre-Dame de l'Infirmerie, dedicated at some time between 1078 and 1088, may be intended; or both may have been understood. The vast enterprise of studying the plans of the great church, the preparation of the site, the acquisition of quarries, the arrangements for transport (the quarries were two or three miles distant and the ambulatory columns were brought from Rome), for excavation (the foundations were carried to gravel, at fourteen feet), for the various shops, for the shelter of the crew, for the timber and machinery needed, could easily absorb several years.

III. 1088. The 'Foundation' of the Church

Anno 1088. Fundatio huius Basilicae 2. Calend. Octobris. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis,* col. 1621; from the *Chronologia.*

This may apply to the beginning of the construction, or to a cornerstone ceremony of which we have no knowledge.

IV. 1090. Revenue for the Work

Quia uero placuit omnipotentiae creatoris in regno Hesperidum roborare solium meum, ego Dei gratia Rex Adefonsus, sicut heres paternae dignitatis, ita quoque bonae successor uoluntatis, pactum fraternae societatis cum meis Cluniacensibus inii, statui, firmaui, censum quoque largitatis paternae duplicaui, duo milia mancales in censu annuali Cluniaco persoluens. — S. Baluze, *Miscellaneorum Libri Septem* (Paris, 1700), VI, 472; from the *Chartularium S. Hugonis.*

Here King Alfonso VI of Spain doubles the previous annual contribution to Cluny, probably because of the work on the church. The golden *mancalis* is mentioned in Du Cange, but no value for it is given.

V. 1095, VIII Kalends of November. The First Dedication of the Church

Praeterea rogatus a Domno Hugone ipsius monasterii uenerabili Abbate altare maius nouae basilicae, astantibus plurimis Episcopis, monachis, clericis quoque, ac plebe innumerabili, in honore resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi & beatae semper uirginis Mariae sanctorumque Apostolorum Petri & Pauli ac protomartyris Stephani deuotissime consecrauit VIII. Kal. Novembris, indictione IIII. [*sic*] & praecepit ut in ipso die eadem basilica oportuno tempore dedicaretur. — S. Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 475; from the *Chartularium.*

The pope asked that the final dedication take place on the same date as the consecration which he performed. This, as we shall see, actually occurred.

VI. 1095, VIII Kalends of November. The First Dedication of the Church

Anno incarnationis Dominicae millesimo nonagesimo quinto, indictione III. 8. Calend. Nouemb. Domnus & uenerabilis Urbanus Papa secundus sacrauit altare primum, & maius, noui nostri Monasterii in honorem Dei, in memoriam beatorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli. Sacrauit etiam per se & altare secundum Missae matutinalis. Lugdunensis autem Archiepiscopus Hugo, Pisanus Archiepiscopus Dabertus; Episcopus Signanus Bruno eodem die in ipso Monasterio iubente Papa tria in tribus primis cancellis sacrarunt altaria. Tunc Papa inter sacrando, Missasque agendo,

post alia salutis hortamenta coram Episcopis & Cardinalibus multorumque personis, huiuscemodi sermonem habuit ad populum. Sancti Patres & Maiores nostri Romani Pontifices, qui sanctae Sedi Apostolicae praesederunt, ex quo locus Cluniacus institutus est ab initio, & Monasterium istud fundatum, tam locum hunc quam Rectores, uel habitatores eius propensius dilexerunt, fouerunt, & curauerunt attentius. Et merito. Nam pius ille Willelmus, istius olim Monasterii institutor, nulli alii Aduocato, nulli Patrono, nulli Regi, uel Principi curam ipsius, tutelamque commendauit, nisi Deo & beato Petro, eiusque Vicariis Roman[is] scilicet Pontificibus. Quorum numero uel ordini diuina me dignatio, licet indignum associauit, me olim Monachum Prioremque Monasterii huius sub domno ac uenerabili Hugone Dei misericordia adhuc superstite & beneualente. Igitur sicut Pontifices summi ante me succedebant sibi in Apostolica sede, successerunt etiam ad tuendum curandumque propensius locum istum. Verumtamen nullus eorum per suam corporalem praesentiam locum istum hactenus uisitauit. Mihi uero, sicut in praesentiarum cernitis, id diuina concessit clementia. Denique inter alias causas quae nos ad uisitandas Gallias impulerunt, haec prima & praecipua fuit, ut locum istum & congregationem hanc speciali nobis cognatione germanam nostra praesentia laetificaremus, nostro accessu & alloquio iuuaremus, & ad omnem utilitatem uel commodum nostram eis operam impenderemus. Itaque hic uobiscum hodie praesentes, altare primum & maius cum caeteris quae parata sunt, noui huius Monasterii, sacramus, & ad eam quae de eodem Monasterio restat, structuram, uestros animos incitamus. Placet etiam nobis, uobisque placeat suademus (nam hoc ipsum & bonum uidetur & iustum,) huic loco, qui uobis et caeteris Christianis in ueneratione & cura bona habendus est, quosdam certos limites immunitatis ac securitatis, circumcirca undique assignare, ipsosque limites sacri banni. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, coll. 518, 519.

It will be observed that the work was incomplete, but the sermon was evidently pronounced in the church with a great many persons present. The idea that the church was hardly above ground in 1095 is therefore erroneous. In modern times the altar of a future great church is sometimes dedicated, enclosed in a temporary structure; but here the pope consecrated two altars, while the archbishops and the bishop consecrated the altars *in tribus primis cancellis*, probably the central absidiole and the two on the northern side. The chances are that only such sanctuaries as were completely finished were consecrated. It is thus more than likely that the ambulatory was al-

ready complete, and consequently that the carven capitals were in their places. We know that the first chapel on the southern side was furnished before the middle of December, 1095, but it and the remaining chapel may have been blocked up with scaffolding or still unfinished in October. This being the case, it cannot be asserted that sanctuary vault was in place at the time of the ceremony, though it may have been.

The minor transept was probably at least partly finished in 1095. It was set out very accurately at a right angle to the axis of the sanctuary, whereas the axis of the great transept is laid out inaccurately. There are signs of an interruption in the bay just to the west of the still existing west wall of the south minor transept. Here there is a series of heavy cut stone blocks arranged like steps, running through the aisle wall. All indications point to the unity of the work to the east of this point, but it would be too much to affirm that the minor transepts were vaulted in 1095. When their altars were dedicated is not certain, but there is no reason to assume that they waited until the ceremony of 1130 or 1131 — or even until 1115, the *terminus ante quem* for an altar to the west of the great transept.

VII. 1095. Inscription in the destroyed Chapel of St James (at the south end of the ambulatory)

Hoc altare constructum est a Domino Dalmachuio Sancti Iacobi Apostoli Episcopo, & istius loci Monacho, in honorem eiusdem beati Iacobi, ac omnium Sanctorum in quo continentur plures reliquiae Sanctorum, quorum nomina non sunt nisi de duobus uidelicet Emiterii & Zeledonii Martyrum. — A. de Yepes, *Coronica General de la Orden de S. Benito*, VI (Valladolid, 1617), fol. 436.

The *Coronica* was written in the early seventeenth century, and offers no guarantee that the inscription dates from the time of the dedication, but the dedication of the Chapel of St Gabriel is attested to by a similar inscription which is contemporary. Dalmatius had been a Cluniac visitor in Spain. He had a hand in the building of the Cathedral of Santiago (1077–1122 and later). He died on December 13, 1095.

VIII. About 1100. Damaged Inscription in the Chapel of St Gabriel, in the Southwest Tower of the Great Transept

Anno a[b incarnatione Domini] millesi[mo centesimo? consecra]tum est [oratorium hoc cum altari in?] onore et [. . . Ihū] X$\widehat{\text{pi}}$ et S$\overline{\text{ce}}$ Ge[netricis Dei . . . Mariae (?) et spec]ialit[er sub inuocatione? sancti Gab]rihelis [et sancti Raphaelis? archa]ngelor[um domini? et sa]nc[ti La]urencii et Sancti [Maximi? omniu]m sanctorumque consecra[uit domin]us Petrus Panpilonensis episcopus II Idus marcii: et posuit ibi in altari reliquias Beati Laurentii leuite et martir et Sancti Maximi.

The text is inscribed in red paint on a coat of stucco applied over the original stucco interior, in letters of the period. Pedro de Roda was another Cluniac building bishop. He introduced the rule of St Augustine for his canons at Pamplona and reconstructed the cathedral. Small as the Chapel of St Gabriel is, it is of inescapable importance in dating the structure. A subsidiary feature of the great transept, placed as it is in the upper part of the building, it was doubtless built after the body of the transept was completed. Its sculptured capitals show by their cutting that they were carved when set into place. Some of them resemble the capitals of the lower part of the transept and the carvings farther east, including those of the minor transept and the ambulatory capitals themselves. The scale is smaller, but the beautiful composition and the acanthus mollis of the leafage are the same. Others of the chapel capitals forecast the carvings of the octagonal transeptal tower, which were made well along in the twelfth century. The chapel is at mid-point in the plan of the church, and it stands midway chronologically and sculpturally, as already shown in the *Bulletin Monumental* (*loc. cit.*).

Had the date in the inscription been preserved, the difficulties of the archaeologist would be less, but fortunately we have an *ante quem* in the death of the bishop in 1115 at Toulouse. The dedication is not mentioned elsewhere and there seems to be no record of a rededication in 1130–31–32. The tower and its chapel are thus seen to be anterior to, and undisturbed by, the disaster of 1125. They are probably as much as twenty years earlier for, as will appear, the essential parts of the church were measurably complete by 1113, in-

cluding two hundred and sixty feet of nave lying to the west of the great transept, while, as has been indicated above, there is reason to believe that the work extended but little to the west of the minor transept in 1095. Obviously the great transept was undertaken next; but it is likely that there was an interruption, for the axis of the great transept is not properly located in relation to the axis of the construction farther east. The excavations and measurements of 1929 contribute this new fact.

The main fabric of the south great transept as we have it, however, is all of a piece. The writer, after a close study of the edifice in the course of several years, during which he has had occasion to examine the building repeatedly and thoroughly, in all its parts, feels no hesitation whatever in affirming categorically that there is no sign of an interruption in the main fabric below the Chapel of St Gabriel in the square tower, and the lowest stage of the octagonal tower. This latter tower was added in the twelfth century, as is clear from the cutting of the stones: they are not boldly worked with the hatchet like the older portions of the church, but with the pick in the manner already current when the Romanesque façade was constructed, early in the new century. The open stage of the square tower, with its curved roof, dates from the seventeenth century; the Chapel of St Martial, built in the fourteenth century, partly ruined and rebuilt in the nineteenth, is an obvious addition; and so are various less important modern works, including a sacristy which was erroneously described in Speculum, iv (1929), 291, as a Romanesque construction. None of the new work is so placed as to put the continuity of the original work in doubt.

In addition we have the evidence of the cutting of the stones and the exterior design of the windows of the two southern bays of the transept. The hatchet work, the impost mouldings profiled only on the inner face, and the stuccoed arch-soffits, all characteristic of the eleventh century, are out of place after 1125. We may thus be certain that the transept represents the eleventh-century design of the church. Since we know from old engravings that the design of the nave was similar, it is clear that the reconstruction of 1125–30 did not change the character of the building.

IX. About 1107. Masses Offered for Alfonso VI

Huic quoque mensurae bonae confertae simul & coagitatae superaffluentiam addere cupientes, dedimus ei in Ecclesia beatorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli noua, quam ipse de propriis facultatibus construxisse uidetur, unum altare de praecipuis, quo scilicet diuina mysteria ibidem celebrata saluti eius ualeant suffragari. Cum uero huius temporalis uitae cursum debito fine compleuerit, exceptis officiis, Missis, atque elemosinis quae pro illo agenda sunt, uno anno in supradicto altari Missa specialiter pro illo cantatur. — S. Baluze, *Miscellaneorum Libri Septem*, VI, 477, given as dating from *ca.* 1060 (in error, according to A. L'Huillier, *Vie de St.-Hugues* (Solesmes, 1888), p. 393). From the old *Necrologium* of the abbey.

Here we have the reward of King Alfonso's generosity. The church was already built: '*construxisse uidetur.*'

X. 1109. The Death of St Hugh

Anno uerbi Incarnati 1109. beatae memoriae Domnus ac uenerabilis Hugo, anno ordinationis suae 61. aetatis uero octogesimo sexto, uiam uniuersae carnis ingressus, beato fine migrauit e saeculo, sepultusque est in Basilica noua beatorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat. Hic no solum carnis, sed etiam mentis nobilitate conspicuus extitit, ac locum istum super omnes antecessores suos aedificiis, ornamentis, possessionibus, Monasteriis, Cellis, ultra quam credi potest, usquequaque fide & industria sua ampliauit. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1622; from the *Chronologia.*

St Hugh was buried in the apse of the church which he himself had built from its foundations.

XI. 1109. Burial of St Hugh

Post obitum in basilica sepultus est, quam ipse a fundamentis inchoauit. — Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pars III, lib. XI, in *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXVIII (Paris, 1855), 843.

Here we have a contemporary writer who knew the church after the fall of the nave vault. He lists the church among the achievements of St Hugh.

XII. 1113. Description of the Church

Exspergefactus frater pro quo tabule funeree sonus exspectabatur, sospitem se conspectibus sancti Hugonis representauit. Omnibus ex ordine auditis, credidit fidelis pater, acquieuit, incepit, & Deo iuuante, talem basilicam leuauit intra uiginti annos, qualem si tam breui construxisset imperator dignum admiratione putaretur. De qua multum erat quod diceremus, sed magis habitantium nitorem quam habitaculi predicamus. Verumtamen hec fabrica, millenis fratribus capiendis idonea, milites Christi de quodam carcere eductos sui latitudine reficit, & patente chori planicie stationes ordinatas seriatim noua libertate letificat; quique prius absque remedio, loci strictioris conditione, multis modis sibi importuni uidebantur, nunc transpositi ad spatiosa, omni die quasi Pascha celebrantes in Galileam quamdam transierunt. — Gilon's *Life of St Hugh*, Bibliothèque Nationale, *MS. Fonds St.-Germain, 12607;* L'Huillier, *Vie de St.-Hugues*, p. 606.

This text, widely known, proves that St Hugh (†1109) saw the church practically complete in twenty years after 1088; that the transfer to the new church had taken place probably before 1109, certainly before 1113; that the church could hold thousands of the brethren at that time.

XIII. 1118. Inscription in the destroyed Chapel of the Abbot

Anno incarnationis Domini 1118. xvii. Kal. Septemb. consecratum est Oratorium hoc cum Altari a reuerendissimo Archiepiscopo Viennensi domno Widone, in honore sanctae & indiuiduae Trinitatis, Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti, & Natiuitatis beatae Mariae semper Virginis, & in memoriam ei factae salutationis Angelicae, & sancti Spiritus obumbratione, eiusdem Dominicae Conceptionis, partus quoque eiusdem uerbi Incarnati, Circumcisionis & Apparitionis, in qua tribus Magis apparere dignatus est. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 564.

This text appears to reproduce an inscription, probably contemporary, like the one still to be seen in the Chapel of St Gabriel. Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, who performed the consecration, was the future Calixtus II. Here we have the construction of a chapel which lay just west of the existing transept, but independent of it and the nave. Such work implies that the nave was completed. This chapel, called the Chapel of the Abbot, is not to be confused with the Chapel of Notre-Dame de l'Infirmerie, which was dedicated by the future Urban II when he was Bishop of Ostia (between 1078 and 1088).

PLATE I

CAPITAL OF THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE, WITH IMPOST BLOCK AND NECKING TENTATIVELY RESTORED

The fruit and flowers of the central fleuron may be seen in the view of the top of this capital (Plate IIA) *where the undercutting shows clearly.*

XIV. After 1120. Description of the Church

Expergefactus frater pro quo tabulae funereae sonus expectabatur, Abbati se sospes obtulit. Referuntur ex ordine quecumque monacho dicta fuerant, uel ostensa. Qui cum uideret fratrem sospitem factum post uisionem, cui morbus interitum minabatur, & audisset in se reuoluendum langorem si retardaret operis inchoationem, nec coelestem opem defuturam si inciperet, credidit, adquieuit, incepit, & Deo iuuante habitationi gloriae Dei tantam ac talem basilicam intra xx annos construxit, ut capaciorne sit magnitudine, an arte mirabilior, difficile iudicetur. Haec eius decoris & gloriae eius, quam si liceat credi, coelestibus incolis, in huiusmodi usus humana placere domicilia, quoddam deambulatorium dicas Angelorum. In hac uelut eductos de carcere Monachos refouet libera quaedam planicies, ita se monasticis accommodans institutis, ut angustia chori necesse non sit permisceri ordines, non stationes confundi, uel foras quemlibet euagari. Verum omni die quasi Pascha celebrant, quia transire meruerunt in quandam Galilaeam, & libertatis nouae gaudio laetari, non murmurantes depressura, sed gratulantes ex latitudinis copia, qua possunt uacare contemplationi diuinae absque tristitia. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 458; from the *Miracula Sancti Hugonis*.

The anonymous author, a monk of Cluny in the time of the Abbot Pontius, repeats the phrases of Gilon in describing the work of St Hugh in building the church. Had great changes been made between 1109 and 1120 this would not have been done. The repetition fortifies the text of 1113. The name '*deambulatorium Angelorum*' suggests a work of surpassing beauty.

XV. 1122. Condition of the Abbey

Quod quando ad hoc officum ante xxviii [elsewhere xxvi] annos assumptus sum, magnam quidem ecclesiam, religiosam et famosam inuenui, sed pauperrimam, magnarum expensarum, et comparatis redditibus cum expensis, nullorum pene reddituum. Trecenti erant uel eo amplius fratres, nec centum de propriis sumptibus domus illa procurare ualebat. Turba hospitum, semper pauperum infinitus numerus. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 592.

Peter the Venerable describes the financial condition of the abbey at his accession — certainly not propitious for great building operations. He was able to redress the balance, but he can hardly have planned a great building campaign in his first years, while his monks

were ill fed ('*Panis paruus, niger* [emendations] *& furfureus. Vinum maxime aquatum. . . .*' — *ibid.*). This text may be taken as a contrast to the better-known Apologia of St Bernard, which follows.

XVI. 1124. Apologia of St Bernard, to Guillaume de St.-Thierry

Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudines, superuacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones, curiosas depictiones: quae dum orantium in se retorquent aspectum, impediunt et affectum, et mihi quodammodo repraesentant antiquum ritum Iudaeorum. Sed esto, fiant haec ad honorem Dei. . . . Auro tectis reliquiis saginantur oculi et loculi aperiuntur. Ostenditur pulcherrima forma Sancti uel Sanctae alicuius et eo creditur sanctior, quo colaratior. Currunt homines ad osculandum, invitantur ad donandum; et magis mirantur pulcra quam uenerantur sacra. Ponuntur dehinc in ecclesia gemmatae, non coronae, sed rotae, circumsaeptae lampadibus, sed non minus fulgentes insertis lapidibus. Cernimus et pro candelabris arbores quasdam erectas, multo aeris pondere miro artificis opere fabricatas, nec magis coruscantes superpositis lucernis quam suis gemmis. Quid putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? poenitentium compunctio an intuentium admiratio? O uanitas uanitatum, sed non uanior quam insanior! Fulget ecclesia in parietibus, et in pauperibus eget. — *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXII, 895; J. v. Schlosser, *Quellenschriften* (Vienna, 1896), VII, 266.

The great church is evidently described here; even the copper-gilt candelabrum is mentioned. The phrases 'immense height, superfluous width,' clearly apply to the church at Cluny; the phrase 'excessive length' tends to show that the nave was complete in 1124.

XVII. 1125. Fall of the Nave Vault

Ingens basilicae nauis, quae nuper edita fuerat, corruit; sed, protegente Deo, neminem laesit. Sic pius Dominus omnes pro temeraria inuasione insperata ruina terruit, sua tamen omnes immensa benignitate saluauit. — Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pars III, lib. XII; *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXVIII, 895.

If this text read *basilicae nauis et caput*, it would be difficult to deny the possibility that the ambulatory capitals were carved in 1125. But to extend the meaning of *nauis* to the sanctuary and apse is an abuse of the term. There is no other text to support the idea that the sanctuary collapsed. The contemporary and almost iden-

tical design at Paray-le-Monial (smaller in scale, it is true) is still secure after eight centuries in place, during which it has given no trouble whatever. The fragments of the vast apsidal fresco recovered in the excavations of 1929 show the same colors and handling as those of the smaller one still to be seen at Berzé-la-Ville (dated about 1104). The stones, both trimmed and dressed, which were picked up in the excavations around the ambulatory show the eleventh-, not the twelfth-century stone-cutting technique, as do the upper and lower surfaces of the ambulatory capitals themselves. Failures of apses are extremely rare, owing to their structural form; and at Cluny there were two transepts which, acting as lateral buttressing elements, rendered the fall of the choir vault very unlikely.

Even had the sanctuary vault fallen, there is no proof that the capitals of the ambulatory were affected. The apse actually did fall completely between 1811 and 1823, while the building was abandoned to ruin, but the capitals, in spite of exposure, neglect, and being moved several times, are still in a relatively good state of preservation.

There was in the sanctuary a splendid copper-gilt candelabrum, given, apparently in the time of St Hugh, by a Queen Matilda — probably the wife of William the Conqueror (†1083), or the wife of Henry I of England (†1118) (*Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1640). Such a piece of furniture would have been destroyed by a catastrophe to the chevet of the church.

Considering the nave in turn, we see from the accompanying section that it was structurally unsound without the buttresses which were later added to maintain the vault in place. The drawing represents the dimensions of the nave as recovered by the excavations, and the measurements in elevation as taken from a scaffold in the existing transept during the campaign of 1928, studied in connection with other measurements, texts, and engravings. No one with a structural sense will overlook the precarious design of the high vault. The attempt to lighten its web resulted in a thoroughly bad profile (Figure 1). In contrast to the thinness of the vault is the rugged solidity of the supports. The aisle walls measure six feet three inches net, the piers, eight feet through the shafting; the clearstory wall

measured over seven feet through. The latter wall was pierced by three large windows in each bay, which rendered it an insecure support for the vault. A slight movement of the clearstory walls in the nave, where they had at first no buttresses except flat pilaster strips over a length of two hundred feet, would be expected by any builder,

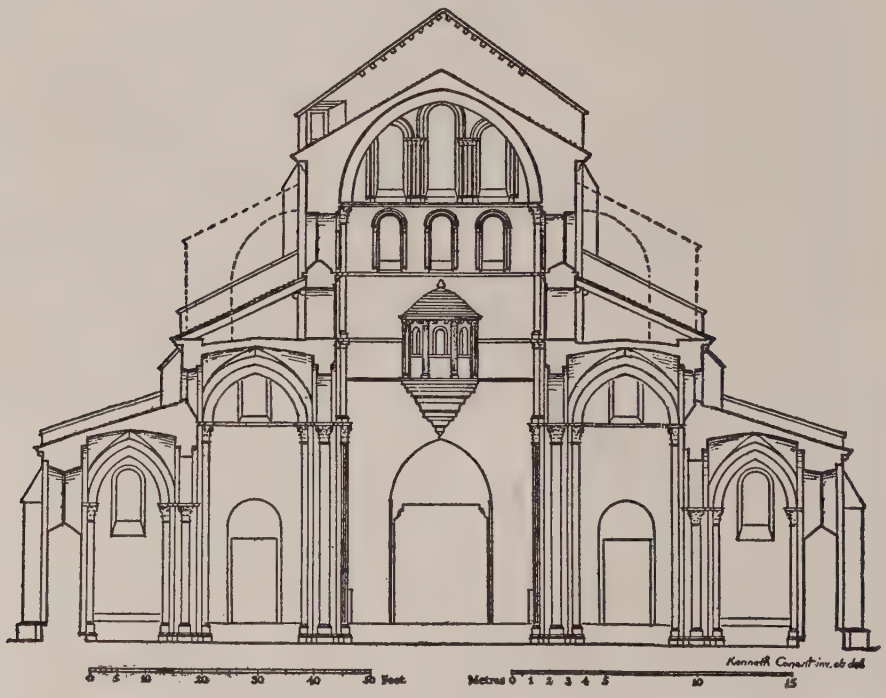


FIGURE 1

SECTION OF THE NAVE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH

The buttresses subsequently added are indicated by dotted lines.

and undoubtedly such a movement provoked the failure. It is more than likely that portions of the clearstory wall fell with the vault; but that the damage extended farther is very doubtful.

It may be that by *nauis* we are to understand 'nave vault': if, as seems likely, the nave was advanced as far as the Great Portal by 1109, *nuper edita* may mean that the vault had just been added in 1125. This, however, is a gloss on the text. It is clear from the ma-

PLATE IIA — CAPITAL OF THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE

The leaves and fruits at the right were evidently carved before the setting of the impost block. This face is the one reproduced in Plate I. The square bottom of the impost block extended to the outer corners of the capital.

PLATE IIB — CORINTHIAN CAPITAL WITHOUT FIGURES

The two fleurons at the left, and probably that at the right, must have been carved before the impost block was placed. The character of the stone-cutting, and the lewis-holes (original, but enlarged, probably in the nineteenth century) are to be observed.

sonry that the existing transept vault was built with the transept and probably completed about 1100. The nave and its vault were in any case of more recent construction.

XVIII. 1130(?). The Second Dedication of the Church

Tunc ibidem XI diebus papam cum suis detinuerunt, ecclesiam nouam in honore S. Petri apostolorum principis ab eodem, cum ingenti trepudio populique frequentia, dedicari fecerunt. — Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pars III, lib. XIII, 933.

Some authors ingenuously take *ecclesiam nouam* to mean a church new since 1125. But Orderic Vital says that St Hugh began the church (see Text XI, above).

XIX. 1130(?). Destroyed Inscription in Sacristy

Maior ecclesia est opus anno. XXV constructore sancto Hugone, fauente Henrico I, Anglorum rege, cuius prima dedicatio ab Urbano II ann. MXCV; secunda dedicatio ab Innocentio II, ann. MCXXX. — Philibert Bouché, *Histoire* (MS., 1792) (Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds français, nouvelles acquisitions, 4336*); J. Virey in the *Millénaire de Cluny* (Macon, 1910), p. 247.

The date of the consecration is given elsewhere as 1131. J. Pignot (*Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny* [Autun, Paris, 1868], III, 150) gives the pope's movements in 1130–31 in detail, and places the dedication in 1130, on the XI Kalends of November. The diploma (perhaps written by the Chancellor Aymery who described the church of Santiago in the *Pilgrim's Guide*) says that the ceremony took place on the same day as the first dedication of 1095; that day, however, was the VIII Kalends of November. The pope stayed eleven days at Cluny; perhaps this fact is accountable for a mistake in the dating.

XX. 1131(?). The Second Dedication of the Church

Dedicatio Maius Cluniacensis Ecclesiae, quae quantum ad fabricam cunctis pene totius mundi operibus suo tempore praecellens consecrata est a uenerandae memoriae Domino Innocentio huius nominis Papa secundo. Affuit cum eohuic dedicationi totus Episcoporum et Cardinalium Romanorum, qui cum ipso ab urbe ad Gallias uenerat, Conuentus: aliorum

Pontificum et Abbatum magnus numerus: Cleri et populi exultantis, & Deum laudantis maxima multitudo.

Anno itaque Incarnationis Dominicae 1131. haec dedicatio facta fuit. Cuius siquidem Ecclesiae altaria inibi existentia sequuntur, quae infra scilicet maiorem Ecclesiam, quae dicitur Sancti Hugonis, sunt. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1639; from the *Chronicum Cluniacense.*

Then follows a list of twenty-five altars, including the high and matutinal altars, the altar of St James (consecrated by Dalmatius), that of St Gabriel (consecrated by Pedro de Roda) and that of St Eutrope, which, as the list says, made way for the Bourbon Chapel. This list is perhaps the basis of the familiar statement — not justified by the text — that the pope consecrated twenty-one altars. It will not escape the careful reader, however, that the church is referred to as the church of St Hugh in the very account of its dedication under Peter the Venerable.

Even if there were proof that the church was then incomplete, it would nevertheless be clear that the parts which concern us were certainly already in their places — the new proof that the capitals were carved when set makes that point quite definite. It is no longer possible to ascribe this work vaguely to the 'middle of the twelfth century.'

XXI. 1132(?) or 1133(?). VI Nones and VIII Ides of March
Two Diplomas of Innocent II

Nos si quidem Monasterium ipsum, quod specialiter ad ius beati Petri, & sanctae Romanae spectat Ecclesiae, per nos ipsos uisitauimus et eodem die, quo reuolutis multorum annorum spatiis praedecessor noster felicis memoriae Papa Urbanus ibidem maius altare consecrauerat, cum Archiepiscopis & Episcopis qui nobiscum conuenerant, cooperante Spiritus sancti gratia idem Monasterium solemniter dedicauimus. — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, coll. 1380, 1381.

According to this text, Innocent II consecrates the *church:* in this bull *coenobium* is used to denote monastery, and *monasterium* to denote church. The *church*, to be ready for dedication, must have been a completed church. There is no mention here of the consecration of any altar by anyone. On the basis of this diploma there is no reason to believe that the high altar was rededicated. Had Innocent II

repeated the ceremony on a new altar, the diploma would certainly have mentioned it, as it mentions the repetition of date. The church thus consecrated is the same — *idem Monasterium* — where Urban had pontificated — *ibidem maius altare consecrauerat.*

This, the evident meaning of the text, naturally puts a burden of proof on those who believe that the church of 1131 differed radically from that of 1109. Since the whole purpose of stressing the reconstruction of 1125–26 to 1130–32 is to bring the splendid design, and more especially, the splendid sculpture into the second quarter of the twelfth century, this school of archaeology is obliged to credit Peter the Venerable with calling into existence in five to seven years a more glorious edifice than that which, in 1113, caused astonishment because it took only twenty years to build: *talem basilicam leuauit infra uiginti annos, qualem si tam breuis construxisset imperator dignum admiratione putaretur* — Text XII.

The school which doubts that the sanctuary could be built between 1088 and 1095 is thus forced by this text to assert that the whole building was reconstructed and adorned in a shorter period, and under less favorable conditions: whereas in 1088 the order was at its apogee under its greatest abbot, in 1126 it had just undergone nearly a year of disorder and pillage at the hand of the faithless Pontius, and was not entirely at one with itself. It stretches credulity to see an immense structure assigned to this period in order to bring its carved decoration in at a convenient place in a conventional theory of the history of sculpture. The idea breaks down in the face of the evidence offered by the Chapel of St Gabriel. The great church built by St Hugh was, to put the matter in general terms, the logical expression of the greatness of the order of Cluny under the abbot who brought it to the summit of its power.

XXII. Third Quarter of the Twelfth Century. The Second Dedication of the Church

Nam ad consecrationem ecclesiae quam ipse [Petrus] aedificauerat eum [Innocentium II] humiliter inuitauit, & ut benedictionem compleret obtinuit. — *Vita Domni Petri Abbatis,* by Radulphus; E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum . . . Collectio,* VI (Paris, 1729), col. 1193.

According to this text Peter the Venerable built the great church at Cluny. If he built the 'church of St Hugh,' it was, as has been shown, between 1125–26 and 1130–32, and this is not admissible. But Peter the Venerable did build at Cluny. The narthex was carried out in two campaigns, and one may (on the basis of the cutting of the stonework found in the excavations) quite reasonably be assigned to Peter's time. The octagonal tower shows similar stonework, and may be his also. He may have carried out the other towers as well. Everyone knows that he rebuilt the nave vault. Therefore the biographer's *ipse aedificauerat* has something to justify it, even if Peter the Venerable cannot be credited with the building as a whole. In view of the abundant and consistent evidence adduced above, this tardy text appears as a slender reed, indeed, to lean upon. The church which the Germans call Cluny IV is a myth.

Why must archaeologists struggle to give the church of Cluny its rightful place in the eleventh century? In the last analysis, it is because the ambulatory capitals seem too splendid for the eleventh century. We now know that the blocks on which their wonderful figures and leafage are carved are eleventh-century blocks. To carve them the abbot could ask that the best sculptor known anywhere in his monastic empire should come to work at Cluny. Were there no sculptors in the eleventh century? Was this not an occasion to call forth the very best a sculptor could offer?

Harvard University

NOTES

THE WYCLIF MANUSCRIPT IN FLORENCE

Rudolf Buddensieg writes in his Preface to the edition of *John Wyclif's Polemical Works* (Wyclif Society, 1883), pp. vii and viii:

I take also advantage of the occasion which this preface presents, to draw the attention of Wyclif scholars to . . . a codex of the Biblioth. Laurentiana in Florence, containing the following Tracts: (1) De Fundat. Pseudofratrum; (2) De Christo et suo Adv. Antichr.; (3) De Citat. frivolis; (4) De nova Praevaricantia Mandat.; (5) De Contrar. duorum Domin.; (6) De quibusdam captivis Hispan. (Shirley, Catal. No. 66); (7) Dialogus (Shirley, No. 62); (8) Trialogus; (9) Determinatio de Dominio (Shirley, No. 55); (10) De Servit. civ. et Dominio saecul. (Shirley, No. 68). — I regret that though the existence of this codex became known to me, I had not an opportunity of examining it. The pages of the Florentine Catalogue referring to it did not come under my eye, until the printing of the texts in question had been nearly completed.

The Catalogue of the Laurentian Library in Florence mentioned by Buddensieg was published in 1774 by Angelo Maria Bandini and contains excellent descriptions of the manuscripts to be found there.[1] This catalogue gives the separate works of Wyclif with their respective incipits and explicits, and describes the codex which is numbered *Plut. XIX cod. XXXIII* as follows: '*Codex membr. MS. in 8. saec. XIV exeuntis, peruersis & intricatissimis litteris, ac per compendia exaratus. Constat foliis scriptis 182.*'[2] Jean Mabillon had already known and described this codex in his *Museum Italicum* (Paris, 1687), I, 169, as follows:

Ibidem (Bibl. Laurent.) *habentur Wiclefi opera id est primo tractatus magistri Johannis Wyclyf de fundatione pseudofratrum; tractatus de Christo & Antichristo; De contrarietate duorum dominorum; De citationibus frivolis et aliis versutiis Antichristi; De nova praevaricantia mandatorum; Speculum Ecclesie militantis; Dialogus inter veritatem & mendacium; Alius dialogus quatuor libris in alathiam, pseustin & phronesin; De dominis & servis.*

Buddensieg no less than Mabillon omitted in his list a section of this MS. which occupies fols. 23v–26v and which has an explicit: '*Bonus et utilis tractatus secundum magistrum Johannem*' (the word which follows has been erased). Bandini gives a detailed description of this, but has failed to recognize another section. He describes the tractate *De servitute civili et dominio saeculari* as occupying fols. 166–182v and as ending '*sic*

[1] *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Florence, 1774–77.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 581.

orari.' That tractate, however, ends with the words '*persecutioni multiplici atque gravi*' (cf. J. Loserth, *John Wyclif, Opera Minora*, London, 1913, p. 164) and occupies fols. 166–173v. The section fols. 174–182v is in fact the last chapter (lib. III, cap. xxvii) of the great work *De civili dominio* (edited by R. L. Poole and J. Loserth for the Wyclif Society, London, 1885–1904, IV, 626–647).

The codex is bound in wooden boards covered with red leather, though unfortunately worm-eaten; on back and front there are five brass bosses of the arms of the Medici. The same are to be found on the brass clips of the fasteners. Besides the 182 written leaves of the codex there is a blank page at the beginning and another at the end, each bearing the library stamp. There is a threefold system of pagination: (1) In the lower right-hand corners are Roman numerals, sometimes black, sometimes red, but these have been partly removed by the clipping of the binder; (2) in the upper right-hand corners are Arabic numerals in an early eighteenth-century hand; (3) immediately below the text at the bottom of the pages is the corrected modern pagination. Somewhat rare marginal notes have been partly mutilated in the subsequent cutting of the pages.

The codex, the work of at least three scribes, dates from the end of the fourteenth century and is written throughout in Gothic cursive; in the earlier part of the MS. the spiked *r* and the peculiar *e* and *s* point to an English origin. This is especially interesting since most of the Latin MSS of Wyclif's works which are found on the Continent, for example those at Prague and Vienna, are written in Bohemian or German hands.

Except for the *Tractatus bonus et utilis* all the MSS contained in the Florentine codex have been printed in recent years. Buddensieg himself published the *De fundatione pseudofratrum*, the *De Christo et adversario suo Antichristo*, the *De contrarietate duorum dominorum*, the *De citationibus frivolis*, the *De nova praevaricantia mandatorum* together in the *Polemical Works* (London, 1883). The *Trialogus* was first printed at Basel in 1525, again in Frankfurt, 1754, and most recently edited by G. Lechler in 1869 (Oxford). The *De captivo Hispanensi* forms the seventh chapter of the *De Ecclesia*, edited by J. Loserth for the Wyclif Society in 1886. The *Dialogus sive Speculum Ecclesie militantis* was edited by A. W. Pollard for the same society in 1886, and the *De dominio determinatio contra unum monachum* appears as the last half of the *Ad argumenta Wilelmi Vyrinham* in the collection *Opera minora* (London, 1913, pp. 422–430), the editing of which was entrusted to J. Loserth.

Despite the fact that this Florentine codex was described by Mabillon in 1687 and in 1774 by A. M. Bandini in their printed works, and despite the express mention of it in R. Buddensieg's Introduction of 1883, none of the later Wyclif Society editors claims, in his introduction, to have con-

sulted it or so much as mentions its existence. This is the more surprising since, despite its several scribes and a number of mistakes, the codex was certainly written with great care and offers no serious difficulty to the modern reader.

Unfortunately Loserth does not mention this interesting codex even in his revised edition of *Shirley's Catalogue of the Extant Latin Works of John Wyclif* (London, 1924). Most of the tractates found here exist also in several manuscripts, though two of them occur seldom. These are: (1) *De dominio determinacio contra unum monachum*, — the last part of *Ad argumenta Wilelmi Vyrinham determinatio*, — in Paris Bibl. Natl. *MS. Lat. 3184*, also in Bodl. *Arch. Seld. B. 26* and *Lamb. 537* (*saec.* XVII); and (2) *De contrarietate duorum dominorum*, of which the Florentine codex is the only known Continental manuscript, known elsewhere indeed only in *Ashburnham XXVII c.*

The *Bonus et utilis tractatus secundum magistrum Johannem*, which seems to have escaped Buddensieg and Mabillon, is in fact a Latin version of Wyclif's *Complaint*,[1] of which apparently only a Middle English version has hitherto been known:

Incipit: Placeat illustrissimo Regi nostro, tam Anglie quam Francie, ac domino Duci ceterisque magnatibus Regni Anglicani, tam secularibus quam ecclesiasticis uiris in parlamento congregatis ad augmentum cultus religionis christiane, cuius caput et prelatus Ihesus Christus . . .

Explicit: . . . si uere dicamus sine ulteriori litigio, cum istis auctoritatibus quod istud uenerabile sacramentum est panis uerus et corpus Christi similiter.

The chief difference seems to be that the Duke of Lancaster, named in the English version, appears in the Latin as '*Domino duci.*' Although I have not had an opportunity of comparing in detail the two versions, the substance is clearly identical, and the Latin, no less than the English, deals with the four articles which are supposed to be known to the readers. To this extent, then, a few of the remarks on the *Complaint* in H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif*, II (Oxford, 1926), 251, 252, need correction.

I. H. Stein,
Berlin

DRAMATIC CEREMONIES OF THE FEAST OF THE PURIFICATION

It is sufficiently well known that, of the plays composed for performance in association with public worship in the mediaeval Church, only a few were designed for the several feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In what must still be regarded as our most adequate survey of the general subject, Sir

[1] T. Arnold, ed., *Select Works of Wyclif*, III (Oxford, 1869–71), 507–523.

Edmund Chambers discussed dramatic ceremonies for only one such anniversary: that of the Annunciation.[1] Since the date of his treatise, however, our outlook upon this particular matter has been somewhat enlarged through the discovery of an elaborate dramatic pageant for the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin in the Temple, and of a less ambitious theatrical representation for the Assumption.[2] The purpose of the present brief paper is to bring together a few unpublished descriptions of dramatic ceremonies for the Feast of the Purification, or Candlemas, on February 2d.

This solemnity commemorates the presentation of Jesus in the temple forty days after the Nativity, as recounted in the Gospel of Luke (ii, 22–38). It originated in the Orient, and was brought to the West in the fifth century, assuming there the character of a feast of Christ rather than of his Mother.[3] As early as the seventh century the liturgy of the day at Rome included a procession, and throughout the Middle Ages this ceremony gave prominence to the carrying into the church of lighted candles, symbolizing the entering there of Christ, the *lumen ad reuelationem gentium.* In some communities symbolism was carried farther. A twelfth-century *ordo* from the Cathedral of Augsburg, for example, prescribes that the latter part of the procession shall proceed as follows:[4]

Et cum appropinquauerint foribus ecclesie, stent per ordinem, et distincte moroseque cantent antiphonam istam:

> *Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto, non uisurum se mortem nisi uideret Christum Domini. Et cum inducerent puerum in templum, accepit eum in ulnas suas, et benedixit Deum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis, Domine, seruum tuum in pace.*

[1] See E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II (Oxford, 1903), 66, 67, 318–321. We are not concerned here with the vernacular plays performed outside the Church, such as those treated by J. Vriend (*The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Medieval Drama of England*, Purmerend, 1928), or with the brief scene in which Simeon appears, near the end of the Laon *Ordo Prophetarum*, upon which Professor Hardin Craig comments in *Modern Philology*, X (1912–13), 475, n. 4.

[2] See a study by the present writer, Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXVI (1911), 181–234; and, for the dramatic ceremony of the Assumption, N. Müller, in *Jahrb. f. Brandenburg. Kirchengesch.*, 2. und 3. Jahrgang [2. Abteilung] (Berlin, 1906), pp. 523, 524.

[3] Information concerning the Purification is conveniently given by F. G. Holweck, *Fasti Mariani* (Freiburg, 1892), pp. 18–20; F. G. Holweck, *Calendarium Liturgicum Festorum Dei et Dei Matris Mariae* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 28, 29; V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, I (Freiburg, 1912), 681–682, 686–689.

[4] Munich, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. lat. 3909*, Ordinarium Augustense saec. xii, fol. 153^{r}–153^{v}, cited by F. A. Hoeynck, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie des Bisthums Augsburg* (Augsburg, 1889), p. 203, and now printed from the manuscript.

Et interim unus senior ex presbyteris in uice Sancti Symeonis accipiat plenarium in ulnas, et portet in ecclesiam pro puero Christo. Et ingrediendo imponat antiphonam *Cum inducerent puerum Ihesum.* Psalmus *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*[1]

In this ceremony, during the singing of an appropriate antiphon, a priest representing Simeon carries into the church a gospel-book as a symbol of Christ.[2]

A service-book of later date from the same church describes the action thus:[3]

Fit statio sub porticu, et quando chorus cantat de ipso responsorio vnam clausulam, tunc duo deputati sacerdotes simul cantant neuma, quod tamen apud alios non est necesse seruari:

> *Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto, non visurum se mortem nisi videret Christum Domini. Et cum inducerent puerum in templum, accepit eum in vlnas suas, et benedixit Deum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis, Domine, seruum tuum in pace,*

et cetera. Finita hac antiphona, ingreditur in templum, vbi obuiam se prebet dignior quidam sacerdos, indutus pluuiali, tenens in vlnis suis ante se imaginem pueri super puluinar, circumstantibus eum duobus ceroferarijs, et locans se ad locum aptum, vt tota processio pretereat eum, quam postea vltimus insequitur. Introeundo templum canitur antiphona:

> *Cum inducerent puerum Ihesum parentes eius, accepit eum Symeon in vlnas suas, et benedixit eum dicens: Nunc dimittis, Domine, seruum tuum in pace,*

et cetera.

In this instance the last person to enter the church is a senior priest in a cope, carrying on a cushion an effigy of the infant Jesus. Sometimes the object especially honored in such processions was an effigy of the Virgin Mary, along with the *plenarium*, or gospel-book.[4] Presumably the *ymago Beatae Mariae*, in such instances, represented the Mother with the Child in her arms.

In such ceremonies as these, however, one discerns no evidence of impersonation on the part of the participants, and hence nothing that can be called a play. Noticeable also is the fact that the Virgin Mary is either absent altogether, or is represented only by a plastic figure. In searching for an example in which the Virgin is actually impersonated, one finds a limited satisfaction in the following description from the so-called certificate of the

[1] The procession proceeds with a verse, response, and prayer, and then leads directly into the Mass of the day.

[2] The *plenarium* is either the gospel-book or some other service-book containing the liturgical gospels.

[3] *Obsequialis secundum diocesis Augustensis morem* (Augsburg, 1487), fol. vi^{v}. Part of this passage is quoted by Hoeynck, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[4] See F. Arens, *Der Liber Ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche* (Paderborn, 1908), pp. 33–35.

Gild of St. Mary, at Beverley, returned at some time between November 1, 1388, and February 2, 1389: [1]

Ordinatum est quod singulis annis in festo Purificationis Beate Marie, incipiendo hoc proximo festo Purificationis, conueniant omnes fratres et sorores eiusdem gilde in loco certo honesto ad hoc assignato a dicta ecclesia distante; eritque ibi ordinatus quidam de gilda qui ad hoc aptior inuenietur, nobilissime et decenter vestitus et ornatus vt Regina Virgo instar gloriose Virginis Marie, habens quasi filium in vlnis suis; eruntque ibi alij duo assimulantes Joseph et Simeonem; eruntque duo Angeli portantes candelabrum formam cratis habens et super se xxiiij^{or} grossos cereos cum aliis magnis et grossis luminaribus precedentibus. Et sic cum omni melodia et exultacione dicta Virgo cum filio suo et Joseph et Simeon sequentur dicta luminaria in processione versus dictam ecclesiam; sequenturque tunc inmediate dictam Virginem omnes sorores dicte gilde, et postremo omnes fratres quilibet omnium habens in manu sua unum cereum ponderis dimidiæ libræ; ibuntque ibidem bini et bini in ordine sobrio et moderato gressu sic processionando ad dictam ecclesiam. Et cum ibi peruentum fuerit, offeret ibi dicta Virgo filium suum Simeoni ad [2] summum altare instar Purificationis gloriose Virginis Marie, et sic consequenter singuli sorores et fratres offerent cereos suos cum vno denario in vnoquoque cereo de suis propriis. Hiis itaque cum omni solempnitate sic gestis, regredientur vnusquisque cum gaudio ad propria.

This ordinance requires that on the Feast of the Purification the whole gild shall make a procession to the Church of the Blessed Virgin, carrying lighted candles, and that the defile shall be led by persons costumed realistically to represent Joseph, Simeon, two angels, and Mary, with an effigy of Jesus in her arms. Within the church, at the high altar, Mary is to present the figure of Jesus to Simeon. What was said or sung during this action is not mentioned. The description, then, is obviously incomplete, but the use of impersonation assures us that what we have before us is, in some measure, a true play.

The most ambitious dramatic ceremony of this sort, within the knowledge of the present writer, is that described in a service-book of the fourteenth century formerly used in the Cathedral of Padua: [3]

[1] London, Public Record Office, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle xlvi, no. 448, referred to by Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds* (London, 1870), p. 149, as Miscellaneous Rolls, Tower Records, CCCVIII. 104. The document itself, in Latin, has not been published; but a digest of it, in English, is given by Smith, pp. 149–150. See also H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), p. 233. I print here only the part of the original document which concerns the procession on the Feast of the Purification.

[2] *ad*] written twice (MS.).

[3] Padua, Bibl. Capitularis, MS. Fufu, Processionale Patavinense saec. xiv, fol. 14^{r}–16^{v}, described by F. S. Dondi Orologio, *Dissertazione sopra li Riti, Disciplina, Costumanze della Chiesa di Padova sino al xiv Secolo* (Padua, 1816), pp. 44–46, and, from the data of Dondi Orologio, by V. de Bartholomaeis, *Le Origini della Poesia drammatica italiana* (Bologna [1924]), pp. 156, 157. The complete text is now printed, I believe, for the first time. The antiphons and other spoken parts are furnished with square musical notation on four lines.

In die Purificationis inmediate post prandium pulsetur canpana magna, et interim scolares conueniant ad ecclesiam, et in sacristia maiori preparent se quatuor sacerdotes in modum prophetarum, et duo clerici con dalmaticis, qui cantare debent *Aue, gratia plena.* Et predicti exeant cum cruce, cereis, et alijs necessarijs processionaliter, et pergant ad templum preparatum post altare sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani. Postea processionaliter sacerdotes et clerici uadant ad baptisterium, et ibi sint duo clerici preparati in modum angelorum, et alter preparatus in modum Marie cum puero in ulnas, Ioseph asociate calato portanti super humerum, et alter preparatus in modum angeli super cathedram; et post Mariam pergit alter clericus preparatus in modum Anne prophetisse cum carta magna in manu. Et ita processionaliter exeant de baptisterio a latere platee, et intrent ecclesiam, angelis cum Maria et Anna precedentibus, post sequente [1] angelo qui est super cathedram. Peruentis in ecclesia, posterior angelus remaneat super scalam uersus chorum cum duobus cereis et cruce. Interim [2] sacerdotes et scolares stent per medium ecclesie in modum chori, et Maria cum angelis precedentibus puerum [3] in ulnis portante, plane pergant uersus templum. Et interim duo pueri qui sunt ad templum induti dalmaticis incipiant cantare infrascriptam antiphonam:

> *Ave, gratia plena, Dei genitrix uirgo, ex te enim ortus est sol iusticie illuminans que in tenebris sunt letare. Tu, senior iuste, suscipiens in ulnis liberatorem animarum nostrarum, donantem nobis resureccionem.*[4]

Hijs finitis, Maria cum pueris, Anna et Ioseph puerum [5] in ulnis portante, ascendant ad templum et offerant puerum cum pulis columbarum.[6] Interim pueri dalmaticis induti cantent infrascriptum responsorium, *Obtulerunt,* Symeone cum puero garulante:

> *Obtulerunt pro eo domino par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum.*[6]

Finito responsorio,[7] Symeon accipiat pullos, et uersus populum respiciat sub allas si boni sunt. Hoc facto, angelus qui stat uersus chorum incipiat infrascriptam antiphonam:

> *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam et in resure⟨c⟩tioncm multorum; et in signum cui contradicetur; et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius.*

Finita suprascripta [8] antiphona, duo angeli qui sunt ad templum cum Maria cantent infrascriptam antiphonam: [9]

> *Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto, non uisurum se mortem nisi uideret Dominum.*

Finita suprascripta antiphona, iterum pueri cantent infrascriptum versum:

[1] *sequente*] *sequentes,* with final *s* crossed out (MS.).

[2] *Interim*] followed by a single superfluous stroke (MS.).

[3] *puerum*] *puero* (MS.).

[4] Here follows in the MS. a repetition of the text of this antiphon (15^{r}–15^{v}), with a different melody.

[5] *puerum*] *puero* (MS.).

[6] *columbarum*] *colunbarum* (MS.).

[7] *responsorio*] *responsorium* (MS.).

[8] *Finita suprascripta*] *Finito supra* (MS.).

[9] *antiphonam*] followed by a single stroke and point, which may indicate the numeral *primam* (MS.).

Suscipiens Symeon puerum Ihesum in manibus exclamauit dicens.[1]

Hijs finitis, Symeon alta uoce incipiat *Nunc dimittis*, in sexto tono, sine *Gloria Patri*. Postea cum organo decantetur *Gloria*, et chorus respondeat *Sicut erat*. Hijs uero finitis, processionaliter reuertantur ad maiorem sacristiam.[2]

At Padua the chief personages impersonated are Mary, with her child in her arms, Joseph bearing a basket on his shoulders, Anna the prophetess, with a large sheet of parchment in her hand, four prophets, and three angels. The main action occurs at a representation of the Temple, arranged behind the altar of SS Fabian and Sebastian. As Mary passes in procession from the baptistery into the church and toward the temple, two choristers there sing the antiphon *Ave, gratia plena, Dei genitrix virgo*. Then Mary offers her child to Simeon, along with two young doves, while the choir-boys sing *Obtulerunt pro eo*. When Simeon receives the doves, he inspects them, 'to see if they are in good condition.' Then the angel over by the choir sings the antiphon *Ecce positus est*, and this is followed by an antiphon from two angels stationed at the temple, and by a verse from the choir-boys. Finally Simeon begins the *Nunc dimittis*, at the conclusion of which all return to the sacristy.

The observance at Padua, then, may be characterized as a genuine play, in the form of an elaborate dumb-show, in which the action is accompanied by the singing of appropriate liturgical pieces. Although such a performance is highly formalized and restrained, it is by no means negligible as an effort toward realistic drama.

KARL YOUNG,
Yale University

A PORTRAIT OF ALBERTUS MAGNUS

THE portrait of Albertus Magnus reproduced here was noted by Lynn Thorndike, in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, 522, n. 2: 'A portrait of Albert is found in *CLM 27029*, fol. 88r, in the midst of a treatise copied in 1388 A.D.' — that is, 108 years after Albertus' death.

Special interest attaches to this portrait, since it is just possible that an original, of which the present portrait may be a copy, was made by someone who had seen Albertus and had tried to reproduce his features. Munich MS., *Codex Lat. Monac. 27029*, is a manuscript miscellany; the portrait of

[1] Here follows in the MS. a repetition of the text of this verse (16^r–16^v), with a different melody.

[2] Followed by the rubric: '*Dominica in Palmis.*'

A Portrait of Albertus Magnus

(*Cod. Lat. Monac. 27029*, fol. 88 r)

Albertus occurs appropriately in a scientific treatise entitled *Cum Proprietates Rerum sequuntur.*[1]

The text surrounding the portrait reads: '*Dominus Magnus Albertus. Rerum naturas proprias qui noscere curas, hunc lege tractatum quem ibi reperis bene gratum.*'

The internal rhymes seem intentional.

S. Foster Damon,
Brown University

NOCH EINMAL '*RERUM DOMINIS PIETAS SEMPER AMICA*'

Im Speculum, iv (1929), 323 f., habe ich einen Satz der *Gesta Ernesti Ducis* kurz behandelt: '. . . *quin* . . . rerum dominis pietas semper amica, *clemencia sodalis est.* . . .' Die *pietas* als christliche Herrschertugend ist — wie wir das sehr wohl wissen — ein Vermächtnis der Antike; es wäre sehr wünschenswert einmal den ganzen '*ἐπιείκεια — clementia, pietas*' — Gedankenkreis ideengeschichtlich zusammenfassend zu behandeln.[2]

Dem in vielfach Versionen lebenden Gemeinplatz 'Die Milde ist eine Fürstentugend' begegnete ich zum erstenmal in dieser scheinbar mittelalterlichen Fassung. Der Liebenswürdigkeit des Herrn Professor Otto Stählin (Erlangen) verdanke ich nun einem Clemens-Satz, der zu zeigen scheint, dass das Mittelalter nicht nur den so ungemein tief wurzelnden Gedanken, sondern auch diese besondere Formulierung der Antike verdankt.[3] Im *Paedagogus* des Clemens Alex. lesen wir (iii, 74, 2; ed. Stählin, i, 277, 5): '*ἡ ἰσότης καὶ ἡ μακροθυμία καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοῖς δεσποταῖς εὐάρμοστος.*' Clemens kämpft — wie die Griechen im analogen Fall — immer um ein Equivalent der lateinischen *clementia.*

Joseph Balogh,
Budapest

[1] See *Catalogus Codd. lat. Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis,* ii, i (Munich, 1874), 234, 236, where the existence of the portrait is noted also.

[2] Die fleissige Königsberger Diss. (1912) von Arth. Elias, *De notione uocis clementia apud philosophos ueteres et de fontibus Senecae librorum De Clementia,* ist ein recht bescheidener Anfang.

[3] Der *clementia* = Gedanke — die Milde als Staatsräson — lebt in ihren verschiedensten *antiken* Fassungen und Versionen fort. Auch die grosse Vergil-Sentenz '*parcere subiectis*' bleibt im Mittelalter lebendig. Im *Ludus de Antichristo* (vv. 87 ff., hgg. W. Meyer, S. 22) singt der vom Imperator soeben besiegte rex Francorum:

Triumphi gloria est parcere deuictis.
Victus ego tuis nunc obsequor edictis.
Vitam meam simul cum regni dignitate
Positam fateor in tua potestate.
Sed si me pristino restitutes honori,
Erit honor uicti laus maxima uictori.

REVIEWS

AUGUST J. APP, *Lancelot in English Literature, his Rôle and Character*. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1929. Pp. iii + 260.

THE task which Dr App has set himself is to trace the development of the character and rôle of Lancelot of the Lake from their beginnings in French literature through English literature down to the present time. Though at first glance the task might seem simple, it is beset with difficulties which no candidate for the doctorate could be expected to cope with successfully unless he had expert guidance at every turn. This Dr App does not seem to have had, and the work must be regarded as a somewhat superficial attempt to deal with an extensive and baffling subject. His shortcomings will perhaps appear more excusable, if they are presented in relation to the exacting demands of the subject.

To trace the development of a traditional character is to study the interaction of three forces: the original *donée*, the social psychology of various peoples and generations, and the individual psychology of the authors. Nothing could be more fascinating than to work out in some detail the interplay of these factors in the immortal figure of Lancelot, and few things demand a more finical and elaborate apparatus. First, there is the problem of finding out who the original Lancelot was and what were his traditional rôles. Dr App has the perspicacity to see that his hero is not the creation of Crestien de Troyes, but instead of embarking on the intricate task of seeing what could be learned from Welsh Llwch and Irish Lug and the Arthurian Lucius Hiberus, Loth, Lambegues, and other figures related to Lancelot, he offers but a few improbable guesses. He may well urge in his defence that a study of the Celtic background of Lancelot and of the stories in which he figures would prove a dissertation subject in itself. True enough, but without such an investigation the first element essential to an understanding of the evolution of Lancelot, the Breton tradition, remains an unknown quantity.

Making no pretence at sketching for us Lancelot in the pre-literary stage, Dr App nevertheless does claim to have undertaken an adequate study of the later development of the character in English literature. What he has actually done is to summarize the various romances in so far as they concern Lancelot, to animadvert somewhat perfunctorily on their artistic quality, and to pronounce moral judgments on the hero and the author. Sometimes he makes a striking point, as when he shows how in the stanzaic *Morte Arthur* our sympathies have been subtly attached to a Lancelot whom in real

life we should regard as a liar, a hypocrite, and a cad. But both here and elsewhere Dr App seems to feel no problem, seems not to realize that his treatment of the other two factors of character-creation — the psychology of the time and of the individual author — is little better than what he has given to the question of origin. My own suggestion is that the mediaeval authors who developed the story of Lancelot according to the formula of courtly love found themselves in a hopeless situation, because, while the traditional figures of Lancelot and Guinevere were easily transformed into the perfect knight and lover of the convention, the Arthur of tradition refused to accommodate himself to the rôle of a contemptible old *jaloux* or of a mere feudal consort. To preserve full sympathy for Lancelot as the passionate and utterly faithful lover and at the same time for the magnanimous and heroic victim of his treachery was an impossible task. Many of Dr App's remarks seem to show that he has not attempted to understand so fundamental a matter of social psychology as the theory of courtly love. With somewhat wearisome iteration we are told that in the *Charrette* Lancelot is a shameless adulterer and a grovelling idiot. Granted, but the problem is: How did clever and full-blooded people ever come to regard such a comic-opera hero as Crestien's Lancelot seriously? Dr App seems to have no sense of the profound reaction against the immorality of feudal marriage and the Patient Griselda ideal which expressed itself in *amour courtois* in general and Crestien's *Charrette* in particular. It is unfortunate that he has overlooked three fine studies which might have led him to more enlightened judgments: Myrrha Borodine, *La femme et l'amour au XIIe siècle d'après les poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes* (Paris, 1909); M. Lot-Borodine, 'Tristan et Lancelot,' in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (New York, 1927); A. Pauphilet, *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal* (Paris, 1921).

In modern English literature Dr App is more at home, but his critical comments consist still for the most part of moralizing as solemn as it is superficial. He misses entirely the symbolism of the *Lady of Shalott* and pronounces Tennyson's early *Morte d'Arthur* to be artistically 'not so very important.' In sum, the book may serve to guide students to the materials in English literature dealing with Lancelot, but the adequate interpretation of them has yet to be done.[1]

Roger Sherman Loomis,
Columbia University

[1] Certain minor defects also appear. For example, on p. 24, to say that 'Layamon's work represents a pseudo-historical tradition that is practically Welsh' is to ignore the evidence which shows that Geoffrey's immediate sources were mainly Breton and that Wace's and Layamon's additions were of similar Continental derivation. Cf. R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, pp. 344 f.; *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, X (1906), 82; *M.L.N.*, XXVI (1911), 67 ff. The same page gives the date 1154 instead of 1194, and refers to

K. Asakawa, ed. and trans., *The Documents of Iriki Illustrative of the Development of Feudal Institutions in Japan.* Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and edited Texts, vol. x. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. xvi + 442, 140 (Japanese Texts). Cloth. $7.50.

Professor Asakawa's object in translating and editing *The Documents of Iriki* is stated in an admirably clear, if unduly modest, preface. Believing that Western historians should approach Japanese sources directly rather than depend on secondary works by native writers, and holding that scholars having a knowledge of conditions in the West similar at times to those in Japan are likely to seize on points of value which might otherwise be over-looked, Dr Asakawa has prepared this source-book on Japanese feudalism as an aid and a challenge to Western scholars. As the translator and editor correctly states, the volume constitutes 'the first attempt ever made to supply the student of European institutional history with original sources, in translation, of the feudal development of the Japanese nation.' (Page viii.)

In the southwestern part of the island of Kyū-shū, within the province (*kuni*) of Satsuma, lies a mountainous territory, less than fifty-five square miles in extent, which, during the feudal period of Japan, constituted the administrative unit (*in*) of Iriki. To this strategic bit of territory, bounded on the north by the Sendai and Kubuki rivers and on the other sides by mountains difficult of access, came Shibuya Jō-shin with certain of his vassals in the year A.D. 1247. At some time prior to 1466 the name of the area — Iriki — over which this branch of the Shibuya ruled, came to be applied to the descendants of Jō-shin. Iriki is, accordingly, a regional name (Iriki); the name of an administrative unit of territory (Iriki *in*); and the name of a powerful feudal family (Iriki-in). The editor differentiates the meanings of the term in the manner indicated parenthetically.

Presenting two hundred and fifty-three documents in one hundred and fifty-five divisions, Professor Asakawa traces the history of Iriki from the year A.D. 1135 to 1870. All but two of the documents translated into English are included in the original Japanese text at the end of the volume. Thirty-one generations of the Iriki-in are represented in the series. The papers included are chosen from a total of four hundred and five dealing with the lords of Iriki. Part of these are to be found in the manuscript work *Sappan Kyū-ki;* others are original documents in the possession of the

---

an unknown W. E. Schofield. On the next page we are referred for the date of the romance of *Richard Cuer du Lyon* not to Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, or Miss L. Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England*, or the latest editor, Karl Brunner, but to Thomas Warton! On p. 46 the quotation from the *Squire's Tale* is obviously mangled. A minor work which has been overlooked is Ernest Rhys's *Lays of the Round Table and other Lyric Romances* (London: Dent, 1905).

Iriki family, who permitted Dr Asakawa to consult them in June, 1919; still others are in a manuscript work, *Kiyoshiki ki-kan*, owned by the same family. 'This is not the largest collection of family documents in existence in Japan,' remarks the editor, 'but it combines in a rare degree several conditions which make the Iriki sources a body of materials very remarkable in variety, in the representative character of the institutional evolution which is traceable through them, and in the great stretch of time which they cover. These conditions gained in value in the estimation of the editor when he viewed them in connection with the fact that the documents all related to a comparatively limited extent of territory; for his experience had shown that it was difficult to analyse the growth of institutions through documents which continually brought the student to unfamiliar places, and that investigation was rendered much easier when the given sources concerned but a single line of lords and a small piece of territory. These conditions were admirably met by the Iriki documents, while at the same time the essential institutional facts which they embodied were, in the best sense of the word, typical and representative of those that ruled the institutional history of feudal Japan as a whole.' (Page 32.)

The background for the documents is given in eighty-one pages of introduction and summary of points. A rigidly selected bibliography of Japanese, Chinese, and English works is given in seven pages. The appendices include genealogies of the Iriki-in, Terao, Okamoto, Tōgō, Ketō-in, Tsuruda, Taki, and Shimadzu families. Maps of the domains of the Iriki-in and allied families, of Iriki and vicinity, and of South Kyū-shū make it possible for the student to form an acquaintance with the geography of the areas discussed. The index covers twenty pages.

The work is encyclopaedic in scope and detail. It is indispensable for the student of Japanese feudalism and must prove of considerable value to the student of European institutions. The labor and the learning involved merit profound respect. Students of Japanese history will await with impatience Professor Asakawa's forthcoming study of the feudal régime throughout South Kyū-shū. It is a pleasure to note that the format of *The Documents of Iriki* is in keeping with their worth.

Harley Farnsworth MacNair,
University of Chicago

H. Flanders Dunbar, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. xvii + 563. Cloth. $5.00.

This is an important work, and a strange one. It is really two books in one — not in sequence, but intertwined, for the sake of bringing, as far as possible, every part of each into juxtaposition with every part of the other,

like the Primum Mobile and the Empyrean. For the one depends closely on the other, and each is full of pieces and patterns that are difficult to remember. It is not a logical arrangement, as the author recognizes; she has changed it radically since she began. Yet the reader, after reading, can suggest no better. Open to criticism, also, is the distribution of matter between text and footnotes, which is very wearisome, since the perusal demands undisturbed attention; often one does not see why the page should be half continuous large print, above, and half inconsecutive small print, below. This, to be sure, is a fault common to nearly all treatises nowadays; few of these, however, are at once so hard to read and so well worth reading.

Hard as it is, the book should be studied first of all by those who are sure to disagree with almost every one of its conclusions; secondly, by those who are likely to agree with very many (nobody will agree with all). The latter, already imbued with symbolism, will be confirmed in their views, and enlightened. The former, impatient modernists and literalists, will be gradually brought to see that the Middle Ages habitually thought in symbols and that the expounder of mediaeval art, unless he is to be a *traditore*, must learn to do the same. Dr Dunbar is steeped in them. So much so that she injects into her interpretation a fresh symbolism of her own; witness that geometrical diagram on page 98, illustrating at once the fourfold exposition, the nine 'levels' of significance (corresponding to Beatrice's miraculous 'nine'), the one plus nine in the 'perfect number,' the 'twoness' and the 'fourness' of the Cross, central in it all. What uninformed reader would imagine that Circe, who plays so conspicuous a rôle, is a character of Dr Dunbar's, not of Dante's, invention? The quality of *gravezza* is, indeed, mentioned by Dante; in Dr Dunbar it is constantly recurring, like a *leitmotiv* — very effectively, too. The repetition of the *lupa* is perhaps justified by her reappearance in the *Commedia*. But does not our guide lean rather heavily on the supposition that Venus is the poet's 'own star'? Better too much symbolism, though, than none at all.

'The only salvation for the student of the *Divina Commedia* lies in the visualization of Dante in his setting amid the thought currents of his time, and against the background of all that had produced them.' That setting we can visualize only if we know a good deal about the growth of the symbol, from crude primeval myth to superstitious paganism, then on to ancient philosophy, to Christian religion, Christian exegesis, Christian architecture, literature, and science. Special prominence is appropriately given to Scriptural exposition and to the symbolism of the Mass. First of all we must distinguish three kinds of symbols: the arbitrary or extrinsic, the descriptive or intrinsic, the interpretive or insight symbol. 'With the first two types of symbolism dissociation is possible, but the basis of the third is in continual association.' 'In the use of insight symbol lies the secret of the intellectual

tradition of the Middle Ages.' 'As early as distinction was made between finite and infinite, the phenomenal universe was seen as finite expression of an infinite which gave it meaning and coherence.' 'As the body is a mechanism of self-expression for man, and language for thought, so the cosmos is a mechanism of self-expression for the infinite.'

Very strong is Dr Dunbar's sense of continuity; heathen cults persist conspicuously in our own. It is a bit startling to encounter in Dante's universe our Deity designated as a sun god, even as a wolf god, with their several attributes. Throughout the work runs insistence on sun worship and sex worship, inseparable in prehistoric beliefs, and still recognizable in Christian imagery. 'In brief the cross indicates essentially union of the principles of sun and sex.' Central in mediaeval symbolism, as in primitive religions, is the sun, with its threefold activity of life, light, and heat, a trinity in the world of phenomena. In Rome, common melting-pot of races and of faiths through the early centuries of our era, a general meeting-point — a focus for the divergent paths of worship — came to be the *sol invictus*. And the doctrine of the Holy Trinity unfolds itself, in neo-Platonism and in Christianity.

Symbolism is by our author well differentiated from allegory. Mysticism, of course, has its place in her scheme; only the intellectual type, however, not the emotional, for which she has no sympathy. It is natural, then, that neo-Platonic speculation should interest her deeply. 'With Plotinus, intuition for its validity rested on the complete development of reason within its own sphere.' 'Followers of the Augustinian tradition on the other hand came to distrust reason and logic and to attempt completion of the illuminative way without them. Such was the evil gift which Augustine bequeathed to later mysticism.'

Symbolism, so diverse in its origins, culminates in Dante; and Dante (the Dante of our guide) embraces it all. 'The aim of this study in so far as it relates to Dante has been no more to assert a new interpretation than to exhaust the infinite meaning of the *Commedia*, but simply to remind that according to the poet's own words it is only through multiplicity of interpretation that approach to the truth is gained.' Dr Dunbar, in the application of her own mastery of symbolism to its supreme master, begins with the *Paradiso*. There, she tells us, 'truths revealed in the Moon, Mercury, Venus, relate to three phases of Dante's personal experience: the story, the political career, the moral and intellectual development, respectively. In the Sun is shown as a foreshadowing of the Beatific Vision the anagoge of this order. The true blessedness of a man lies in his relationship to the Infinite Tri-unity.' 'Truths revealed in Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, relate to three phases of the Incarnate Life of Christ: his earthly life and suffering, the mystical union of all humanity, and the perfection of individual souls. In

Gemini is shown as a foreshadowing of the Beatific Vision the anagoge of this order. The true blessedness of humanity lies in its relationship to the Incarnate Logos.' 'Truths revealed in the Primum Mobile, and in the Empyrean as seen in the company first of Beatrice, and then of Bernard, relate to three phases of the mystic quest for knowledge. The Beatific Vision, the reality of that foreshadowed in the Sun and in Gemini, is the complete anagoge of the *Commedia*. Ultimate blessedness lies in the vision of things as a whole, giving union with ultimate reality and demand of a return.' With amazing abundance of detail, this scheme is worked out, showing all possible associations that may have been intended by the poet, or may have lurked, hidden but potent, in his mind — or may not have been there at all, because, with all his wealth, his store was surely less than Dr Dunbar's.

From the foregoing analysis the attentive reader will have inferred that Dante, for poetic purposes, regarded himself as a 'type' of Christ. Indeed, after the fourth sphere of Paradise, his experiences as Alighieri come to a close, and his rôle is simply that of our Saviour. Sometimes it is Jesus in person, sometimes His Body, which means Humanity, or the Christian Church. This is the author's most novel and startling thesis. It runs through Hell and Purgatory; although in Hell, she confesses, the allegory cannot be consistently traced. However, 'the Crucifixion itself undoubtedly is represented by Dante's actual physical contact with Satan, which was to become the means of his victory over the kingdom of evil, as the Crucifixion was the means of Christ's victory.' Dr Dunbar expresses surprise that this identification of Dante and Jesus should have occurred to no commentator before, since it clears up several aged difficulties. A few puzzles, to be sure, it would solve, if accepted; but would it not raise more and harder questions? Could one forgive, on Dante's part, so presumptuous an impersonation? Of course, as everybody knows, a good many Old Testament characters were traditionally expounded as 'types' of Christ, foreshadowing by their lives the impending career of the Messiah. That was a part of the prophetic function of the Old Testament. In a different way Dante himself sets up Cato as a symbol of God. But for a living human writer to conceive of himself (though only in fiction) as signifying the Redeemer is a more dubious matter. Furthermore, the protagonist of the *Comedy* is obviously a repentant sinner; that is obvious, though all else be uncertain. Now Christ, to be sure, took upon himself all the sins of mankind; but such assumed and symbolic guilt is on another plane from the real thing; one can hardly see Beatrice addressing her acid reproaches to Him. One other point: a doubling of rôles would, on more than one occasion, bring Jesus on the stage simultaneously in two parts. This does not trouble our expositor, but may disturb others.

To the elucidation of Hell and Purgatory, Dr Dunbar's most evident contribution is an intermittent but tolerably sustained allegory of the political vicissitudes of Dante and Florence. A believer in Can Grande as the Veltro, she would interpret Cato as Bartolomeo della Scala, Geryon as Boniface VIII; and she sees reason to surmise that the Purgatorial Eagle is Henry VII (as well as St Lucia), and that Cacciaguida may stand for David. In her discussion of punishments, she very interestingly develops the view that Hell displays negation, inversion, and caricature of the Trinity of light, love, and heat.

In brief, it may be said that Dr Dunbar applies to the exposition of the *Commedia* the same process that in the Middle Ages was used in Biblical exegesis. Multiple symbolism is her key-note. 'Dante labored meticulously,' she declares, 'that his every line might help to convey the fourfold message of the scripture.' One cannot help wondering whether even the Holy Ghost labored quite so meticulously as that. One seems, indeed, to recall a warning against too universal an assumption of allegory in subordinate passages. Is it not possible to overdo multiplicity, so cluttering up the picture that it looks like nothing at all? In principle, too, one must admit that the Holy Ghost is more resourceful than a mortal man; we should not expect from a finite source that infinity which Holy Writ provides. But we are obliged by Dante's own words, says our author, to employ the Scriptural analysis on the *Divina Commedia*. What words? In the letter to Can Grande our poet does, indeed, state his purpose, which is akin to that of the Good Book; but he does not even imply that his method is identical. In that same letter, and in the *Convivio*, he treats of allegory and the conventional four meanings; but he does it in a strangely perfunctory fashion, citing the same example in both works, and in the *Convivio* boiling his St Thomas down into unintelligibility. On the other hand, when he actually puts his theory into practice in his explanation of the three *canzoni* of the *Banquet* — two of them pure examples of the 'tragic' style — he seems quite satisfied with two interpretations, the literal and the allegorical. After all, as others have so often said, one must not forget that Dante was a poet.

Modestly, Dr Dunbar disclaims belief that her suggestions are infallible, or that they exhaust the possibilities. Her object, she says, has been to reveal and to stress the symbolic temper of Dante's time, to recreate the atmosphere in which he lived and wrote. And this highly important task she has admirably performed.

C. H. Grandgent,
Harvard University

JOHN BERNARD FULLER, ed., *Hilarii Versus et Ludi, edited from the Paris manuscript.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929. Pp. 122. $2.00.

IN BRINGING the writings of the twelfth-century Hilarius within the reach of the leisurely reader Professor Fuller has performed a delightful and laudable task. The verses which have hitherto been accessible only in the rare edition of Champollion-Figeac, dated 1838, should now give entertainment to all persons who are curious concerning the Middle Ages. For this elusive Hilarius is a fascinating person. Although his extant compositions — excepting one short poem — are all comfortably contained in a slender little manuscript of some sixteen leaves, they exhibit an astonishing variety and vivacity. Here are two student songs, a versified *vita*, a poem in praise of a resort of learning, eight verse-letters to women and boys, and three highly significant plays. In this agreeable *mélange* are expressed sly merriment, outspoken anger, equivocal amorousness, pious laudation, and dramatic tension. For bringing such offerings within the reach of all, Professor Fuller deserves our warm gratitude.

To the biography of Hilarius the present editor does not claim to have made any noteworthy addition. The author is known only through what he wrote. He discloses himself as a disciple of Abelard, and writes about personages associated with England and with Angers. One easily surmises, therefore, that he was 'gallus et anglicus.' Upon reasonable grounds, the editor accepts as the work of Hilarius the poem *Iudicium de Calumnia Molendini Brisesarte*, published by Marchegay in 1876; and thus the all too brief collection of Champollion-Figeac is slightly extended.

The editor's chief undertaking, then, is not literary or biographical research, but the production of a readable and sound text from a well-known and neatly written manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *MS. latin 11331.* In my few observations upon Professor Fuller's accomplishment, I confine myself, for convenience, to the play *Suscitacio Lazari*, which occupies four pages of the original (foll. 9^{r}–10^{v}); and I use italics upon my own responsibility.

In considering the readableness of the printed text I venture to question only one matter of general policy: the editor's determination not to capitalize proper names — sometimes in defiance of the manuscript. Such forms as *lazarus*, *mary*, *martha*, and *iehsu* do not lend winsomeness to the author's writing, and they seem to be of doubtful value to scholarship. In the opening rubric, for example, is printed *iehsu*, to represent the scribe's *Ihū*. What literary or scholarly aim the editor had in rejecting the capital, I cannot conjecture. Nor do I see why one should depart here from the expansion *Ihesu*, which is the preferred form both of mediaeval scribes and of modern editors.

But from what is, after all, largely a question of taste, I pass to matters of sheer accuracy. In his Preface the editor makes this reassuring announcement: 'The manuscript has been carefully copied, the spelling with all its inconsistencies (e.g., u–o, em–en, t–d, ne–nec–non, etc.) faithfully preserved.' For this programme of integrity the editor is to be commended; but in his execution of it he is, I fear, not entirely fortunate. My doubt arises from the following incomplete list of departures from the manuscript in the printed text of *Suscitacio Lazari* (pp. 75–86):

(1) From the rubric preceding line 49 the word *duo* of the MS. is omitted.

(2) In the rubric preceding line 151 *maria* of the MS. is printed as *martha.*

(3) Lines 35–36, 41–42, 47–48, 72, 77–78, 83–84, and parts of lines 46 and 71 are supplied by the editor without indication that they are not written in the MS. This appears to be a renunciation of the prefatory promise, 'Letters and words added by the editor are placed within parentheses.' The editorial additions are, I think, warranted; but the reader deserves notification.

(4) The following are differences in spelling which would seem to have been forbidden by the editor's declaration of literal accuracy:

Line 59: MS. *quę* is printed *Quæ.*
" 107: " *inmo* " " *immo.*
" 134: " *rexurget* " " *Resurget.*
Lines 70, 76, 82: MS. *chatiue* is printed *cativi.*
Rubric preceding line 61: MS. *hęc* is printed *haec.*

(5) Consonantal *u* in the MS. is printed as *v: gravis* for *grauis*, *vere* for *uere*, etc. I assume that an editor is at liberty to make this substitution, if it is understood that he is doing so. From Professor Fuller's Preface, however, I should have inferred that he intended to follow the MS.

As a general annotation upon this modest list one should record the fact that in about one half of the instances in which Professor Fuller departs from the manuscript, his editorial predecessor adheres to it.

Passing from matters of textual accuracy, I venture to raise a somewhat perplexing question of editorial judgment, having in mind not so much the edition before us as editions in general. In lines 21–22 Jesus is represented as addressing a group of the friends of Lazarus. Professor Fuller and Champollion-Figeac print the following:

Morbus iste fratris mei
Non ad mortem erit ei;

whereas I should prefer this:

Morbus iste, fratres mei,
Non ad mortem erit ei.

From Professor Fuller's text — which may be the correct one — I should infer that the manuscript must have either *fratris* or the unequivocal *frīs*. But the scribe writes *frs*. For *fratris* in line 39 the abbreviation is the regular *frīs;* and for *fratres* in line 13 it is the regular *frēs*. The *frs* of line 21 is equivocal, and I introduce it here in order to ask a definite question: Is this not one of the instances in which the passing fashion of using italics in expanding abbreviations might well be retained?

From the evidences presented above, it appears that Professor Fuller's edition is not definitive. I infer, indeed, that the one produced by Champollion-Figeac, almost a century ago, is more nearly so. Nevertheless our contemporary editor has done his author and his public a meritorious service. At last Hilarius may be comfortably read by all. Although I happen to possess the earlier edition and photographs from the manuscript itself, when I wish to divert myself with *De Papa Scholastico* or *Ad Petrum Abaelardum*, probably I shall most often reach for Professor Fuller's delightful volume. When I wish to make earnest quotations, alas, I shall have to resort to less attractive authorities.

KARL YOUNG,
Yale University

ALBIN F. GOMBOS, *A Honfoglaló Magyarok Itáliai Kalandozása (898–904)* [*The Military Incursions of the Magyars into Italy before the Conquest of Hungary (898–904)*]. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928.

ONE of the dark points in the history of the century that followed the death of Charlemagne is the conquest of the territory of Hungary by the Magyars. Scanty and unreliable are the records on whose basis might be constructed a trustworthy account of this significant event resulting in a disruption of the Slavic world. No one has been able to throw a light on the happenings of the few years which passed between the Hungarian–Patzinak War (895) and the first military expeditions of the Magyars which for centuries haunted the memory of Western and Southwestern Europe. An accurate account of these expeditions would materially aid in fixing the date of the Conquest. In the work under review, a distinguished Hungarian mediaevalist, Professor Gombos, editor of a series of mediaeval chroniclers subsidized by the Hungarian Academy, reconsiders with much acumen the Magyar inroads into Northern Italy between 898 and 904. He examines with meticulous care all documents and sources referring to the Battle of Brenta (899), which might have led to a Magyar occupation of Lombardy, and revaluates the records of the events of 904 when Berengar succeeded in concluding with the Magyars a peace lasting until 919. The investigation of eighty odd sources, ranging from the *Annales Alamannici* (899) to Navagero's *Storia della Republica di Venezia*, has resulted in

the discovery of some noteworthy and hitherto unknown facts. The invasions must have been made by three different groups of Magyars who had settled in Pannonia. Gombos disposes of the fabulous elements in the story of a much-discussed Magyar attack on Venice, and makes it plausible that these incursions were on the whole less ruinous than represented by later historians: indeed, ultimately, they stimulated the process of the evolution of city life in Northern Italy. Ample evidence is furnished that the expeditions pursued a definite aim and were not merely predatory inroads: the Magyars were attempting to find a new homeland in Lombardy. In investigating the sources, Gombos proves that the letter of Archbishop Theotmar of Salzburg — according to which Magyars and Moravians were in close alliance in the years 897 to 899 — is apocryphal. The fact is not negligible when interpreting other records of the period, and the value of Gombos' argumentation would have been enhanced if he had also searched more closely the possible sources of the forgery.

Arpad Steiner,
Hunter College

Nathaniel Edward Griffin and Arthur Beckwith Myrick, *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio, a Translation with Parallel Text.* With an Introduction by Nathaniel Edward Griffin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. Pp. ix + 505. $6.00.

Here is a book whose very excellence may cut short its perusal. A paradoxical dictum which means nothing worse than this: Boccaccio's *Filostrato* is read primarily by students of Chaucer, desirous of establishing or understanding the relations between the works of the two fourteenth-century poets; and the comparison they would make is so satisfactorily made for them in this Introduction that they may be impelled to deny themselves the pleasure of going further. Let us hope that they will not; for a real pleasure it is, whether one be italianate or not, to read the clear, terse, elegant prose paragraphs that confront and render Boccaccio's easy stanzas. The translators have evidently taken great pains, and have achieved corresponding success. The volume ought to make a really wide appeal, commending itself not only to students of Chaucer, of Boccaccio, of comparative literature, but to all lovers of poetry and romance as well. It might even be used as a painless means of learning Italian.

The Introduction follows the *Filostrato* backward and forward: not its influence alone, on Chaucer and other Englishmen, but its predecessors near and remote and its place in the biography of its author. Particularly interesting is the extent to which the poet borrowed from his own earlier story, the *Filocolo*. Of especial note in the development of the personages, who are discriminatingly studied all along the line, is of course the trans-

formation of Pandaro. The value of the poem as a 'courtly love document,' too, is weighed and determined. One can scarcely think of any aspect of the subject that has been slighted in the very learned and comprehensive Introduction. To be sure, no count has been made of Boccaccio's verbal borrowings from Dante; but that omission (if it be one) does not distress the reviewer, who has a notion of treating the matter himself.

The intrinsic worth of the volume is fitly symbolized by its handsome, dignified exterior.

C. H. Grandgent,
Harvard University

Frieda Hoddick, *Das Münstermaifelder Legendar*. Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1928. Pp. 63.

This monograph by a pupil of Levison's is an excellent example of the doctoral dissertation on a limited theme. Miss Hoddick has subjected the contents of two manuscripts of Latin legends to a careful examination, has shown that they form together a single compilation, and has worked out in detail the relationship of this legendary to three others written in the Rhine valley. Levison had already recognized the relationship of *MSS Bonn 369* and *Koblenz 5* (Koblenz Gymnasium Library), but had not shown their direct connection with one another. Miss Hoddick's examination discloses that they are really volume I and volume II of a legendary arranged in the order of the calendar, and that they came from the monastery at Maifeld, an old foundation in the diocese of Trier, southwest of Koblenz, where they were written in the fourteenth century by Gottfried von Andernach. The collection, though considerably less inclusive, is definitely related to two great legendaries from the beginning of the thirteenth century: one contained in *MSS Bibl. Royale 207–208, 98–100, 206* at Brussels, and one found in *MSS Harley 2800, 2801, 2802* in the British Museum. The provenience of the former is unknown, but the latter came from a Premonstratensian establishment at Arnstein on the Lahn. A smaller collection now *MS. C10b* in the Landesbibliothek at Düsseldorf is in even closer relationship to the Maifeld legendary. The common ancestor of all four compilations was in existence at least as early as the twelfth century.

Miss Hoddick has done her work well. The importance of it lies in this: only by such patient studies of regional developments can the complicated relationships of Latin legends ever be worked out. The comparison of unrelated texts lands the student in a bewildering maze of variants, whereas it is quite possible to show national or regional developments, which may later enable scholars to follow in detail the course a legend has taken from land to land and from century to century.

G. H. Gerould,
Princeton University

FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN, JR, *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, Two Middle-English Alliterative Fragments*, Alexander A *and* Alexander B, *edited with the Latin Sources Parallel (Orosius and the* Historia de Preliis, J^2*-Recension), with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Index.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. xii + 261. Cloth. $3.50.

THE cycle of Alexander the Great represents a mediaeval attempt to develop an *épopée* somewhat after the manner of certain *romans* which were ultimately based on classical poetry. In this case there happened to be no classical poem at all to serve as a model, but there were early prose documents which furnished the *res gesta:* the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* and other more veracious historical works. Although the cycle contributed nothing really great to literature, it is none the less important, if only because, as we learn from Chaucer, everybody knew something about it — 'The storie of Alisaundre is so comune' (*Canterbury Tales*, B. 3821). Hitherto the study of the subject has been attended with the greatest difficulties all along the way, owing to the scattered material and the lack of a really adequate survey of the field. Needless to say, the researches of Paul Meyer and others of his time have been superseded; and yet no one seems to have had the patience, and few the scholarship, necessary for a fresh review in which recent theories and discoveries could be indicated and conclusions brought together.

Mr Magoun is perfectly well aware that the two fragments which he has edited are of 'trifling literary merit,'[1] and yet he has been unwilling to treat the subject in the perfunctory fashion which they might have seemed to warrant. Instead he has wisely and also generously taken the opportunity to make a thorough investigation of the cycle, and to present in outline, with what must be a well-nigh exhaustive bibliography of significant monographs, the most conveniently accessible and scholarly account of the matter of Alexander. Here the chief features remain as before, with the traditions based respectively on Julius Valerius and the Archpresbyter Leo. But certain interesting facts emerge, such as the popularity of the story in Russian, Bohemian, Polish, and Magyar versions, which have not been generally known hitherto. Sifting all this material and putting the results with adequate simplicity as well as clearness must have required an extraordinary degree of intellectual fortitude and also a remarkable sense of proportion. That Mr Magoun has carried his researches into the remoter fields will render scholars his debtor, the more so because of the comparative insignificance of the poems he is publishing. Incidentally of course, he has corrected the previous editor's theories regarding the sources of the Fragments.

[1] Page vii.

The problems more closely related to the texts in hand, such as those of the dialect and date, scribal peculiarities, and the metre, are examined with the same thoroughness. The apparatus is always more than competent. It is important that we should have this fresh evidence of West Midland characteristics, and the material presented has its own independent value. Too often dialect studies, especially, fail to take into account the fruits of recent investigations; and analyses based on discarded tests are not unknown to-day.[1] The volume as a whole thus takes proper care of these two specimens from the fourteenth century. If anyone is tempted to wish that the editor had tried his hand at works more worthy of his powers, he must not forget that these Fragments, together with the illuminations of *Al. B*, tell a story more interesting than the actual plot with which they deal: they show much that is revealing of contemporary taste and preoccupation, and with *Kyng Alisaunder* and a few other documents they offer one type of Middle English romance, one that lacks many representatives, and yet was widely enjoyed.

There are few defects in the present volume. We should have been grateful if Mr Magoun had taken the space to suggest the probable sources of Chaucer's knowledge of the story. Aside from Quintus Curtius and the tale in the *Gesta Romanorum* (which, by the way, is not referred to in the outline), it seems likely that Chaucer knew some version like that in the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Châtillon, where the tomb of Darius is described.[2] Other details and corrections, most of which have been communicated by Mr Magoun to the present writer from time to time,[3] may be added as follows: P. 8, n. 3, add *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, v (1928), 226; pp. 22 f., n. 1, add the following: Spanish: A. G. Solalinde, 'El juicio de Paris en el "Alexandre" y en la "General Estoria," ' *Revista de Filologia Española*, xv (1928), 1 ff.; Greek: E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, (3d ed., Leipzig, 1914); Jaroslav Ludvíkovsky, *Řecky Roman Dobrodužný — Le Roman Grec d'Aventures* (Prague, 1925), Index, p. 145; for Czech material: J.

[1] Cf. the reference to 'Kentisms,' *Boethius: De Cons. Philos., translated by John Walton*, ed. Mark Science (Early English Text Society, London, 1927), p. lxii. Barbara A. Mackenzie, *The Early London Dialect* (Oxford, 1928), p. 99, § 262, notes the obvious fact that '. . . lowering of *i* to *e* in closed syllables' is 'a development characteristic of the east.' But it should be added that it is also found in open syllables: cf. Wyld, *A Short History of English*, (3d ed., New York, 1927), pp. 188, 189, § 255. Even the *Times Literary Supplement* (October 10, 1929), p. 780, seems to have a suspicion that something is wrong with Dr Science's test, but cannot quite say so. For the O. E. *y*-forms, cf. Wyld, pp. 107 f., §158, and MacKenzie, p. 99, §262, and pp. 126, §§312 ff. Cf. Roscoe E. Parker, *Life of St Anne* (Early English Text Soc., London, 1928), p. xxiii.

[2] See *Canterbury Tales*, D. 498, and Skeat's note, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* v, (Oxford, 1900), 303 f. See Magoun, p. 48, n. 2. Cf. Gower's indebtedness, *ibid.*, p. 58.

[3] See also Speculum, iv (1929), 230, 231.

Jakubec, *Dějiny literatury české* (2d ed., Prague, 1928 ff.), pp. 85 ff. P. 26, n. 3, add: J. van Dam, 'Zur Vorgeschichte des höfischen Epos: Lamprecht, Eilhart, Veldeke,' *Rheinische Beiträge zur Germ. Philol.*, VIII (1923), Bibliog., pp. ix-xi. P. 29, n. 5, Vienna *Denkschriften* vol. XXXVIII for XXVIII. To this note add C. D'Evelyn, 'The Middle English Metrical Version of the "Revelations" of Methodius,' etc., *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXXIII (1918), 135 ff.; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (2d ed., Boston, 1874), I, 387; E. Coli, *Il Paradiso Terrestre Dantesco* (Florence, 1897), pp. 94, 115; J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), and R. Withington, *English Pageantry*, vol. I (1918), vol. II (1920, Cambridge, Mass.), see 'Gog and Magog' in the Indices, also in Withington see under 'Gogmagog.' P. 30, for the *Vœux du Paon* see J. J. Salverda de Grave 'Un MS. inconnu des *V. d. P.*,' *Studi Medievali* (new series I), VII (1928), 422 ff. Add to note 6, continued from page 29: for Gaster's attempt to show the *Iter ad Paradisum* as a source of the Grail story, see J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen, 1923), I, 354 f. P. 31, n. 4, add: B. Edwards, *Gui de Cambrai: Le Vengement Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 23, Princeton, 1927) — text edited with notes. P. 34, n. 5, read J. E. Wells'. P. 36, n. 2, for *Grecques* read *Grecs*. P. 37, n. 4: after 'XI (1888), 327' add 'both of these texts may now be regarded as supplemented, if not supplanted, by an Iviron (Mt Athos) Greek MS. published by V. Istrin in *Византийский Временник*, VI (1899), 97–130 (also noted in *Byzantin. Zs.*, IX (1900), 250). P. 39, n. 1, Vienna *Denkschriften* XXXVIII for XXVIII. P. 39, n. 3: for 'Text and English translation by E. A. W. Budge,' etc. read 'English translation' and add 'Text and English translation, *idem*, *Alexander the Great: Life and Exploits, being a Series of Ethiopic Texts edited from MSS in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with an English Translation and Notes* (2 vols., London, 1896 — only 150 copies). P. 41, n. 3, at the end, delete '6'. P. 43, note 5 cont'd from preceding page, for G. E. Klemming, *op. cit.*, read J. A. Ahlstrand; also note 1 on the same page, for Klemming read Ahlstrand. P. 49, n. 2: add *Lettera d'Alessandro Magno del Sito d'India*, etc., transl. Tomasso Porcacchi, *Q. Curtio de' Fatti d'Alessandro Magno* . . . (Venice, 1559), pp. 235–249, *idem* (ed. Venice, 1661), pp. 588–622; this Italian text seems to have served as the source of the Modern Greek Ἐπίστολη Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλόν του Ἀριστοτέλην (Venice, 1758), cited by E. Legrand, *Bibliogr. Hellénique* (Paris, 1918), item 513. P. 62, n. 4, add Czech Epitome (Prague MS.), noted by Čeněk Zíbrt in *Sbírka Pramenů*, I, ii, 5 (Prague, 1903), p. 19. P. 84: for the use of *u* as the post-tonic final vowel, see R. J. Menner, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXXVII (1922), 514 f. P. 117, under Sakur, read *Pseudo-Methodius*. P. 224, note on 459 ff., add to Maspero's transl. the Greek text with Latin

transl. of Bruno Lavagnini, ed., *Eroticorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyrace* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1922), pp. 38–42 ('Somnium Nectanabi') and V. V. Struve, 'У истоков романа об Александре,' *Восточные Записки*, I (1927), 131–146, esp. 139 ff.; for the name of Nectanabus in the Spanish *Demanda*, see J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 471, n. 45, and for the supposed influence on the Uther Pendragon–Igerna episode in Geoffrey of Monmouth, see E. Greulich, *Die Arthursage in der Hist. Reg. Brit.* (diss., Halle, 1916), pp. 50 ff. P. 259 (also p. 58, n. 6), for Josephus Goronides read Josephus Gorionides.[1]

Howard R. Patch,
Smith College

J. F. Mountford and P. K. Baillie Reynolds, edd., *One Hundred Post-Classical Unseens*. Aberystwyth: S. V. Galloway, 1928. Pp. x + 69. Cloth. 2*s*. 6*d*.

The two members of the Faculty of The University College of Wales who have selected these passages for sight translation disclaim in a 'Foreword' any attempt at 'an anthology of post-classical Latin.' They have had in mind, rather, the special needs of a certain class of students at the College. The selections, nevertheless, which average about a half page in length, begin with the *Vita Gordiani* of Julius Capitolinus (fourth century), and following in chronological arrangement end with the famous *Encyclical* of Pius XI (1928), which declares with reference to Christian reunion, 'Nec ullo pacto catholicis licere talibus inceptis uel suffragari uel operam dare suam.' Twenty-four are poetry; the rest, prose. Among the famous authors represented may be mentioned St Augustine, Boëthius, Bede, Alcuin, Roger Bacon, Dante, Petrarch, Erasmus, Thomas More, Calvin, Francis Bacon, Milton, Spinosa, Leibnitz, and Swedenborg. There are two selections from Ekkehard's *Waltharius* epic, three from the *Mirabilia Romae*, a part of the source of our 'Jerusalem the Golden,' a passage from the *Speculum Stultorum*, and another from the Vatican Council *Proceedings* of July 18, 1870, in which it is solemnly claimed for the 'Romanum Pontificem, cum ex cathedra loquitur,' that 'ea infallibilitate pollere qua Diuinus Redemptor.' It is noteworthy that nearly half of the selections are by either English, Irish, or Welsh authors, or deal with British history. But while no group of one hundred choice selections can adequately represent the whole field of Latin literature for the last sixteen centuries, the compilers of this handy little reader have certainly exhibited catholicity of taste, and picked out some interesting reading matter. Among many delightful tidbits may be mentioned Alcuin's 'Farewell to His Cell,' Roger Bacon's prophetic vision of

[1] P. 30: add also F. T. H. Fletcher, *Etude sur la langue des Vœux du Paon*, etc., Paris, 1924.

aëroplanes and diving bells, Sannazaro's epitaph of Maximilla, Swedenborg's argument for the infinity of God on the ground that otherwise rapidly breeding fish would fill the sea and the sea overflow and destroy the earth, and Hobhouse's description of an 'Aesthete.'

It must be admitted that a good many of the passages would sorely puzzle most American college students, if presented to them for reading without time and a lexicon. The reviewer does not know what method is employed in the classes by the sea at Aberystwyth, but fears that the sudden projection of some of these 'Unseens' without notes or glossary into American university classes would create consternation.

The printing was done by the *Cambrian News*. Either this establishment or the editors have allowed an ordinarily attractive page to be disfigured by such misprints as '*postaluerunt*,' '*consolatonis*,' 'menarchy,' '*Certeroqui*,' and others.

Karl Pomeroy Harrington,
Wesleyan University

Roscoe E. Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*. London: Early English Text Society, No. 174, 1928 (for 1927). Pp. liv + 139. 10*s*.

That the cult of St Anne became increasingly popular in western Europe during the later Middle Ages is attested by a variety of evidence. Her festival was not formally introduced into England until 1378, but after that time it was celebrated with fervor. Naturally enough, various lives in verse were written in her honor, only one of which — that by Osbern Bokenam — has hitherto been printed. Professor Parker has done a good service by editing three other poems, two of which have quite exceptional importance.

The first of the three is found in one of the manuscripts containing the *North English Homily Collection*, formerly *Phillipps 8122*, now University of Minnesota *Z. 822, N. 81*.[1] This is a poem of 3456 verses in tail-rhyme stanzas, based on some variant of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. Mr Parker shows, I think conclusively, that it in turn was used by the unknown author of a group of plays dealing with the Virgin, in the so-called *Ludus Coventriae* or *Hegge* cycle, which, as Chambers and Craig have argued, was probably performed on St Anne's Day. Professor Craig, moreover, has localized the cycle at Lincoln, which agrees perfectly well with all the evidence available. If Mr Parker is right in his conclusions, the Lincoln play-

[1] Mr Parker takes me courteously to task (p. xxvi, note) for reading the initials of the scribe of this MS. as *R. S.* (*Saints' Legends*, p. 169), whereas he reads them *R. G.* It is many years since I looked at this very doubtful letter, but reference to my notes makes me disinclined to agree without further study of the script. I find that I took advice of Mr Falconer Madan at the time, and I must have consulted Professor Napier.

maker must have had in hand a copy of the *Life of St Anne* very close to the version of the Minnesota MS. Furthermore, the *Life* must have been composed almost immediately after Urban VI established the English festival in 1378.

The second poem is interesting in another way, having been written for the feast of St Anne, and probably for a celebration by the St Anne's Guild of Bury St Edmunds. It is found in two manuscripts: Trinity College, Cambridge, *601*, and Chetham Library *8009*. In the former it is ascribed by a later hand to John Lydgate. Professor Parker (p. xxix), acquiesces without argument in H. N. MacCracken's dictum (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (London, 1911), I, xxxix, xl) that it cannot be Lydgate's; but the matter deserves further study by the editor. The language is admittedly indistinguishable from Lydgate's; there is no evidence of date to exclude it from the canon of his works; and the evidence of 'rhyming habits' is at best unsafe. Certainly these ninety-four stanzas in rhyme royal are by no means unworthy of Lydgate's pen. One ought to note, what Mr Parker has apparently not observed, the obvious influence of Chaucer's *St Cecilia* (*Second Nun's Tale*) on the author, whoever he was. It is very marked in the prologue, both in matter and manner.

The third poem in the volume is an undistinguished work of 460 lines in quatrains, found in *MSS Bodleian 10234* (*Tanner 407*) and *Harley 4012*. It was originally composed in the north for the feast of St Anne, but is preserved in copies from the East Midlands. It is chiefly valuable for the further evidence it gives of the activities of the guilds of St Anne during the fifteenth century. We should be grateful to Mr Parker for including it in his excellently edited book.

G. H. Gerould,
Princeton University

Paul Sabatier, ed., *Le Speculum Perfectionis ou Mémoires de Frère Léon, sur la seconde partie de la vie de Saint François d'Assise*, Tome I, Texte latin. British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. XIII. Manchester University Press, 1928. Pp.xxxii + 350. £1. 1*s*.

Paul Sabatier, Dean of Franciscan scholars, died March 4, 1928. Thirty-one years ago he issued his first edition of the *Speculum Perfectionis*. The present volume contains the results of his studies since that date and will doubtless prove what he intended it to be—the definitive edition of this interesting book of Brother Leo. Unfortunately a serious illness and resultant decreased power of work prevented Sabatier from completing what was to have been an accompanying volume. This was to contain a general introduction, a description of manuscripts, and an index. While we mourn the loss of a great scholar and the second volume, we rejoice that he has left us such a valuable piece of work.

The editing of the *Speculum Perfectionis* leaves nothing to be desired in the way of completeness. Sabatier collated a large number of manuscripts and has given us the results of his labors in text and notes. In further notes we find much topographical and other information. The three hundred and fifty pages of text and commentary bear witness to the great knowledge of the man who devoted his life to the study of the best-loved mediaeval saint.

The only change of fundamental importance made by Sabatier in reëditing the *Speculum Perfectionis* is his rejection of the first chapter as an interpolation. His reasons for so doing, though convincing, need not be discussed here, for other scholars have come to the same conclusion. This prefatory matter is all too obviously the work of a zealot who wished to check the interpretation of the precepts of St Francis in favor of a life of less stern austerity. The change in the title-page should be noted.

All who are interested in the life of St Francis will join with me in the plea that the British Society of Franciscan Studies will publish whatever Sabatier may have written in preparation for the second volume.

James F. Willard,
University of Colorado

W. P. Shepard, ed., *La Passion Provençale du Manuscrit Didot.* Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1928. Pp. xliii + 149. Cloth. Fcs. 45.

Among the Romance scholars of the country, none in recent years has accomplished so much or so valuable work in the field of Provençal as Professor Shepard. His edition of the works of the troubadour Jausbert de Puycibot appeared five years ago, a diplomatic edition of the Oxford *Chansonnier* three years later, and now he has brought out an edition of the Provençal passion play usually known as the *Passion Didot*, one of the earliest works of the kind that have come down to us.

This last work is so decidedly worth-while that it is astonishing it should have remained so long unperformed. On the discovery of the manuscript in 1876, Paul Meyer announced his intention of publishing it in the 'Anciens Textes' series, but never carried out his plan. Since that time, various portions only of the play have been published by persons whose interest in the play itself was merely incidental. Thus, although the existence of the play was very well known, interest enough to bring about its publication seems to have been lacking. Such interest may possibly have been aroused by the following plain statement in a recent edition of another play:[1]

[1] G. Frank, ed., *La Passion du Palatinus*, Paris, 1922.

Cependant, de ces jeux de Dieu du XIVe siècle, il ne nous est parvenu qu'un fragment de 87 vers, trouvé à Sion et publié par Bédier, qui le place vers le commencement du même siècle, la passion provençale du manuscrit Didot, daté de 1345, encore inédite, et la passion du Palatinus.

The only unpublished fourteenth-century passion play written in a dialect of France was, therefore, our *Passion Didot*: and in contrast to the other two works of the time, especially the Palatinus passion, which was twice published within three years of its discovery, it had been known for over fifty years! Mr Shepard would deserve gratitude, in any case, for bringing to light a work of such importance: but only a thorough study of his edition makes possible a complete realization of our indebtedness to him. The *Passion Didot* is not only one of the earliest works of its kind, but exceedingly interesting in itself. Though the introduction of the strange Judas legend is its most original feature, it is unusual also in its sober and dignified treatment of the Biblical material. There is no attempt at comic effect and no delight in brutality. Mr Shepard has given us a scholarly edition of this play, worthy not only of the play itself, but also of the great series in which his edition appears.

In the introduction, the two most important and interesting questions studied are: (1) the language of the original version of the play; and (2) the literary relations of the *Passion Didot* to the other passion plays. These will be discussed briefly.

Although our play is known as the *Passion Provençale*, the language of the Didot manuscript, where it is found, is very much closer to Gascon than to classical Provençal. In the body of the text, all the characteristic features of Gascon appear, such as the prosthetic *a* before initial *r* and the change of *ll* to *r*. Thus there is little doubt that the copyists, of whom there were at least five, were Gascons. But the language of the play copied by the Gascon scribes? There exist two fragmentary versions of the same play in a language strongly resembling Catalan. Was the original play Catalan also rather than Provençal? Chabaneau had suggested that the language of the Didot manuscript was Provençal written in the Gascon region and had tended to believe that the original play was in Catalan. In order to settle this difficult question of language, Professor Shepard makes an exhaustive study of all the rhyme-words in the Didot manuscript for the light they may throw on the language of the original play.

It must be admitted, however, that this huge labor yields little positive result, the evidence being contradictory. Some phenomena, such as the use of the form *-at* to represent not only *-at* but *-atz* indicates a reduction of *ts* to *t* not found in Catalan; and the preterite in *-ec* is also purely Provençal. On the other hand, the confusion of open and close vowels in the rhyme, found occasionally, is hardly possible in classical Provençal. This

very lack of positive evidence as to the original language leads Mr Shepard to a conclusion similar to Chabaneau's but even more conservative. He believes that the original play had circulated to some extent and been altered in the course of its wanderings;[1] and that one of these revised versions had been Catalan; but he does not commit himself as to whether this version was the original one. This extreme caution, this aversion to futile speculation, marks Mr Shepard's work throughout.

The relation of the *Passion Didot* to other plays of the type is studied principally by means of a comparison with the Palatinus passion, its chief contemporary. There is surprisingly little resemblance between the two, as Mr Shepard points out. Order of scenes as well as choice of incident is different. Such great differences necessarily exclude the *Passion Didot* from the great family of plays[2] to which the Palatinus can be shown to belong. It agrees little better, however, with the plays outside this group:[3] and this complete lack of resemblance to any known play leads Professor Shepard to the interesting theory that the Provençal play is the only surviving member of a southern family having no direct connection with the northern or French group. This idea, perhaps somewhat startling at first, is really very reasonable. Thus the Judas legend already mentioned is not found fully developed in the French passion plays until much later, in the work of Jean Michel,[4] and the form found here differs greatly from that of the Provençal play. P. F. Baum in his study of this legend had suggested that the form found in the latter might be 'a belated descendant of the earliest version of all, stranded, as it were, in the South of France, and left behind by the later development.'[5] Not only the form of the Judas legend, however, but everything about our play itself — its fidelity to the Gospel accounts, its simplicity, the rapidity with which the crucifixion is passed over seem to represent a 'descendant of the earliest version of all, stranded, as it were, in the South of France.'

As to the rest of Mr Shepard's edition, little need be said. With only one manuscript to draw on, one difficulty in establishing a *text*, that of selection, is obviated. As to the others, it may be said that Professor Shepard's method of making the fewest changes possible is eminently sound and sensibly carried out. The Notes are very useful, being full of references to the Biblical passages paraphrased in the play and comparisons with the

[1] The possibility of the wandering of a successful play had been suggested by Mrs Frank (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xxxv (1920), 476) and others.

[2] The great mystery plays, as those of Arras, of Greban, and of Jean Michel belong here.

[3] The *Passion Ste Geneviève*, for example, seems closer to the Palatinus than to the *Passion Didot*.

[4] There had been allusions to the legend in the Semur passion and in that of Greban.

[5] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xxxi (1916), 558.

various French passion plays. The Vocabulary must have been compiled with the greatest care: unusual words, forms and usages with exact references to the line in which each occurs are to be found in it. Throughout the work, misprints are very rare: *quant* for *quand* on p. xxxiv and *1* instead of *2* in referring to a footnote on p. xxxv seem to be the only ones.

EDWARD L. ADAMS,
University of Michigan

PAULINE TAYLOR, *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum*, a Phonological, Morphological and Syntactical Study. New York: Carranza, 1924. Pp. ii + 142. Paper.

WE HAVE here both a sympathetic and a constructive study of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. It begins with a suitable Introduction, and a really significant Bibliography, which is copiously used in subsequent discussions. The treatment shows marked industry and talent throughout, so that we are pleased by the author's comprehension of Late Latin. It is a pity, therefore, that a potentially excellent piece of work should be issued with so great indifference to organization and the niceties of form. Examples rich in implication are given with a minimum of personal opinion. Interpretation is then supplied by numerous citations from authorities, which retard the orderly development of thought. Again, the author's own *Vita* is not even cast in sentence form. If one open at page 40, he will find 'Bonnet 170 states . . . whereas Haag 30 states . . . ,' and at page 41, note 28, he will read 'the infinitive not the form occurring in the text of the *Liber* is given.' Farther along (p. 53) stands 'for *dare* we find . . . Bonnet 490; Boucherie 41; Grandgent 426 . . . ,' and it is the same in other places. The material offered under collective nouns with plural verb (p. 63) requires more accurate division. Among the legitimate examples are included indiscriminately some in which a plural adjunct has intervened, others in which the plural verb is in the next sentence. In compensation for these faults, however, the chapter on the 'Oblique Case' and the discussion of indeclinable *maiorem domus* (pp. 94–96) are a real contribution.

Some errors in printing are observable: 'have,' p. 13, l. 13, is for 'I have'; 'wehereas,' p. 40, l. 20, for 'whereas'; '*its*,' p. 75, l. 9, for '*ist*'; and '*probalement*,' p. 87, l. 10, for '*probablement*.'

HENRY M. MARTIN,
Howard College

†T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals.* Manchester: University Press; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Vol. III, xviii + 494 pages; Vol. IV, xv + 484 pages. Cloth. $12 a volume.

The first two volumes of Professor Tout's history appeared in 1920. They carried the story of administrative policy and departments to the close of the reign of Edward II; the present volumes continue it to the close of the reign of Richard II, the end of the period that the author has taken as his province. A fifth volume, to appear shortly, will cover the history of the small seals and some non-royal households; it will also contain a much-to-be-desired index to the entire book.

The title of the book calls attention to the limitations placed by the author upon his treatment of administrative history. In his preface (pp. vi–vii) he further disclaims any intention of attempting the task of surveying all phases of royal administration. No one knows better than he how difficult such a task would be. So in the *Chapters*, though we find occasional mention, often with illuminating comment, of the officers of the crown who served in the counties and ports, or who acted as purveyors, collectors of taxes, and in similar capacities, the activities of such folk are only incidental to the story. What is more, neither the chancery nor the exchequer are dealt with in any detail. The story of administration as it is told in the four stout volumes that have appeared, is largely confined to that of the departments of the household. As such it is the work of a master craftsman who has drawn upon his intimate knowledge of all phases of life in his chosen field to illuminate the pages of a great book.

The volumes now appearing add much to our knowledge of the policies and methods of rule of Edward III and Richard II. Chapters nine and ten are devoted to a general survey of the changes in the policy of the king and in the personnel of the ministry and departmental offices. In these the author to a considerable extent covers ground that has been trodden by other feet. But the difference between his treatment and that of his predecessors is very apparent. We see, as before, Edward III as a constitutional king ruling with baronial approval, as making a bold bid for personal government, and then as accepting the principle of ruling with ministers acceptable to the magnates. Never before, however, have the causes and effects of these changes been brought out so clearly. When a ministry changes, he tells us about the past activities and personal affiliations of its new members; when a policy is adopted, we see it reflected in appointments and laws. Edward III's opportunism and Richard II's heedless ways are amply illustrated.

Woven into this story of ministerial changes and plots is Professor Tout's greater contribution. As the decades of the century passed, those

departments that were still peripatetic tended to settle down or to have permanent headquarters in London and Westminster. The exchequer had had a fixed abiding place for generations; now the chancery, the chamber, the wardrobe, the office of privy seal, and the great and privy wardrobes came under the same influence. The government of England at the close of the fourteenth century was largely administered from a capital. What is more, inter-departmental relations were being stabilized and the functions of the separate departments defined. Once great departments, like the wardrobe and the chamber, had their powers restricted, lesser departments, like the privy wardrobe, gained their small place in the sun.

Chapters eleven to fifteen deal with the development of the wardrobe of the household, the chamber, the great wardrobe, and the privy wardrobe. The chapter devoted to the wardrobe tells us much, but leaves us in a somewhat confused state of mind; too much stress has been laid upon the very troublesome matter of finance and too little upon the manner in which the department performed its everyday work. The remaining chapters are not subject to this criticism. In them we are told not only of the experience of the officers who headed them, but also of the work they had to do; they give a full and satisfactory picture of the activities of the departments.

A number of documents are set forth in the notes as well as many acute comments on subjects extraneous to the text. The group of historians who have been engaged in revising our ideas of the mediaeval parliament receive shrewd thrusts in the notes (III, 61, 62–63, 138–139, 291–293), as do others (IV, 18–19).

As might be expected, the book is remarkably free from error. It may be noted, however, that the case cited (III, 17) to prove that chancery writs overrode exchequer writs is hardly to the point. As the exchequer was closed and the Bardi had to be paid, letters close under the great seal were substituted for the customary writs of assignment under the seal of the exchequer. Lest it be inferred that the utilization under Edward III of abbots of leading monasteries as collectors of subsidies marked progress (III, 52), it may be mentioned that they had been employed in many instances in earlier years as collectors of taxes granted the king by the clergy, and that they served only once in Edward III's reign, in 1334, as collectors of the taxes upon personal property granted by laymen. I query the statement (III, 154) that the exchequer seal was a 'reduplication' of the great seal. I also question the description (III, 242) of the system of assignments as 'pernicious,' though it does complicate matters for a modern investigator. The lack of standardization of the references to manuscripts is at times a little perplexing. Take the references to the Memoranda Rolls. In volume two the form was simple: *M.R., K.R.* No. 81, m. 38 d. (p. 220, n. 1); *M.R., L.T.R., 15 Edw. II.* No. 92, 'adhuc recorda,' m. 17 (p. 258, n. 1).

In the fourth volume, now published, we find many variants, some of which would not lead us at once to the writ or account referred to: *M.R. K.R.* 103/6 (p. 230, n. 1); *M.R. K.R.* 110, breu. dir. bar. m. 31 d. (p. 236, n. 5); *M.R. K.R.* 116 (14 Edw. III. Easter t.) (p. 298, n. 1); *M.R. K.R.* 127, breu. dir. bar. Mich. t. 25 Edw. III. (p. 299, n. 1); *M.R. K.R.* 152, breu. dir. bar. Easter t. 50 Edw. III. m. 5 d. (p. 299, n. 3).

Professor Tout and his students have opened up a new field of mediaeval English history, and through their work we may in time know how a mediaeval government managed, despite much creaking of the machinery, to carry on from day to day.

JAMES F. WILLARD,
University of Colorado

JEANNE VIELLIARD, *Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne.* Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. xx + 262. Paper. Fcs. 60.

THE charters here studied are those contained in the facsimile edition of 1908 by Lauer and Samaran, together with a very few edited by Tardif. The Merovingian *diplomata* are unique in their language. They bristle with problems and pitfalls. Their translation alone is of exceptional difficulty. Therefore it is no small achievement that Mme Vielliard has embraced in one and the same volume phonetics, morphology, and syntax. The plan is identical with that of similar studies in the field, and inevitably there is constant overlapping. Nevertheless, the various monographs form parts, as it were, of one monumental work on Latin of the decadence, the evidence of one connecting with and substantiating or reversing the evidence of others.

The volume is provided with all the accessories: preface, introduction, an extensive bibliography of the most significant books and articles on the subject up to the present, and finally, a table of the charters with their number in various collections and their date. At the end we find a table of contents and that necessary adjunct, a word-index.

In the Introduction the author states as a preliminary caution that those parts of the charters copied from existing formulas are not genuinely popular. Those formulaic portions, dictated as were the rest, yield results for phonetics, but not for forms or syntax. On the back of the *diplomata* are certain facts, not taken from dictation, but compiled by the notaries for filing purposes, we may believe, notices which serve as a gloss on the charter proper and occasionally furnish material for comment. Those timely reservations made by the author betray discrimination and augur well for the book.

Part I is concerned with phonetics. By establishing connection, where it is possible, between etymon and derivative, the author creates a sense of

continuity. Thus from *adiacentia* and *monisterium* (p. 17) come respectively *aisance* and *moutier*. As an illustration of how the matter on the back of the charters can be utilized, we may mention the study of tonic *a*. That vowel remained, but the writing *Amalgero* on the outside of No. XXXVI against *Amalgarius* within suggests passage of tonic *a* to *e*. While not all phoneticians have been scrupulous to throw proper restrictions around the changes of *e* and *i*, Mme Vielliard is wisely reserved. She confesses herself undecided (p. 8) whether in verb endings the interchange of *e* and *i* is phonetic or marks confusion between conjugations; she would like to say that *fisticum* for *festucum* (p. 15) gives the pronunciation of *u*, but she is prevented by the possibility of confusion between the suffixes *-icum* and *-ucum*. Again she shows poise in refusing to wrest *exigiatur* for *exigatur* (p. 51) into a preconceived theory on the value of *gi*, and she prefers to explain the phenomenon as an exchange of verb endings. The interchange of *ĭ*, *ī*, *ĕ*, *ē*, under all circumstances is shown to have occurred, and here analogy, assimilation and dissimilation operated with full force. Philologists too often lose control in this territory. Mme Vielliard seems duly cautious. I am not sure it is an inadvertence, but *accipit* (perfect) for *accepit*, *reciperunt* for *receperunt* (p. 6) are assigned to the influence of *accipit* and *recipio* respectively. Later (p. 10) *recepire* is traced to possible analogy with the perfect *recepi*, which is previously said to have weakened. A difference in date complicates the question, it is true; yet the interpretation smacks a little of having it both ways. At intervals tables inserted show the relative frequency of phonetic changes, for example, the alternation of *ti* with *ci* (p. 63). We find also certain examples which seem rebellious to classification treated in the body of the text under *Remarques*. Even when the author introduces matter common to other studies, the point of view is so original as to make this section one of the most consequential in works of the kind.

In Part II the morphology is considered. Few interchanges between declensions have occurred, a stability which cannot be characteristic of the spoken language of the period. Even the fourth and fifth declensions have well withstood change. Although the scribes are found to have had a recollection of the *m*-accusative, the prevailing endings for the case are *a*, *e*, and *o*. Therefore, though the author does not argue the question, there seems to be some support for the Oblique Case theory. The accusative *rosas* serves for the nominative in the first declension only. In the second declension, the termination *-os* functions as accusative, dative, and ablative, not as nominative. Yet Beszard[1] has found that *-os* may be nominative plural in the charters of Sens. The evidence for this in one clear example — *ut nullus teleneus . . . non exigintur*, XXXI, 7, — is rejected by Mme Vielliard (p. 114, n.2) in favor of the impersonal passive. Other important items are *quem*

[1] L. Beszard, *Le Latin des Formules de Sens* (Paris: Champion, 1910), p. 25.

(p. 152), employed as a conjunction in a striking example *quaem filius . . . vindedissit*, XXXVI, 5, anticipating French *que*, and the indeclinable *maiorem domus* (p. 116). Several decades ago Sickel[1] had observed the latter. Mme Vielliard, however, has made the evidence complete by showing that *maior domus* in every instance bears the symbol of abbreviation. In a recent study,[2] the fact has been established for the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. Note the confirmation in two formulas of Marculf, probably of the eighth century: form B (*cum*) *episcopis illis, maiorem domus illo, ducibus ill.*[3] and *illis episcopis, illi maiorem domus*[4] . . .

The last division relates to syntax. A portion of the matter here is a restatement, notably the discussion of the nominative–accusative absolute, p. 193, *infra* = *intra*, p. 205, the use of the present participle as an independent verb, p. 226, and the substitution of *dum* for *cum*, p. 235. Under *concord* (p. 178), not a few of the examples can be duplicated in good Latin, while those under *ut* (p. 234), being classical throughout, are of subordinate importance. Of major interest, however, are the treatment of the impersonal passive and the argument that *suus*, diverging from its trend in Gregory of Tours and replacing *eius* (p. 183), will later become French *son*. In regard to the impersonal passive (p. 221) some objections suggest themselves. The notaries knew the passive plural (*generentur*, III, 6; *nuscuntur*, IV, 5; *invinibantur*, XIII, 4) and used it in the same charters where the irregularity occurs. If *teleneus*, which was not understood by the secretaries, is basis for the inference that *-os* (*-us*) is never nominative, then *nullus teleneus . . . non exigintur*, XXXI, 7, is as strong proof for, as *ubi tilloneos exigetur*, XVIII, 13, is against, especially since the writer of No. XXXI shows in *predictus teleneus . . . permaniat concessus*, l. 24, his control. The Charters of Sens show *-os* accusatives as subject: *successores uestros* (Beszard, *op. cit.*, p. 25). Of the examples *uigilias agitandumst, fit orationem, completo matutinas*, etc., brought forward by Löfstedt,[5] none seems determinant, so widely separated are they in kind and period from ours. To me all is 'dark and uncertain.' I hazard the guess that the secretaries as they wrote the monotonous formula *pontaticus, portaticus, teleneus*, etc., thought of all the

[1] Th. Sickel, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomatum Imperii*, Tomus I, *Besprochen* (Berlin: Fr. Vahlen, 1873), p. 59.

[2] Pauline Taylor, *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum* (New York: Carranza, 1924), pp. 94–96.

[3] Zeumer, 'Ueber die Älteren Fränkischen Formelsammlungen,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellsch. f. Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VI (1881), 29.

[4] Zeumer, 'Der Maior domus in Marculf,' *Neues Archiv* I, 25; *ibid.*, X (1885), 384.

[5] E. Löfstedt, *Phil. Komm. zur Per. Aetheriae* (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell, 1911), p. 292. The impersonal gerund is common in Lucretius, rare in Cicero (see Munro's note on Lucr., I, iii); *fio* is a very special verb, little understood by the ignorant; the participle in *completo matutinas* constantly tends toward a preposition.

terms under the one idea 'tax,' proof of which is the frequency of summation under *hoc* and *quod* (*ipsos solidos dece . . . hoc*, XXXIII, 35), and wrote the singular verb, but that an occasional scribe more alert caught the plural force of the several items or even of one.

It is clear that the statement *il arrive que le nom du représentant d'une communauté . . . soit suivi du pluriel* (p. 177, l. 18) is authorized by the first of the two examples from Charter XXXVI, but not equally by the second. Disjunctives have lost their force; in any case *pars* in *tam ipse Martinus vel pars domni . . . valiant* may be a coördinate subject.

The production of the book is good with the exception of a few errors in printing: *c'est dire*, Introd., IX, 3, is for *c'est à dire; telenus*, p. 114, n. 2, should be *teleneus; Ermeuricus*, p. 115, l. 20, should be *Ermenricus*, and *pou*, p. 144, l. 24, is for *pour*. We find *medetacionum*, p. 25, l. 22, and *achrammisse*, p. 88, l. 6; in the Index stand *medetacionem* and *achramisse*. Which are right? Finally, a few more cross-references would assist one to orient himself in the maze of detail. *Plus loin*, p. 178, n. 1, refers to p. 179, l. 8; *plus haut*, p. 188, l. 19, to p. 109, but where is *plus loin*, p. 117, l. 8?

I now make the statement which it was possible to put first. This is a work of high scholarship. It exhibits the writer's grasp of detail, originality of judgment, and instinct for form. The reviewer has spent some years on the *diplomata*, but after reading Mme Vielliard's study gallantly acknowledges himself outclassed.

HENRY M. MARTIN,
Howard College

CLEMENT C. J. WEBB, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon*, Libri III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. xxii + 239. Cloth. 21*s*. ($7.50 American Branch).

EXACTLY twenty years ago, in the *Prologemena* to his two-volume edition of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Professor Webb promised to give us an edition of the *Metalogicon*,[1] executed along the same lines. The fulfilment of that promise, though long in coming, measures up to our high expectations. Scholarship in the intervening years has greatly enriched our knowledge of life and thought in twelfth-century Europe, and particularly of the persons with whom John was associated, and Professor Webb has profiited by every available gain. Dr L. R. Poole's excellent edition of John's *Historia Pontificalis* (Oxford, 1927) has been of especial assistance in correcting previous mistakes in the chronology of John's life.

Although not so often edited as the *Policraticus*, — Webb's 1909 edition was the eleventh, — the *Metalogicon* has been previously edited five times: Paris, 1610; Leyden, 1639; Amsterdam, 1664; Oxford, 1848 (J. A. Giles);

[1] All three MSS give the Greek form. The printed editions until this one have latinized the title into *Metalogicus*.

Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. CXCIX (a reprint of Giles' edition). In the present edition the same general arrangement has been carried out as for the *Policraticus*. For a description of the three MSS the reader is referred to the *Prolegomena* of the *Policraticus*. There follows (pp. xiii–xxi) a list of the writers, classical and mediaeval, whom John has used. The extent of his debt to the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintillian is considerable.[1] So far as is known this is the first work of the Middle Ages in northern Europe in which the complete *Organon* of Aristotle is used. C. Schaarschmidt first pointed this out in his *Johannes Saresberiensis* (Leipzig, 1862), p. 122. As to the translation which John used, the last word thus far seems to have been said by Professor Haskins in his *Medieval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 223 ff.

In the text proper, corrections of unsatisfactory readings in previous editions have been made, notably of that passage in Lib. I, cap. xxiv (p. 54), which formerly read '*Huic, ut solet dici*, campologica, *probandi colores afferens, suas immittit rationes in fulgore* and *auri*,' and which now reads '*Huic, ut solet dici, campo Logica, probandi colores afferens. . .*' The variants given in the footnotes are extremely few. We are not told if they pretend to be complete; it hardly seems probable. We note, for example, the spelling '*Marcianus*' seven times and '*Martianus*' once (p. 196), with no variant in any of the three MSS in any of the eight cases: hardly a likely situation. Mr Webb does not venture an identification of the '*Cornificius*' whom John uses as the personal object of his attack on contemporary Sophists, but seems to lean to the monk Reginald (p. 8). He is, however, sure that the '*Tenredus noster, gramaticus scientia quam opinione potentior*' to whom John refers (p. 33) is '*Theinredus douerensis*' (*Proleg.*, pp. xx–xxi). There remain a few unsolved problems, quotations that defy detection, chronology, and obscure persons, but their number is astonishingly small and they concern only minutiae. The industry and patience of the editor are evident on every page.

There is, in addition to an *Index Nominum* and a detailed *Index Auctorum*, a short but useful *Index Verborum*, containing non-classical words used by John. The spelling in this *Index* is classicized, whereas the text itself is in the current twelfth-century orthography. Webb has appended (pp. 235–239) a list of *Addenda et Corrigenda* to the edition of the *Policraticus*. The book-making is in the tradition of the Clarendon Press — that is

[1] C. S. Baldwin, in his recent *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1928), pp. 156–172, analyzes the *Metalogicon* in some detail, giving a catena of translations, largely from Bks I and II. Exception may be taken, *inter alia*, to his translation of *color* as 'figure,' as in the following section (p. 162): '*Figuras gramatice, colores rethoricos, cauillationes sophismatum . . . proponebat in medio*' as 'grammatical forms, rhetorical figures . . . '; 'shade' or 'distinction' is a more natural rendering, both here and throughout the work.

to say, excellent. The proof-reading has been thorough. The reviewer is reduced to pointing out such inconsequentia as 'ne quando' for the 'ne-quando' in the text, p. 53, l. 23; '1137–8' for the obvious error '1157–8,' p. 80, l. 19; 'Mediaeval' for 'Medieaval,' p. 111, l. 38. It might well be a question whether a doubtful gain in universality of reading public by having Introduction and extensive critical notes in Latin compensates for a definite loss in grace and usefulness. After all, the Continental scholar in these days who cannot use English with relative ease is rare. But in any case, the edition is a model of careful and at times inspired scholarship, and might well be taken as a model for future works of a similar nature.

S. Harrison Thomson,
Huntington Library

E. Wessén, *De Nordiska Folkstammarna i Beowulf*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, xxxvi, 2. Stockholm, 1927. Pp. 84. Paper.

Professor Wessén's monograph is primarily an attempt to prove that the *Dene* of *Beowulf* were the Eruli, while the *Heaðobeardan* of the same poem were the Danes. This startling hypothesis is naturally accompanied by a reconstruction of what Mr Wessén thinks to have been the historical course of events in the Denmark of the first half of the sixth century. At the beginning of the century, the Eruli were masters of the region now called Denmark (including Slesvig). Between A.D. 507 and 512, a Swedish army wrested Slesvig, at least, and perhaps all Jutland, from the Eruli. These Swedes called themselves Danes, and were the founders of the Danish monarchy of later times. *Circa* 540, the Danes of Slesvig completed their conquest of the Eruli by overrunning the islands and perhaps Skaane. The conquered Eruli were quickly digested and became good Danes, and their traditions with them. Hence the English poet thought of the Scylding kings as Danes, instead of Eruli. Mr Wessén also tries to explain how the true Danes were turned into Bards in the tradition as we find it in *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, but his argument here becomes so thin that I will not discuss it.

The historical evidence on which Mr Wessén relies comes from three sources: Jordanes, Procopius, and Cassiodorus. The last has preserved to us a letter which Theodoric wrote to some Erulian king, urging him to join the Goths, the Thuringians, and the Varini in an alliance against the Franks; the Burgundians, too, were to be members of the proposed alliance. This letter is plausibly dated in the year 507. Mr Wessén thinks that the Eruli in question lived in Scandinavia. Now Jordanes tells us that the Danes expelled the Eruli from their proper seats, and from this we may infer that at one time there was an Erulian kingdom on what later became Danish territory. We are not told when these Eruli were expelled, but the

expulsion must have taken place before 512, because in that year, according to Procopius, a band of Eruli from the Danube went north (seemingly by the Elbe route), and, carefully avoiding Danish territory, took ship somewhere on the southwest shore of the Baltic and sailed to the neighborhood of the Gauts, where they found welcome and lands. From the tale as told by Procopius it is clear that there was enmity between Danes and Eruli, and here he gives support to Jordanes. But it is equally clear that at that time no Erulian kingdom existed in the north, since the Erulian refugees from the Danube had to go all the way to Gautland to find a welcome. Mr Wessén puts the Danish conquest of Jutland between 507 and 512, and such a dating of the event can be defended, though I should put it much earlier. When, however, he puts the Danish conquest of Selund at *ca.* 540, he comes into conflict with Procopius, and I cannot admit even the possibility of so late a date for this important event. In truth, the events recorded or referred to in *Beowulf* cannot be brought into connection with the expulsion of the Eruli by the Danes. The king of the Eruli approached by Theodoric was surely Rodulf, the ruler of the only Erulian kingdom of which we have any direct information, viz., the kingdom in the plains of Hungary. The letter is described by Cassiodorus as sent simply to the *rex Erulorum*. This can hardly be anybody but the well-known king of the well-known tribe in the south. If another Erulian kingdom had existed in the north, Cassiodorus would almost certainly have described its king as *rex Erulorum septentrionalium*, or something of the sort. The date A.D. 507 thus has no bearing on the history of the Danes. Moreover, Mr Wessén departs radically from Jordanes when he supposes that the Danes absorbed the Eruli and took over their traditions. Jordanes tells us that the Danes *expelled* the Eruli. In other words, the Eruli migrated, abandoning their ancestral seats to the Danes and seeking new homes elsewhere — in the south, presumably, where we find them. This migration presumably took place in the fifth century; the evidence of contact between Angle and Dane points to the first rather than the second half of the century as the time of the Erulian migration and Danish settlement.

Kemp Malone,
Johns Hopkins University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su Historia Crítica de las Ideas Religiosas.* Vol. III. Madrid, 1929. Paper. Pp. 333.

T. H. Banks, Jr., transl., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* New York: F. S. Crofts, 1929. Half-cloth. Pp. 143. $1.00.

A. J. Barnouw, ed., *A Middle Low German Alexander Legend from a newly discovered Manuscript, privately owned, edited, with Introduction and Notes* (Germanic Review Texts, I). New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. 78. $1.00.

A. de Boüard, *Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale: Diplomatique Général avec un Album de 54 Planches en Phototypie.* Paris: A. Picard, 1929.

C. K. Brampton, ed., *Gulielmi de Ockham Epistola ad Fratres Minores, edited with Notes and Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxxv + 55. 6*s*.

Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 558. $8.50.

F. C. Burkitt, ed., *Speculum Religionis, being Essays and Studies in Religion and Literature from Plato to von Hügel . . . . presented . . . . to Claude G. Montefiore.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 216. $7.00.

Leona C. Gabel, *Benefit of Clergy in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XIV). Northampton, Mass., 1929. Paper. Pp. vi + 148.

M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliche Lateinische Übersetzungen von Schriften der Aristoteles-Kommentatoren Johannes Philoponos, Alexander von Aphrodisias und Themistios* (Bavarian Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1929, No. 7). Paper. Pp. 72.

W. Heraeus, ed., *Siluiae uel potius Aetheriae Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta* (Sammlung Vulgär lat. Texte, I). 3d ed., Winter: Heidelberg, 1929. Paper. Pp. viii + 52. RM. 1.25.

J. Holmberg, ed., *Das Moralium Philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, lateinisch, altfranzösisch, und mittelniederfränkisch* (Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, No. 37). Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksells, 1929. Paper. Pp. 319. Kr. 12:–

H. C. Hoskier, *De Contemptu Mundi: a Bitter Satirical Poem of 3000 Lines upon the Morals of the XIIth Century by Bernard of Morval, Monk of Cluny (fl. 1150), re-edited, with Introduction and Copious Variants from all the known MSS.* London: Quaritch, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xi + 104 (Plate). 12/6.

S. A. Hurlbut, ed. and transl., *The Song of S. Peter Damiani on the Joyes & Glory of Paradise, edited from the Vatican MS. with a new Translation.* Washington, D. C.: St Albans Press, 1928. Paper. Pp. 26 + 1 Plate. $1.00.

I. Husik, ed. and transl., *Sefer Ha-' Ikkarim: Book of Principles . . . critically edited on the Basis of Manuscripts and Old Editions and provided with a Translation and Notes.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929. 2 vols. Cloth. Pp. xxviii + 203; pp. 219.

P. F. Jones, *A Concordance of the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede.* Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America (Publ. No. 2), 1929. Paper. Pp. [x] + 585. $6.00.

J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: an Introduction and a Guide.* Vol. I. *Ecclesiastical.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 807. $12.50.

K. Langosch, ed., *Asinarius und Rapularius* (Sammlung mittellat. Texte, No. 10) Heidelberg: Winter, 1929. Paper. Pp. xii + 108. RM. 5.50.

A. G. Little, *Paul Sabatier: Historian of St Francis.* Manchester: The University Press, 1929. Pp. 14. 1*s.*

E. A. Lowe, ed., *Regula S. Benedicti: Specimina selecta e codice antiquissimo Oxoniensi.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Boards. $2.50.

H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326–1347* (University of Michigan Publications — History and Political Science, VIII). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xviii + 696. $4.00.

K. Malone, M. B. Ruud, edd., *Studies in English Philology: a Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x + 486. $7.50.

R. McKeon, ed. and transl., *Selections from Medieval Philosophers,* I. *Augustine to Albert the Great.* New York: Scribners, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xx + 375.

T. F. T. Plucknett, ed., *Year Books of Richard II: 13 Richard II, 1389–1390* (The Ames Foundation). London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Co., Ltd., 1929. Cloth. Pp. l + 205. $5.00.

B.–A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *François II, Duc de Bretagne et l'Angleterre (1458–1488).* Paris: E. de Boccard, 1929. Paper. Pp. 34.

K. Strecker, ed., *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon aus deutschen, englischen, französchen und italienischen Handschriften.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1929. Paper. Pp. xx + 179. RM. 6.

Margaret R. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (British Society of Franciscan Studies, XV). Manchester: the University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x + 266. 14 *s.*

Helen Waddell, transl., *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics.* London: Constable, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii + 352. 21*s.*

Margaret Wattie, ed., *The Middle English* Lai le Freine, *edited with a Study of the Date and Dialect of the Poem and its Analogues* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, X. 3). Northampton, Mass., 1929. Paper. Pp. xxii + 27. $.75.

H. A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle: Problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy* (Harvard Semitic Series, VI). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 759. $6.00.

SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

KING ALFRED'S NORTH: A STUDY IN MEDIAEVAL GEOGRAPHY

By KEMP MALONE

THE present paper is an attempt to find out the meaning of the terms for the cardinal points (north, south, east, west) in the first or geographical chapter of King Alfred's Old-English translation of the *Historiae aduersum Paganos* of Orosius.[1] The subject has never been studied systematically, although H. Geidel in his doctor's dissertation, *Alfred der Grosse als Geograph*, gives a certain amount of cursory attention to Alfred's terms of direction.[2]

Our English text begins with the division of the earth into three parts, Asia, Europe and Africa (Sweet, p. 8). Of these, Asia includes the whole eastern half of the earth. Its bounds are the ocean to south, north and east; to its right, in the north, at the river Don, are the boundaries common to Asia and Europe. Here the orientation is Asiatic; we stand in Asia, facing west, and Europe is thus to the right (and north), while Africa is to the left (and south). The west-

[1] My study is based on the text as printed by Henry Sweet, *Early English Text Society* (London, 1883), No. 79, pp. 1–28. Sweet also prints, alongside the English text, such portions of the Latin original as he deems relevant. Since however he overlooked not a few relevant passages, I have used the complete Latin text of Orosius printed by C. Zangemeister in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1882), vol. v.

[2] H. G. Porthan was, I believe, the first to call attention to the fact that Alfred sometimes turns the north a little (i. e., 45 degrees) to the east. His study was published in 1800. Among other writers who have discussed the point are R. K. Rask and G. Storm. Cf. also H. M. Chadwick, *Origin of English Nation* (1907 impression), p. 104, and W. A. Craigie, *Modern Language Review*, XII (1917), 201. In a study of my own, 'Ptolemy's Skandia,' printed in the *American Journal of Philology*, XLV (1924), 362–370, I showed that a displacement of the cardinal points appears in Ptolemy's *Geography*, and I there referred it to native (i. e., Scandinavian) sources of information. The latest scholar to take up the discussion is L. Weibull, in the new journal *Skandia*, I (1928), 292 ff. For bibliography see Weibull, p. 293, footnote, and J. Bosworth's edition of Alfred's *Orosius* (London, 1859), pp. liii–lvii. In none of these studies was any attempt made to examine Alfred's usage as a whole.

ern bounds of Asia run south from the Don, along the Mediterranean (which for Alfred included the Black Sea). Asia and Africa come together 'to the west of the city of Alexandria,' a statement inspired by Orosius, i,2,8: *Africae principium est a finibus Aegypti urbisque Alexandriae.*

Alfred now takes up the eastern boundary of Europe, tracing it from north to south. This boundary is of course identical with the northern half of the western boundary of Asia, but Alfred, following Orosius, traces it here in greater detail. His description of it is not a mere translation of the Latin text. We learn that the Don flows due south, that it runs on the west side of 'Alexander's altars,' and that it empties into the Euxine to the east of the city of Theodosia. Moreover, we are told that the boundary lies to the east of Constantinople. These specifications are consistent with Orosius, though they do not appear in his text.

Next Alfred gives us the western boundary of Europe. Here Alfred, unlike Orosius, distinguishes between Europe's 'southwest end' at Gades and thereabouts, and its 'west end,' viz. Ireland. In the same way, in dealing with Africa, Alfred distinguishes between the 'northwest boundary' and the 'due west end' of that continent. The former is at the Pillars of Hercules, the latter well to the south, at Mount Atlas and the Fortunate Isles (i. e. the Canaries). Here, however, Alfred has some support in the Latin text. Orosius says (i.2.10–11),

termini Africae ad occidentem idem sunt qui et Europae, id est fauces Gaditani freti. ultimus autem finis eius est mons Athlans et insulae quas Fortunatas uocant.

On Orosius's map of the world, as reconstructed by Miller,[1] the Pillars of Hercules are about equidistant between Hibernia, to the north, and the Fortunate Isles, to the south. When therefore Alfred says, *hire* (i. e. Europe) *on westende is Scotland* 'Ireland is at Europe's west end,' he presumably means that Ireland is at Europe's 'due west end.'

In his description of Spain (Sweet, p. 24), Alfred takes occasion to

[1] *Mappaemundi, die ältesten Weltkarten* (ed. Konrad Miller, Stuttgart, 1895–98), Heft 6, Tafel 3.

PLATE I

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO OROSIUS
Reconstructed by Konrad Miller

say something further about the geographical position of Ireland. Like Orosius, he gives Spain three corners: east, southwest and northwest. The third corner (the second in Orosius) lies 'northwest, opposite the town Brigantia Gallia; also opposite Ireland, across the sea — over against the mouth of the Shannon.' This passage is based on two passages in Orosius. The first reads thus (i.2.71),

secundus angulus circium intendit; ubi Brigantia Gallaeciae ciuitas . . .

The second passage reads (i.2.80–81),

Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita longiore ab africo in boream spatio porrigitur. huius partes priores intentae Cantabrico oceano Brigantiam Gallaeciae ciuitatem . . . spatioso interuallo procul spectant, ab eo praecipue promunturio, ubi Scenae fluminis ostium est. . . .

Alfred is evidently too well informed to follow Orosius closely here. He avoids copying Orosius's inaccurate location of Ireland between Britain and Spain, and he is careful not to bring Ireland and Spain close together. He contents himself with saying that the northwest corner of Spain lies (1) opposite Brigantia on the Spanish side of the sea, and (2) opposite Ireland on the other side of the sea. He goes on to specify the part of the Irish coast which lay opposite.[1] Here he made a mistake, but this is the only part of the passage where his source led him astray. Alfred tells us later on (Sweet, p. 24, l. 15) that Ireland is west of Britain. Apparently, then, he took Ireland to be due north of the northwest corner of Spain. If so, he had a pretty accurate notion of its whereabouts.

If, for Alfred, Europe's southwest end lay at Gades, and its west end in Ireland, where did its northwest end lie? In Thule, which Orosius locates very vaguely (*circium uersus medio sita oceani*), but which Alfred puts to the northwest of Ireland. In Orosius, the reference to Thule comes after the mention of the Orcades (Orkneys); after the reference to Thule comes a description of Hibernia; a short account of Meuania (Man or Anglesey) comes next, and concludes the section devoted to Europe. In Alfred, Meuania is dropped and Thule transferred to the place thus left vacant. In this way Alfred

[1] The river Scena is doubtless the Σῆνος 'Shannon' of Ptolemy. Geidel (*op. cit.*, p. 23) wrongly identifies *Scena* with the Seine.

makes Thule follow Ireland and conclude the European section of the geography. These changes can hardly be without significance. According to Geidel, Alfred had Iceland in mind when he wrote of Thule.[1] Alfred could hardly be expected to use the name *Island*, since that term had probably not yet become current in England when he made his translation of Orosius. If Alfred's Thule was really Iceland, his location of the western extremities of Europe is admirable for his day. A glance at the map (Plate v) will show that Spain and Iceland actually hold the extreme southwest and northwest positions, and that Ireland, about midway between them, holds the extreme due west position.

Leaving Europe as a whole, let us now take up Europe by parts. Alfred says surprisingly little about Britannia. He tells us that it is an island, lying *norðeastlang*, but this information he gets straight from Orosius.[2] In fact, if we take the west side of Britain, a line from Land's End to Cape Wrath (in Sutherland) runs almost due north, while on the east side a line from Lowestoft (in Suffolk) to Peterhead (in Aberdeen) runs northwest by north. But in Ptolemy we find Britain extending northeastward until it ends in a point north of the mouth of the Elbe and almost in sight of Jutland (see Plate II). Orosius doubtless had similar misconceptions, and Alfred does not seem to have known much better. The following passage from a ninth-century monument shows the same point of view:

Qui [i. e. reges Danorum] tamen eo tempore domi non erant, sed ad Westarfoldam [i. e. Vestfold in southern Norway] cum exercitu profecti, quae regio ultima regni eorum inter septentrionem et occidentem sita, contra aquilonalem Britaniae summitatem respicit, cuius principes ac populus eis subici recusabant.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 24, bottom. Geidel adds, in a footnote: 'Die Meinung, dass das Thule des Pytheas Island sei, war übrigens in der vor- und nachalfredischen Zeit ziemlich verbreitet.' The first to make the identification seems to have been the Irish monk Dicuil, who flourished in the early part of the ninth century; see Th. Thoroddsen, *Geschichte der isländischen Geographie* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 9.

[2] Geidel, *op. cit.*, p. 23, says of Alfred: 'Von seinem Original weicht er auch bei Angabe der Längenrichtung Britanniens ab, indem er dessen Längsachse nordöstlich statt nördlich verlaufen lässt.' But the *in boream* of Orosius means 'northeast,' not 'north.' Cf. the 4th metre of Boethius, where Alfred renders *Boreas* with 'wind norþan ond eastan.'

[3] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *Scriptores*, Tom. I, Hanover, 1826, *Einhardi Annales*, A. 813. Note that *aquilonalem* means 'northeastern.'

PLATE II

THE BRITISH ISLES ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY

Reconstructed by Henry Bradley

Likewise Ohthere, Alfred's Norwegian retainer, apparently thought of Britain as extending throughout toward the northeast. In a well-known passage, describing a voyage along the Norwegian coast from Hálogaland to Vestfold, he tells us (Sweet, p. 19),

> and to starboard is, first, Ireland, and then those islands [i. e. Hebrides, Man, etc.] that are between Ireland and this land [i. e. Britain]; then is this land, until one comes to Sciringesheal [in Vestfold].

This would be correct enough if Orosius and Alfred were right about the direction of Britain's longitudinal axis, for in such case Ireland would not be shut off from the North Sea. Professor Sir William Craigie points out [1] that Iceland rather than Ireland was to Ohthere's starboard, in point of fact, at the *beginning* of the voyage. But at the beginning of Ohthere's first voyage (around the North Cape) Iceland was to his left, and yet he speaks only of the 'wide sea to port.' One may conjecture that Ohthere's visit to England took place before the colonization of Iceland began (in 874). If so, it is quite possible that he had at that time never heard of Iceland, and, in view of the paucity of Alfred's remarks on Thule, it seems clear that Ohthere told his lord nothing that could be tied to this tempting name. In my opinion Ohthere, in telling of his voyage south, spoke of Ireland first because it was the first country, on the starboard side, which seemed to him worthy of mention. The *ærest* 'first' of the text can hardly be pressed further than this, in spite of Professor Craigie's specious rather than sound arguments. Certainly we are not justified in emending the *Iraland* which twice appears in the text and both times makes good sense.[2]

Alfred goes on to say that Britain has 'Gallia Bellica' to the south and 'Ibernia' to the west. The southerly (rather than southeasterly) location of Gallia Belgica is an inevitable consequence of the notion that Britain extended northeastward. For the same reason we must interpret Alfred's 'west' as equivalent to our 'northwest'; in other

[1] *Modern Language Review*, XII (1917), 200 f.

[2] See also O. F. Emerson, *Modern Language Review*, XI (1916), 458 f. But Adam of Bremen seems to have confused Ireland with Scotland; see A. A. Bjørnbo, in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Ser. 2, XXIV (1909), 155 ff. In the *Modern Language Review*, XXV (1930), 78–81, show that Ohthere flourished in the third, not in the fourth quarter of the ninth century.

words, Alfred's term of direction here shows a shift of 45 degrees clockwise.

Turning now to the Continent, we may begin with Alfred's description of Spain. Alfred follows Orosius in giving Spain three corners, as we have seen. His first corner is the third of Orosius: 'one of these corners lies southwest, opposite the island called Gades' (= *tertius angulus eius est, qua Gades insulae intentae in africum*). His second corner is the first of Orosius: 'and the second lies east, opposite Narbonensis' (= *huius angulus prior, spectans ad orientem . . . Narbonensium finibus inseritur*). His third corner we have already dealt with. Alfred also follows Orosius in dividing Spain into two provinces, Further and Hither. His terms of direction, in bounding Further Spain, are much obscured by the punctuation of Sweet. If, however, we go back to the punctuation of Bosworth,[1] all our troubles vanish. That Bosworth understood the passage better than Sweet becomes obvious when we compare the Old-English text with the Latin: *seo us fyrre Ispania, hyre is be westan garsecg and be norðan* 'as for Further Spain, the ocean is west and north of it' (= *a septentrione oceanum, ab occasu oceanum*); *Wendelsæ*[2] *be suðan* 'the Mediterranean to the south' (= *a meridie Gaditanum oceani fretum, unde mare Nostrum . . . inmittitur*); *and be eastan seo us nearre Ispania* 'and to the east is Hither Spain' (= *ab oriente Vaccaeos, Celtiberos et Oretanos*).

Alfred bounds Hither Spain as follows: (1) *be norðan þære synt Equitania* 'to its north is Aquitania' (= *Hispania . . . huius angulus prior, spectans ad orientem, a dextris Aquitanica provincia, a sinistris Balearico mari coartatus*); (2) *ond be norðaneastan is se weald Pireni* 'to its northeast are the Pyrenees' (= *Hispaniam citeriorem ab oriente incipientem Pyrenaei saltus a parte septentrionis usque ad Cantabros Asturesque deducit*); (3) *ond be eastan Narbonense* 'to the east is Narbonensis' (= *Hispania . . . huius angulus prior, spectans ad orientem, . . . Narbonensium finibus inseritur*); (4) *ond be suðan Wendelsæ* 'to the south is the Mediterranean' (= *Hispaniam cite-*

[1] *Ed. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] Geidel (*op. cit.*, p. 20) is misled by Sweet's punctuation into thinking that *Wendelsæ* here means 'the Bay of Biscay.'

riorem . . . posita in Nostri maris litore Carthago determinat). The orientation here needs a few words of comment. In (1) the corner is said to be in the east; if one stands there, facing toward Spain (i. e. west), Aquitania will be to the right or north, and the Balearic sea will be to the left or south. In (2) one begins at the east corner and proceeds along the northern boundary. In (4) Alfred substituted the sea for the seaport (which is Carthago Nova, of course).

In bounding Gallia Belgica (Sweet, p. 22), Alfred departs somewhat from Orosius. He agrees with his source in putting the Rhine to the east (l. 22), and Britannia to the north (l. 25). But Orosius tells us, besides, that Gallia Belgica has *ab euro Alpes Poeninas, a meridie prouinciam Narbonensem, ab occasu prouinciam Lugdunensem, a circio oceanum Britannicum* (i.2.63). To this passage answers Alfred's 'to the south the Alps, and to the southwest the English Channel' (ll. 23–24). On the face of it, Alfred here translates *ab euro* with 'to the south,' and, stranger still, *a circio* with 'to the southwest.' Since, a little later on (l. 31), he correctly translates another *a circio* with 'to the northwest,' we may have only a slip of the pen in the 'to the southwest' of l. 24. As regards the 'to the south' of l. 23, two explanations are possible. On the one hand, Alfred may have taken *Alpes* (*Poeninas*) *a meridie* together, overlooking the *ab euro* which went before. Certainly in his translation he ignored the six words which follow *meridie* in the Latin text. On the other hand, it may be that Alfred is here deliberately departing from his source. His location of the Alps to the south of Gallia Belgica agrees strikingly with his later location of them to the north of Provence. The matter will be considered below, in the discussion of the bounds of Provence.

Alfred next takes up Aquitania, which he puts west of the Loire; he perhaps had the upper Loire in mind, or perhaps his Loire, like his Rhine, ran due north. The other boundaries are fixed as follows: (1) 'to the south, one part of Narbonensis' (= *ab euro et meridie . . .*); (2) 'to the southwest, Spain' (= *ab occasu Hispanias*); (3) 'to the west, the ocean' (= *a circio . . .*). The discrepancies here obviously need comment. As regards (1), if all Narbonensis was southeast and south, then it follows logically enough that one part of it was

southeast, the other part south. Alfred mentions the latter only, and his location of this *sum dæl* of Narbonensis is based directly and exclusively on the Latin text. As regards Spain and the Ocean, Alfred here deliberately departs from his source; in both cases his term of direction is displaced 45 degrees clockwise, as compared to Orosius. Cf. the displacement of Ireland noted above.

We come now to Narbonensis. I read this troublesome passage (ll. 28–32) as follows:

Be suðan Narbonense is se Wendelsæ þær þær Rodan seo ea utscyt; ond be eastan him Proventsæ; ond be westan him Proventsæ, ofer þa westenu, seo us nearre Ispania; ond be westan him ond norðan Equitania ond Wascan

and translate thus:

(1) to the south of Narbonensis is that part of the Mediterranean into which the Rhone empties; (2) to the east of Narbonensis is the Sea of Provence; (3) to the west of Narbonensis and the Sea of Provence, beyond the Pyrenees, is Hither Spain; (4) to the northwest of Narbonensis are Aquitania and Gascony.

Here (1) answers well enough to the *a meridie mare Gallicum . . . qua Rhodanus fluuius in mare exit* of Orosius. In (2), *Proventsæ* has been identified with the *Proventse* 'Provence' of l. 32, but this involves an emendation; as it stands, the word must mean 'Sea of Provence.' Moreover, as we shall see later, Alfred's *Proventse* includes his *Narbonense*. Now Alfred's *Narbonense* in any case must have been confined to the Narbonensis I (west of the Rhone) of the later Roman Empire; a Sea of Provence would be, not east but southeast of this Narbonensis. In other words, Alfred has here the shift of 45 degrees which we have already noted thrice. In (3), I take *him* to be a dat. pl., *Proventsæ* a dat. sg., and translate 'to the west of them, viz., to the west of Narbonensis and the Sea of Provence, lies Hither Spain.' The omission of *Narbonense* is idiomatic enough in this appositive construction with the pronoun of the third person, and Alfred's geography is here based on that of Orosius. To (4) answers the *Narbonensis provincia . . . habet . . . a circio Aquitanicam* of Orosius. That *Wascan* belongs here (in spite of Sweet's punctuation) becomes evident when we remember that Gascony is merely the southwestern

part of Aquitania. Sweet makes Alfred say that Gascony lies north of Narbonensis, which is sheer nonsense!

Alfred ends his section on Gaul by giving the bounds of Provence. The passage reads (ll. 32–35):

Be norðan Proventse hæfð, be norðan hyre, þa beorgas þe man Alpis hæt; ond be suðan hyre is Wendelsæ; and be norðan hyre ond eastan synd Burgende; ond Wascan be westan.

Here the first sentence is clumsy, because the author changed his construction in the middle. He started to write: *be norðan Proventse sind þa beorgas* . . . 'north of Provence are the mountains . . .' but when he reached *Proventse* he suddenly decided to write: *Proventse hæfð, be norðan hyre, þa beorgas* . . . 'Provence has to its north the mountains . . .' As a result, *be norðan* appears twice, and the passage is by no means a model of English style. But Alfred, like Homer, must be allowed to nod now and then, and I see no reason for resorting to emendation. Burgundy is actually north, not northeast, of Provence proper (east of the Rhone). Alfred's accuracy here can be maintained only if we define his *Proventse* as the whole of ancient Narbonensis, east and west of the Rhone. This definition is borne out by Alfred's *Wascan be westan;* if *Proventse* had been merely east of the Rhone, he would have said *Narbonense* here.

Alfred's location of the Alps seems to have been inspired by a passage in Orosius's description of Italy, and to Italy, therefore, we will now turn. Alfred begins (Sweet, p. 22, l. 17) by telling us that Italy is *westnorðlang ond eastsuðlang* 'northwest and southeast, lengthwise.' This answers to the *Italiae situs a circio in eurum tenditur* of Orosius. We learn further that the 'Mediterranean encompasses it wholly, except to the northwest' (= *ab africo Tyrrhenum mare, a borea Hadriaticum sinum*). Orosius goes on to say that that part of the peninsula which joins the mainland is blocked by the barrier of the Alps; or, to follow Alfred, at that end [of the country] the Alps encompass Italy. Orosius adds (i.2.62):

quae [i. e. the Alps] a Gallico mari super Ligusticum sinum exsurgentes primum Narbonensium fines deinde Galliam Raetiamque secludunt donec in sinu Liburnico defigantur.

This passage Alfred englishes thus:

Þa onginnað westane fram þæm Wendelsæ in Narbonense þære ðeode, ond endiað eft east in Dalmatia þæm lande æt þæm sæ.

It would seem that Alfred connected *primum* with *exsurgentes*, and took *fines* to be a second object of *super*. He evidently understood (correctly enough) that the *fines* in question were the eastern borders of the province. But if the Alps began *super Narbonensium fines* 'beyond the [eastern] boundary of the Narbonenses,' they began somewhere *within* Narbonensis, for in this passage, of course, the orientation is Italian. Hence Alfred's *in Narbonense þære ðeode*. In what part of Narbonensis did the Alps of Alfred begin? There is no clear statement, but Alfred's *westane, fram þæm Wendelsæ*, combined with his location of the Alps north of Provence and south of Gallia Belgica, lead one to think of the Cevennes. In this connexion we must remember that Alfred's *Narbonense* lay west of the Rhone. But what of the Maritime Alps? If Alfred knew this range of mountains at all, he may have thought it a mere southern spur of the great range to the north.

Alfred's description of the Balkans departs considerably from that of Orosius. The English king writes most of the passage in terms of Constantinople. The correspondences are therefore not exact. They are conveniently tabulated as follows:

Orosius	Alfred
1. Thracia habet ab oriente Propontidis sinum et civitatem Constantinopolim . . . ab occasu et africo Macedoniam.	Wyð eastan Constantinopolim Creca byrig is se sæ Propontidis . . . ond be westan þære byrig sindon Traci ond be eastan þære byrig Macedonie.
2. Thracia habet . . . a septentrione . . . sinum Euxini ponti.	Ond be norðan Constantinopolim Creca byrig scyt se sæearm up of þæm sæ westrihte þe man hæt Euxinus.
3. Ad Danuuium . . . qui est a(d) meridie et ad oriente(m) directus Ponte accipitur. . . . Moesia . . . habet . . . ab euro Thraciam.	Ond be westannorðan þære byrig Donua muða þære ea scyt suðeast ut on ðone sæ Euxinus.

PLATE III

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO BRIT. MUS. (*MS. Cott. Tib. B. V*), f. 58v
Restored by Konrad Miller

4. Moesia ab oriente habet ostia fluminis Danuuii.	Ond on suðhealfe ond on westhealfe þæs muðan sindon Mæsi.
5. Thracia habet . . . a meridie Aegaeum mare . . . Achaia . . . habet . . . ab aquilone . . . Corinthus, habens in Attica ad boream non longe Athenas civitatem.	Ond be suþan þære byrig, on suðhealfe . . . Egeum, sindon Athena ond Corintus þa land. Ond be westansuðan Corinton is Achie þæt land, æt þæm Wendelsæ.
6. Dalmatia habet . . . a meridie Hadriaticum sinum.	Ond be westan Achie, andlang þæs Wendelsæs, is Dalmatia þæt land, on norðhealfe þæs sæs.
7. Moesia . . . habet . . . ab africo Dalmatiam . . . Dalmatia habet . . . ab occasu Histriam et sinum Liburnicum et insulas Liburnicas	Ond be norþan Dalmatia sindon Pulgare ond Istria.

In addition, Alfred bounds Istria as follows:

And to the south of Istria is that part of the Mediterranean called Atriaticum; and to its west are the Alps; and to its north is the wilderness that lies between Carinthia and the Bulgars.

Nothing to correspond appears in Orosius.

Some of these paraphrases of Alfred's call for no comment. Many of his statements, however, need attention. In passage No. 1, the last phrase tells us that Macedonia is east of Constantinople. Since the Latin text reads *ab occasu* and Macedonia is actually west, not east of Constantinople, we have what seems to be an obvious slip of the pen. The passage would make excellent sense if we simply cancelled *be eastan þære byrig;* or we might emend *eastan* to *westan.* In No. 3, Alfred's *suðeast* is evidently based on *a(d) meridie et ad oriente(m);* his *westannorðan*, like his *westan* in No. 1, is the result of a reversal of the orientation. Orosius tells us that Moesia has Thrace to the southeast; put the other way, Moesia (which included the mouths of the Danube) is northwest of Thrace, and hence all the more of Constantinople. Similarly, if Constantinople is east of Thrace, then Thrace is west of Constantinople. The same reversal of orientation appears in No. 4, *ab oriente* thereby giving *on westhealfe*, and in No. 5, *ab aquilone* giving *be westansuðan.*[1] Since Orosius's

[1] Note that Alfred correctly takes *aquilo* to mean 'northeast,' not 'north.'

(and hence Alfred's) Aegean stopped with Euboea, Attica (No. 5) is actually on its *suðhealfe*. When Alfred tells us (No. 7) that Istria and the Bulgars are north of Dalmatia, he is lumping together two rather different pieces of information. The Bulgars, who ranged over Moesia and Dacia, were northeast of Dalmatia, while Istria is northwest of Dalmatia.[1] Now Alfred lumps these two pieces of geographical information in the only way possible, viz., by holding himself to the 'north' which is all that 'northeast' and 'northwest' have in common.

So far, we have considered only those geographical statements of Alfred's concerning the Balkans which were based on passages in Orosius. But Alfred adds four items of his own. They are as follows:

1. Dalmatia is west of Achaia (No. 6).
2. The Adriatic is south of Istria.
3. The Alps are west of Istria.
4. The wilderness [Pannonia] between Carinthia and the Bulgars is north of Istria.

These statements are all inaccurate, if we apply to them our notions of the meaning of the terms *north*, *south*, *east* and *west*. If we make the needful corrections, we get the following:

1. Dalmatia is northwest of Achaia.
2. The Adriatic is southwest of Istria.
3. The Alps are northwest of Istria.
4. Pannonia is northeast of Istria.

Our corrections show that Alfred's error is in each case the same. His cardinal points, compared with ours, show a shift of 45 degrees clockwise.

We come now to Alfred's description of Germania. His first statement, *from þære ie Danais west oþ Rin þa ea*, rests on Orosius i.2.52: *a . . . flumine Tanai . . . usque ad . . . flumen Rhenum quod est ab occasu*. His description of the course of the Rhine,

seo wilð of þæm beorge þe man Alpis hætt, ond irnð þonne norðryhte on þæs garsecges earm þe þæt lond uton ymblið þe mon Bryttania hætt,

[1] The *ab occasu* of Orosius refers, not to Istria alone, but to Istria, the *sinus Liburnicus* and the islands, taken together. Alfred seems to have made the obvious inference that Istria, taken by itself, would be northwest of Dalmatia.

is independent of Orosius. In fact, the Rhine does not run due north. After leaving the Lake of Constance, its course may be described as, first, west, then northeast, then (for a short distance) north, then northwest, and, finally, west. But Alfred in giving it a strictly northerly course agrees with Ptolemy and is apparently following classical geographical tradition.

The Don and the Rhine are the east and west boundaries of Alfred's Germania. The southern boundary is the Danube, of which Alfred says,

ond eft suþ oð Donua þa ea, þære æwielme is neah Rines ofre þære ie, ond is siþþan east irnende wið norþan Creca lond ut on þone Wendelsæ.

To this corresponds the following passage in Orosius (i.2.52):

deinde usque ad Danuuium . . . qui est a(d) meridie et ad oriente(m) directus Ponto accipitur.

This passage Alfred uses again (and differently), as we have seen, in his description of the Balkans. Here he adds that the Danube has its source near the Rhine, and that it forms the northern boundary of the Eastern Roman Empire. Alfred translates *Pontus* with 'Wendelsæ' i. e. Mediterranean. In other words, he looks upon the Euxine as part of the Mediterranean. Here Alfred leaves Orosius, and makes no further use of him in the description of Germania.

The northern boundary of Germania, according to Alfred, is the Cwensæ: *ond norþ oþ þone garsecg þe mon Cwensæ hæt* 'and north to that part of the ocean called the Cwensæ.' Since according to Ohthere the Cwenas lived north of the Swedes and across the moors from the Norwegians, it seems reasonable to identify the Cwensæ with the Gulf of Bothnia.[1] The ocean of which the Cwensæ formed a part was, no doubt, the Sarmatian Ocean of which we shall hear later on.

Having given the bounds of Germania, Alfred proceeds to describe it in detail. He begins in the west, north of the Danube and east of the Rhine (Sweet, p. 14, l. 36). Here live the *Eastfrancan* 'East Franks,' who serve as orientation point for western Germania. South

[1] So Geidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

of them are the *Swæfas* 'Swabians,' on the other side of the Danube. It will be noted that here in the west the Danube is *not* the southern boundary of Germania, in spite of Alfred's earlier general statement (a mechanical translation of Orosius). Southeast of the Franks are the *Bægware, se dæl þe mon Regnesburg hætt*, i. e. the Bavarians of Ratisbon. Further on (Sweet, p. 16, l. 13) Alfred tells us that both Bavarians and Swabians extend to the Alps. Due east of the Franks are the *Bæme* 'Bohemians.' Northeast of the Franks are the *þyringas* 'Thuringians.' North of the Franks are the *Ealdseaxan* 'Continental Saxons.' Northwest of the Franks are the *Frisan* 'Frisians.' This description of western Germania seems fairly accurate, so far as the cardinal points are concerned.

Alfred now takes the *Ealdseaxan*, i. e. Lower Saxony (roughly, Hanover and West Holstein), as a second point of orientation. To their west, he says, is the mouth of the river Elbe, and *Frisland* 'Frisia.' To their northwest is *þæt lond þe mon Ongle hæt, ond Sillende ond sumne dæl Dene*, i. e. Slesvig.[1] To their north are the *Afdrede*, i. e. the Abotriti of Mecklenburg. To their northeast are the *Wilte, þe mon Hæfeldan hæt*, i. e. that branch of the Wilti or Luticians which held the Havel valley. To their east is *Wineda lond, þe mon hætt Sysyle*, i. e. that part of Slavic Germany held by the Siusli, a Sorb tribe on the Mulde. Finally, to their southeast, *ofer sum dæl* 'some distance over,' are the *Maroara* 'Moravians.' If we test this part of Alfred's geography by the map, we get the following:

1. The mouth of the Elbe and Frisia are northwest of the Saxons.
2. Slesvig is north of the Saxons.
3. The Abotriti are northeast of the Saxons.
4. The Wilti of the Havel valley are east of the Saxons.
5. The Siusli are southeast of the Saxons.

Here, then, Alfred's cardinal points show the shift of 45 degrees clockwise with which we have become familiar. The statement about the Moravians, on the other hand, shows no such shift.

Alfred takes the *Maroara* as his third point of orientation. To their west, he says, are the *þyringas ond Behemas ond Begware healfe*. To

[1] On *Sillende*, see E. Wadstein, *Namnet Danmark*, II (1919), 42 ff. (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årskrift*, XXV).

the south of the *Maroara*, across the Danube, is *þæt lond Carendre suþ oþ þa beorgas þe mon Alpis hæt*, i. e. Carinthia. Alfred adds here that Bulgaria is east of Carinthia, and *Creca land* 'the Eastern Roman Empire' is east of Bulgaria. Returning to the *Maroara*, Alfred says that to their east is *Wisle lond*, i. e. the country of the Wislane, on the Vistula; to the east of the Wislane is Dacia. To the northeast of the *Maroara* are the *Dalamentsan*, i. e. the Dalemintzi, around Meissen on the Elbe. To the east of the *Dalamentsan* are the *Horoti* (v.ll. *Horigti*, *Horithi*, *Horiti*), i. e. the Czechish Chorvaty at the sources of the Elbe. To the north of the *Dalamentsan* are the *Surpe*, i. e. apparently the Lusatians, a tribe of the Sorbs settled west of the Oder south of Frankfort. To the west of the *Dalamentsan* are the *Sysyle*, i. e. the Siusli mentioned above.

If we correct the geography of this paragraph, and put the facts in tabular form, we get the following:

1. Thuringia, Bohemia and the (north) part of Bavaria are northwest of Moravia.
2. Carinthia is southwest of Moravia.
3. Bulgaria is southeast of Carinthia.
4. The Eastern Roman Empire is southeast of Bulgaria.
5. Wisleland is northeast of Moravia.
6. Dacia is southeast of Wisleland.
7. The Dalemintzi are northwest of Moravia.
8. The Chorvaty are southeast of the Dalemintzi.
9. The Lusatians are northeast of the Dalemintzi.
10. The Siusli are northwest of the Dalemintzi.

In all but two of these cases the displacement of Alfred's terms of direction is 45 degrees clockwise. Nos. 5 and 7 do not fit into the system. No. 5 could be made to fit by reading *norðan* for the *eastan* of the text; No. 7, by reading *þyringas* for the *Maroara* of the text. In support of the former emendation it may be pointed out that in the text as it stands Alfred names tribes to the west, south and east of Moravia, but none to the north. But even so, both emendations are too drastic to be more than conjectural.

Alfred now proceeds as follows:

Be norðan Horoti is Mægþa land; ond be norþan Mægþa londe Sermende oþ þa beorgas Riffen.

Here *Sermende* is Sarmatia, i. e. North Europe east of the Baltic; earlier Alfred has told us:

Europe hio onginð . . . of Danai þære ie, seo is irnende of norþdæle, of Riffeng þæm beorgum, þa sindon neh þæm garsecge þe mon hateð Sarmondisc.[1]

The Sarmatian Ocean is our East Baltic, which the Ancients did not distinguish from our Arctic. It would seem that Alfred thought of the Arctic as stretching south as far as the Gulf of Finland or thereabouts. Alfred's *Mægþaland* probably means 'land of tribes,' since the alternative interpretation, 'land of maidens,' seems hardly admissible. If we examine the text of Orosius we discover that he assigns (without naming) 54 tribes to the region which Alfred calls Germania. Apparently Alfred named as many of these tribes as he could, and then lumped the rest, putting them in what to him was obviously a *terra incognita*, viz., the region between the Chorvaty and Northeast Europe. The name *Mægþaland* which he gave to this *terra incognita* seems to have been of his own invention. The direction of movement from the Chorvaty to Sarmatia is northeast, as the map shows us. The *be norðan* of our passage, twice used, therefore means 'northeast' in both cases. The displacement is again 45 degrees clockwise.

Alfred concludes his survey of Germania with a description of Scandinavia. He first takes the Danes. These fall into two divisions, South and North. As we shall see, more accurate descriptive terms would be Southwest and Northeast. The *suþ* and *norð* which Alfred uses are therefore two more instances of the familiar displacement by 45 degrees clockwise. Alfred bounds the territory of the South Danes as follows:

Be westan Suþdenum is þæs garsecges earm þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brettania; ond be norþan him is þæs sæs earm þe mon hæt Ostsæ; ond be eastan him ond be norþan sindon Norðdene, ægþer ge on þæm maran landum ge on þæm iglandum; ond be eastan him sindon Afdrede; ond be suþan him is Ælfe muþa þære ie ond Ealdseaxna sum dæl.

[1] Sweet, p. 8, 11. 14–16; cf. Orosius i. 2. 4–5: Europa incipit . . . sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, qua Riphaei montes Sarmatico auersi oceano Tanaim fluuium fundunt.

From these boundaries it is clear that the South Danes inhabited the Jutland peninsula. It is clear, too, that *be westan* means 'west' and *be suþan* 'south.' On the other hand, *be eastan* cannot mean 'east'; the only meaning possible for it is 'southeast.' *Be eastan ond be norþan* means 'northeast,' as we shall see later, and the meaning of *be norþan* is clearly 'north,' for Alfred's *Ostsæ* included both Skagerak and Kattegat. Of the five terms of direction, then, which here occur, only one exhibits the shift of 45 degrees, clockwise, with which we are elsewhere familiar.

Alfred now gives the bounds of the North Danes, i. e. the Danes of the islands (except Fyn and its small neighbors) and of the Scandinavian mainland:

Norðdene habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm þe mon hæt Ostsæ, ond be eastan him sindon Osti þa leode; ond Afdræde be suþan.

Here *be norþan* must mean 'north,' as it can refer only to the Kattegat. Similarly, *be suþan* must mean 'south.' The meaning of *be eastan* will be considered presently.

We next learn something about the *Osti*, already mentioned in connexion with the North Danes:

Osti habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm, ond Winedas, ond Burgendan; ond be suþan him sindon Hæfeldan.

If the *Hæfeldan* lie to their south, the *Osti* must be a coastal tribe. The conclusion is confirmed by the fact that Alfred puts the sea to their north. The *Burgendan* are the inhabitants of Bornholm, of course. *Winedas* is less clear. Earlier, as we have seen, Alfred uses *Winedalond* to mean 'Slavic Germany.' Since he puts in his *Winedalond* the Siusli, a tribe settled on the Mulde, well in the interior, the term obviously covers more territory than the Baltic coast. In the present passage, however, Alfred's *Winedas* must have a restricted meaning. I take it to refer to the inhabitants of the island of Rügen. A coastal tribe might well have to its north the Baltic, together with the Baltic islands Rügen and Bornholm.[1] The conditions of the prob-

[1] The existence, side by side, of a narrow and a broad meaning of the same word need not trouble us. To be compared is the Modern English *Teutons*, which may mean the historical tribe of that name, or Germans generally, or all peoples of Germanic stock, including the English themselves.

lem are best met if we suppose the *Osti* to have held the estuary of the Oder. In that case the Baltic would actually be to their north, and though the *Winedas* would be northwest and the *Burgendan* slightly northeast, Baltic, *Winedas* and *Burgendan*, taken together, would have to be referred simply to the north. Cf. the lumping of Bulgaria and Istria in Alfred's description of the Balkans. The *Hæfeldan* would then be southwest rather than due south of the *Osti*, and *be suþan* here would mean 'southwest.' Similarly, *be eastan*, in the passage dealing with the North Danes, would mean 'southeast,' not 'east.' We thus have two more cases in which a term of direction exhibits a shift of 45 degrees clockwise.[1]

Now come the bounds of the *Burgendan*, which Alfred gives as follows:

Burgendan habbaþ þone ilcan sæs earm be westan him; ond Sweon be norþan; ond be eastan him sint Sermende, and be suþan him Surfe.

The terms of direction here are used as we use them to-day. The island of Bornholm actually has Sweden to the north and the Baltic to the west. The location of the Sarmatians to the east is equally accurate. The *Surfe* are the Sorbs of Germany proper; in the ninth century they lived due south of Bornholm.

Finally, Alfred gives us the bounds of the Swedes, as follows:

Sweon habbaþ be suþan him þone sæs earm Osti; ond be eastan him Sermende; ond be norþan him ofer þa westenne is Cwenland; ond be westannorþan him sindon Scridefinnas; ond be westan Norþmenn.

Here Alfred, instead of calling the Baltic the *Ostsæ*, calls it the *Osti*. The usage, if genuine, indicates that the old name for the Baltic meant, not the 'eastern sea' but rather the 'sea of the *Osti*.' The use

[1] OE. *Ōsti* is in all likelihood a loan-word from Old Norse. Its initial *ō* goes back to ON. *au*, a regular correspondence in such loan-words. I have elsewhere explained the hypothetical ON. original as a short form of the Ostrogothic name. See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XL (1925), 791 f. The Ostrogoths were originally settled at the mouth of the Vistula, not the Oder, but at an early period the Ostrogothic realm was extended by conquest westward to the Oder; see A. Bugge, *Norges Historie*, I, i, 93. In consequence, the Ostrogothic name, in its shortened form, seems to have been applied (by the Scandinavians at least) to all the relics of the old East Germanic population along the south shore of the Baltic. Its survival in Alfred bears witness that the name, once given, maintained itself long after the last East German had become a Slav.

of *Osti* alone, without any term for 'sea,' has its parallel in our modern use of *Caribbean*. After the decline of the *Osti*, popular etymology would soon bring about an association of the sea-name with the word for 'east,' and the original force of the term would eventually be lost. Alfred's usage thus bears the marks of antiquity. As for the terms of direction in our passage, *be suþan* and *be eastan* clearly mean 'south' and 'east' respectively. Cwenland was the region at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, as we shall see later. It included Bothnia to the west and part of Finland to the east. Alfred's *be norþan* therefore in this case probably means 'northeast.' The *Scridefinnas*, who lived northwest of the *Cwenas*, were not in direct contact with the Swedes, but were to their north. Alfred's *be westannorþan* thus means 'north' here. As for the Norwegians, they lived to the northwest of the Swedes, and Alfred's *be westan* must here be taken to mean 'northwest' not 'west.' Of the five terms of direction, then, which Alfred used in bounding Sweden, three show a displacement of 45 degrees clockwise.

We come now to the story of Ohthere, Alfred's Norwegian retainer (Sweet, pp. 17 ff.). Ohthere lived 'further north than any other Norwegian, . . . in the northern part of the country, by the *Westsæ*.' The name *Westsæ* is an English form of Ohthere's **Vestmarr* 'North Sea' (the first element of the word being taken over intact, while the second element was translated). Compare the *Occeanus Occidentalis* of Eginhard and Adam of Bremen. Similarly, Alfred got from Ohthere the name *Ostsæ* = ON. *Austmarr* 'Baltic.' The terms grew naturally out of Scandinavian geography. Their Norse provenience is evident at once from the meanings attached to the names; in addition, we have phonetic evidence in the case of *Ostsæ*, where OE. *ō* answers to ON. *au*, as regularly in loan-words. Nowadays we confine the term *North Sea* to the waters south of, say, 60 degrees north latitude; the waters north of this line are technically known as the Norwegian Sea. Alfred and Ohthere, however, like Eginhard and Adam, knew no such distinction; for them the whole was one body of water, the West Sea. Originally, no doubt, the term was applied only to the North Sea proper, but as the settlement of the Norwegian coast proceeded further and further north, the familiar name was

always kept by the settlers, and used to designate the waters to their own west. In other words, the West Sea from the beginning meant the waters to the west of inhabited Scandinavia, from Slesvig to Helgeland.[1]

Later on (Sweet, p. 19, l. 9), Ohthere tells us that his shire was Halgoland, i. e. ON. Hálogaland, Mod. Norw. Helgeland. His home was in that part of the shire furthest north. It is generally put at the Malangen Firth or thereabouts. Thence the land extended *swiþe lang norþ* 'far to the north.' But the coast in these parts, and on to the North Cape, runs northeast. We may therefore say that Ohthere here uses *norþ* in the sense 'northeast.' That this is what he meant becomes clear when he adds that he once wanted to see *hu longe þæt land norþryhte læge* 'how far the land extended due north.' We have here the usual shift of 45 degrees clockwise.

Ohthere now tells of his voyage of exploration. He sailed for three days *norþryhte be þæm lande* 'due north, along the coast.' Since the coast runs northeast, this statement is explicable only on the assumption that Ohthere's *norþryhte* meant to him what 'northeast' means to us. Then he sailed three more days *norþryhte*. This brought him to the North Cape, or perhaps a bit beyond. At this point *beag þæt land þær eastryhte* 'the coast bent due east.' He waited for a wind *westan ond hwon norðan* 'from the west by northwest' and then sailed *east be lande* 'east along the coast' for four days. A glance at the map shows us that the coast in question actually runs southeast. Here, then, Ohthere uses *east* and *eastryhte* in the sense 'southeast,' but his *westan ond hwon norðan*, though used with reference to the same geographical situation, does not show any corresponding shift clockwise and must be taken in the modern sense.

Ohthere is now brought to a halt:

> Then he had to wait there for a wind from due north (*ryhtnorðan*), because the land there bent due south (*suþryhte*).

In other words, his four days' sail from the North Cape had brought him to Cape Sazonova, on the east side of the Kola Peninsula. Here the land bends due south, precisely as Ohthere says, and in this case,

[1] Cf. Geidel, *op. cit.*, p. 40, and my remarks, *Modern Language Review* xx (1925), 3 f.

therefore, Ohthere's terms of direction show no displacement clockwise.

When he had got his north wind, Ohthere continued his voyage for five days, at the end of which time he had reached the mouth of the Varsuga river.[1] He describes his course as *suðryhte be lande* 'due south along the coast.' In fact, his course was due south from Cape Sazonova to a point some miles below the mouth of the Ponoi river, a distance of about 60 miles altogether. From this point to Chapoma, about 75 miles, he sailed southwest; from Chapoma to Chavanga, about 40 miles, he sailed due west, and from Chavanga to the mouth of the Varsuga, about 30 miles, his course was west by northwest. Ohthere, it would seem, did not bother to tell Alfred all this, but contented himself with a loose description of the course as southerly.

Ohthere gives Alfred further geographical information in his description of Norway (Sweet, pp. 18 f.). He describes Norway as very long and very narrow. It is habitable only towards the sea. Wild moors lie *wið eastan ond wið uppon* 'towards the east and towards the uplands.' Finns (i. e. Lapps) live in the moors. The belt of cultivated land between sea and moor is widest *easteweard*, and the further north one goes, the narrower it gets. It can be 60 miles or more wide *easteweard;* 30 or 40 miles wide *middeweard;* and *norðeweard*, where it is narrowest, it is some 3 miles wide. Here *easteweard* obviously means 'to the south.' The explanation of this usage lies in the fact that southeastern Norway fronts on the Skagerak, which for Ohthere was part of the *Austmarr* 'East Sea.' A journey to the East Sea, or to any of its tributary districts, was quite naturally a journey east, whether by land or water.[2]

Ohthere goes on to say that the moors behind the cultivated land are in some places so wide that it takes two weeks to cross them, while in other places they can be crossed in six days. On the other side of the moors lie *Sweoland* 'Sweden' to the south, and *Cwenaland* to the north. There is much warfare between the Norwegians and the *Cwenas*. There are many fresh-water lakes over the moors. The

[1] For the identification of the river (which Ohthere names only as *an micel ea* 'a big river'), see A. Bugge, *Norges Historie*, I, ii, 149.

[2] For another explanation, see J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, s.v. *austr* adv.

Cwenas bring their boats overland to the lakes, and thence harry the Norwegians. A study of the map shows us that many such lakes, long and narrow, are to be found *geond þa moras* in western Bothnia and in Jämtland, the province just south. *Cwenaland* thus obviously included Bothnia. Ohthere does not tell us how far east it extended, but from other sources we learn that the *Cwenas* lived east as well as west of the Gulf of Bothnia.[1]

Ohthere next tells of his voyage to *Sciringesheal* on the Oslo Firth, and thence to *Hæþum*, i. e. Slesvig. Earlier in this paper I discussed the voyage to Sciringesheal. Here then I will begin with Ohthere's description of the Baltic. He says,

> To the south of Sciringesheal a very great sea enters into the land; it is so wide that none can see across it, and *Gōtland* [i. e. Jutland] is on the other side of it, just opposite [Sciringesheal], . . . That sea runs many hundreds of miles up into the land.

The body of water south of Sciringesheal is, of course, the Skagerak. Its width, and the position of Jutland with reference to it and to Sciringesheal, answer perfectly to Ohthere's description. Since however the sea of which Ohthere speaks is many hundreds of miles long, the Skagerak must be only the beginning of it. In other words, Ohthere is speaking of the Baltic, and reckons Skagerak (and Kattegat) as part of that body of water. This conclusion is confirmed by Alfred's statement, noted above, that the *Ostsæ* 'Baltic' lies north of the South Danes, i. e., north of the Jutland peninsula. Likewise Adam of Bremen tells us (iv.14),

> At vero a parte aquilonari revertentibus ad ostium Baltici freti, primi occurrunt Nortmanni, deinde Sconia prominet, regio Danorum. . . .[2]

Evidently for Adam too the Skagerak was the beginning of the Baltic. I have elsewhere explained *Gōtland*, Ohthere's name for Jutland.[3]

[1] Cf. K. Grotenfelt, *Annales Acad. Scient. Fennicae*, Ser. B, vol. I (Helsingfors, 1909), pp. 1 ff.

[2] B. Schmeidler, in his edition of Adam (Hannover and Leipzig, 1917), p. 242, note 1, translates as follows: Auf der Nordseite (der Ostsee) aber begegnen, wenn man zum Ausgang des Baltischen Meeres zurückkehrt, zuerst usw. On the point see also F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists* (New York, 1911), I, 169, note.

[3] *Modern Language Review*, XX (1925), 6, and XXIII (1928), 336 ff.

Alfred continues with Ohthere's account as follows:

And he said he sailed in five days from Sciringesheal to the port that is called *æt Hæþum;* it stands between the *Winedas,* the Saxons and *Angle* and belongs to the [South] Danes. When he sailed thither from Sciringesheal, Denmark was to port and open sea to starboard for three days. And then, two days before he came to *Hæþum, Gōtland, Sillende* and many islands were to starboard. In those lands the Angles lived, before they came to this country [i. e. England]. And to port, for those two days, were those islands that belong to Denmark.

Ohthere's course seems reasonably clear. Leaving Sciringesheal, he skirted for three days the east shore of Skagerak and Kattegat from the present Norwegian boundary to the Samsö Belt. He then traversed that Belt, the Great Belt and Langeland's Belt, and finally crossed Kiel Bay to Haddeby. While he was skirting the shoreline, open sea (Skagerak and Kattegat) was to starboard. While he was traversing the Belts, the Jutland peninsula, Fyn, Langeland and a number of small islands were to starboard. To port was Denmark (i. e. the Kingdom of the North Danes) the whole way: the Danish mainland the first three days and the Danish islands the last two days. From Ohthere's words one gathers that there were two Danish kingdoms, and Alfred's own distinction between North Danes and South Danes points to the same thing.

Alfred reports also a voyage from Hæþum to Truso made by a certain Wulfstan, who, according to Professor Sir William Craigie, was an Englishman.[1] During the voyage the ship passed Langeland, Laaland, Falster, Skaane, Bornholm, Blekinge, Möre, Öland and Gotland on the port side. The whole way, on the starboard side, was *Weonodland.* Then comes the following description of the mouth of the Vistula:

The *Wisle* [Vistula] is a great river, and it lies between *Witland* and *Weonodland,* and Witland belongs to the Ests. And the Wisle runs out of Weonodland and runs into the *Estmere* [Frisches Haff]. And the Estmere is about 15 miles wide. Then the *Ilfing* [Elbing river] comes from the east into the Estmere, from the lake on the shore of which Truso stands, and they come out together into the Estmere, the Ilfing from the east, from Estland, and

[1] *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XXIV (1925), 396 f.

the Wisle from the south, from Winodland, and then the Wisle deprives the Ilfing of its name, and runs from the Estmere northwest into the sea. Therefore it is called the mouth of the Wisle [rather than the mouth of the Ilfing].

Wulfstan names all the countries which actually lay on his ship's port side during the voyage east, and he names them in their proper order. His name *Weonodland* for Slavic Germany agrees with Alfred's *Winedaland* in the same sense. The geography of the Gulf of Danzig, as given by Wulfstan, calls for comment. At the present time the main stream of the Vistula flows directly into the Gulf, well to the west of the Frisches Haff. But an eastern branch of the Vistula, called the Nogat, empties into the Frisches Haff, and the Elbing flows from the lake into the Nogat just as Wulfstan explains. Since the delta of a river is notoriously shifty ground and the course of the main stream often changes, we have every reason to accept Wulstan's witness that in the ninth century the Nogat was the main stream of the Vistula. Again, at the present time there exists, to the west, no 'gat' or break in the 'nehrung' or strip of land separating the Frisches Haff from the Gulf of Danzig; the only gat now in existence is at the northeast end of the nehrung. But a western gat may well have existed in Wulfstan's day, of course, and because of his statement to that effect we have a right to assume that such a gat did then exist. It remains, however, to test his terms of direction. A study of the map shows that the Elbing flows, not from the east but from the southeast into the Nogat. Again, the Nogat flows, not from the south but from the southwest into the Frisches Haff. Finally, since the Nogat flows into the western end of the Frisches Haff, any western gat that then existed would have been north, not northwest, of the mouth of the Nogat. Hence Wulfstan's terms of direction show a consistent shift of 45 degrees clockwise. This fact is worthy of special note, inasmuch as Wulfstan was an Englishman.

Alfred's descriptions of Asia and Africa are of course much briefer than his description of Europe, and he has to rely more on Orosius for his information. In consequence, the comparison of the English text with the Latin yields less for the purposes of this study. In the following, I will present the relevant material as briefly as possible. Let us begin with Asia. Alfred tells us that the mouth of the Ganges

VISTULA DELTA
5 0 5 10
1: 500 000
KILOMETRES
30'
SARMONDISC
GARSECG
ESTMERE
WINODLAND
WISLE
WITLAND
54°
19°
30'

Plate IV

flows into the ocean opposite the middle part of Asia, at the east end (= *Asia ad mediam frontem orientis habet* . . .). He puts Caligardamana to the south of the mouth of the Ganges (= *a sinistra*), Taprobane to the southeast (= *ad eurum*), Samara and the end of the Caucasus to the north (= *a dextra*), Ottorogorra to the north of Samara (= *ad aquilonem*). Alfred renders *aquilo* with 'north' also in bounding Cappadocia; for yet another case see below. These seem to be examples of the shift of 45 degrees clockwise, since Alfred in the description of the Balkans correctly interprets *aquilo* as 'northeast.'

In bounding India, Alfred puts the Red Sea to the south; this is a logical inference from Orosius's statement that the Indus *Rubro mari accipitur*. The bounds of Parthia conform to those given by Orosius; worthy of note is Alfred's *on suphealfe se Reada sæ* 'to the south the Red Sea' (= *a meridie mare Rubrum*). In bounding Mesopotamia, Alfred again puts the Red Sea to the south; here he departs from Orosius. Obviously Alfred looked upon the Persian Gulf as a part of the Red Sea; he tells us next that 'Arabia lies along that part of the Red Sea which extends north,' and this extension must be the Persian Gulf. The corresponding passage in Orosius reads (i.2.21–22),

> Arabia Eudaemon, quae inter sinum Persicum et Arabicum . . . orientem versus extenditur.[1]

I think Alfred describes the position of Arabia as he does in order to avoid mentioning the *sinus Arabicus*, which seems to puzzle him. In the description of Syria, which immediately follows, Orosius puts this *sinus* to the south, but Alfred makes no mention of it, and he omits it again in bounding Upper Egypt.

The description of Syria holds another item of some interest. Orosius tells us that the region

> a septentrione, id est a ciuitate Dagusa, quae in confinio Cappadociae et Armeniae sita est . . . usque ad Aegyptum et extremum sinum Arabicum, qui ad meridiem . . . occasum uersus extenditur, Syria generaliter nominatur.

[1] Orosius, like Ptolemy, gives the name *sinus Arabicus* to the body of water which we call the Red Sea. His *mare Rubrum* is our Arabian Sea.

It seems clear that the *ad meridiem* of Orosius refers only to the *sinus Arabicus*, unless indeed *Aegyptum* means Upper Egypt only; in the description of Lower Egypt, Orosius puts Syria to the east, not to the north. But Alfred, who, as we have seen, omits all reference to the *sinus Arabicus*, nevertheless retains *ad meridiem* and refers it to *Aegyptum*. He translates, therefore, 'north . . . to the land called Armenia, and south to Egypt . . . is all called Syria.'

When now Alfred comes to the description of Lower Egypt, he corrects Orosius's *Aegyptus inferior ab oriente habet Syriam Palaestinam*, and translates, 'As for Lower Egypt, Palestine is north of it.' In fact, Palestine is northeast of Lower Egypt, of course; Alfred's 'north' therefore looks like another example of our shift of 45 degrees clockwise. It is better interpreted, however, as an attempt at consistency: since, in bounding Syria, Alfred had put Egypt to the south, in bounding Egypt he puts Syria to the north.

Alfred's bounds of Cappadocia conform to those of Orosius. But after telling us that Asia Minor is west of Cappadocia, Alfred goes on to say that Cilicia and Isauria lie between — in other words, are east of Asia Minor. In reality they are southeast, and we have here a genuine, though indirectly expressed, displacement of the term of direction 45 degrees clockwise. Alfred's bounds of Asia Minor agree with those given by Orosius, and the bounds of Lower Egypt have already been discussed.

In the description of Upper Egypt, Orosius himself exhibits a displacement of the terms of direction. He tells us (i.2.34),

> Aegyptus superior in orientem [= southeast] per longum extenditur. Cui est a septentrione [= northeast] sinus Arabicus [Red Sea], a meridie [= southwest] oceanus. Nam ab occasu [= northwest] ex inferiore Aegypto incipit, ad orientem [= southeast] Rubro mari [Arabian Sea] terminatur.[1]

The Upper Egypt of Orosius thus included the Sudan, Abyssinia and Somaliland. Alfred here follows his source, although, as I have already said, he leaves out *a septentrione sinus Arabicus*. This is not the only passage in which Orosius has the same shift of 45 degrees clockwise which we have come to associate with Alfred. Thus, he makes Arabia extend to the east (= southeast), and puts the Pro-

[1] Cf. Geidel, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

pontis and Hellespont to the west (= northwest) of Asia Minor. But it would take us too far afield to go behind Orosius's inaccuracies, and I will confine myself to Alfred's deviations from his Latin source.

The descriptions of Northern Asia and of Africa contain little worthy of note, so far as the terms of direction go. I may mention that Alfred translates *ad promunturium Boreum* with 'to the north-east end of this earth.' There is no shift here! Upper Egypt is put west (instead of east) of "Libia Aethiopicum," evidently by a slip of the pen. Again, in the description of Mauretania Tingitana, Alfred translates *sub africo* with 'to the south.' Here we seem to have an instance of the displacement by 45 degrees clockwise.

The geographical chapter concludes with a description of the islands of the Mediterranean. The descriptions of Cyprus and Crete call for no comment. In bounding the Cyclades, both Orosius and Alfred put the Aegean to the north; compare the description of the Balkans, where the Aegean is limited in the same way to the region north of Euboea. The three corners of Sicily, according to Orosius, look *ad aquilonem*, *ad euronotum* and *in occasum*. A modern map shows the accuracy of this description. Alfred translates *in occasum* with the usual 'west.' He seems to have found *ad euronotum* 'south of southeast' a shade too accurate; at any rate, he contents himself with 'south.' The corner looking *ad aquilonem* he records as 'north.' This is clearly a case of displacement, for Alfred goes on to put the Straits of Messina north of Sicily (= *a borea*), and the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west (= *ab occidente et septentrione*). All these changes hang together, and point definitely to a shift of 45 degrees clockwise.

In the description of Sardinia, Alfred's terms of direction agree with those of Orosius, except that he puts the Baleares to the west (= *ab africo*). But if we turn to Orosius's description of the Baleares, we find that he puts Sardinia to their east! Alfred evidently noticed this inconsistency, and made his choice — distinctly the better one, as a glance at the map reveals. Alfred's bounds of Corsica correspond to those of Orosius, except to the north, where Alfred puts Tuscany. This is a clear case of our displacement of 45 degrees clockwise. The description of the Baleares reads thus (Sweet, p. 28, ll. 21–22):

Balearis þa tu igland him is be norðan Affrica ond Gades, be westan ond Ispania be norðan.

As it stands, the passage makes no sense. In a marginal note on the first *norðan* Sweet suggests that we read *suðan*. He does not give his reasons, but one may suppose his point to be that Africa actually is south, not north of the islands! The Latin text gives further support to Sweet's emendation. Orosius tells us that the Baleares *a meridie et africo mauretanicum pelagus . . . spectant.* There is no mention of Africa, but *africo* might have been read as *africa* and this, together with the preceding *a meridie*, would give a source for the reading suggested by Sweet. The second part of the passage would make excellent sense if *Ispania* were shifted to the end of the sentence. With these changes, the passage, put into Modern English, would read, 'As for the two Balearic islands, Africa and Gades are to their south, Spain is to their west and north.' The geography here is accurate, except that Gades is southwest, not south of the islands. But this is merely another example of our 45-degree shift, and need not trouble us.[1]

Our examination of the geographical chapter of Alfred's Orosius has brought out the fact that Alfred uses two distinct systems of orientation, which may be named the classical and the shifted. The shifted system is most prominent in his interpolations, but is by no means confined to these. Examples of shifted orientation appear in all parts of the geographical chapter, thus in the descriptions of Asia, Africa, Ireland, the islands of the Mediterranean, the Balkans and Gaul, as well as in the description of Germany. Moreover, the classical orientation is frequent in the interpolated parts, thus in the descriptions of Scandinavia and of Germany proper. In Alfred's report of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, we find Wulfstan, the Englishman, consistently using the shifted orientation, while Ohthere, the Norwegian, like Alfred himself, uses both systems, though he shows a preference for the shifted orientation. In the description of West Germany, Alfred consistently uses the classical orientation, but when he comes to Lower Germany and Central

[1] Sweet, in his edition, leaves *Ispania* unshifted, and puts no comma after *Gades*. In other words, he makes Alfred say that Gades is west and Spain north of the Baleares!

EUROPE
AND
THE NEAR EAST
ACCORDING TO ALFRED THE GREAT
649-901

SERMENDE
LAUBENE
CASPIA SÆ
Caucasus
EUXINUS
WENDELSÆ
ARMENIE
CAPODOCIA
LÆSSE
ASIA
SYRIA
READ
SÆ
IDUMEI
ÆGYPTUS

Europe, he changes to the shifted orientation, though he is not wholly consistent in its use. His description of Scandinavia gives us a striking mixture of the two systems, and from this point of view is the most interesting part of the geographical chapter.

Our enquiry naturally proceeds from Alfred to his contemporaries and predecessors in the geographical field, with a view to finding out to what extent they, too, used the shifted orientation, and this in turn leads to an attempt to find the origin of the shift (if, indeed, it was a shift). But such studies must be reserved for other occasions. For the present we must rest content with having established the fact that Alfred made use of two distinct systems of geographical orientation.[1]

[1] I am indebted to Dr Samuel H. Cross for several pieces of information about the geographical distribution and name-forms of certain Slavic tribes. I wish also to thank the National Geographic Society for their kindness in lending the map-base which I used in making my map of Alfredian Europe.

Johns Hopkins University

DER TRAKTAT *DE ERRORE PELAGII* DES WILHELM VON AUVERGNE

Von ARTUR LANDGRAF

DANK der eingehenden Arbeit J. Kramps über das *Magisterium Diuinale* des Wilhelm von Auvergne [1] gehört dieser an den Ausläufern der Frühscholastik stehende Gelehrte zu den wenigen seiner Zeit, über deren Schrifttum wir zuverlässige Daten besitzen. Kramp konnte sich in seinen Forschungen allerdings auf umfangreiche Vorarbeiten von N. Valois,[2] M. Baumgartner,[3] und S. Schindele [4] stützen, er ist aber in vielen Punkten weit über die vor ihm erarbeiteten Erkenntnisse vorgestossen und musste nur deshalb in einigen Teilen auf halbem Wege Halt machen, weil ihm zur Zeit der Abfassung seines Aufsatzes Handschriften, die ihn hätten weiterführen können, nicht zur Verfügung standen.

So hatte N. Valois bereits darauf aufmerksam gemacht dass Wilhelm von Auvergne in seinem Werk *De Fide* davon spreche, er habe einen Traktat *De Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia* geschrieben.[5] J. Kramp fügte dem noch bei, dass, nach den sich in *De Fide* findenden Hinweisen darauf, dieses Werk chronologisch auch vor *De Fide* anzusetzen sei.[6] Ausserdem lenkte er die Aufmerksamkeit darauf, dass Wilhelm auch als Verfasser eines Traktates *De Errore Pelagii*

[1] J. Kramp, 'Des Wilhelm von Auvergne Magisterium divinale,' *Gregorianum*, I (1920), 538–616, II (1921), 42–103, 174–195.

[2] *Guillaume d'Auvergne, Evêque de Paris (1228–1249). Sa vie et ses ouvrages.* Paris, 1880.

[3] 'Die Erkenntnislehre des Wilhelm von Auvergne,' *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Philosophie des Mittelalters*, II, Heft 1, Münster, 1893. Ein Teil davon ist als Münchener Inauguraldissertation gedruckt (Münster, 1892) unter dem Titel: *Beiträge zur Psychologie und Erkenntnislehre des Wilhelm von Auvergne.*

[4] *Beiträge zur Metaphysik des Wilhelm von Auvergne*, München, 1909.

[5] *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, S. 177. *Guillelmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis Mathematici perfectissimi, eximii Philosophi ac Theologi praestantissimi opera omnia*, I (Paris, 1674), 15 a. *De Fide*, c. 3:

'Praeter haec sunt sacramenta, virtutes, gratia et liberum arbitrium, de quibus etiam multa nefanda latrare non cessant haeretici. Et nos de his quatuor, prout desuper excepimus, duobus tractatibus completis nos expedivimus, scilicet de sacramentis et libero arbitrio atque gratia. De virtutibus vero cum multa et varia scripserimus, tractatum tamen complere occupationibus et peccatis facientibus nondum permissi eramus.'

[6] *Gregorianum*, II (1921), 175.

in Betracht komme.[1] Lange vor ihm hatte aber bereits Scheeben auf dieses Werk hingewiesen und bedauert, dass es verschollen sei.[2] Da Abhandlungen gegen den Pelagianismus in der Frühscholastik zu den Seltenheiten gehören,[3] auf der anderen Seite aber besonders geeignet wären, uns einen Einblick in den damaligen Stand der Gnadenprobleme, vor allem der Erkenntnis des Übernatürlichen zu gewähren, hatte ich bei der Abfassung einschlägiger Arbeiten ein besonderes Interesse an dem bisher vermissten Werk des Wilhelm von Auvergne.

Durch den Katalog der Handschriften des British Museums in London war ich darauf aufmerksam gemacht worden, dass *Cod. Royal 6 E III* (15. Jahrh.) von fol. 44 an einen Traktat enthält mit dem Incipit: 'Incipit Parisiensis de gratia,' und ich konnte dann aus dem Werke Valois' [4] ersehen, dass ihm die Handschrift nicht nur nicht entgangen war, sondern dass er das Werk auch bereits dem Wilhelm von Auvergne zuschrieb und noch obendrein eine zweite Handschrift desselben im *Cod. 136* des Merton College in Oxford festgestellt hatte.

Er war aber den Beweis dafür schuldig geblieben, dass unter dem Parisiensis kein anderer als Wilhelm von Auvergne zu verstehen sei, denn das Parisiensis konnte von der ganzen Reihe Pariser Bischöfe gelten, die im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert irgendwie mit gelehrten Arbeiten hervorgetreten sind. Zudem stützt sich Valois auf das Incipit der Londoner Handschrift, das aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammt und darum nur nach eingehender Prüfung als zuverlässig anerkannt werden darf. Ausserdem bleibt auch nachher immer noch die Frage offen, ob wir es hier mit dem Traktat *De Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia* oder mit demjenigen *De Errore Pelagii* zu tun haben. Findet sich doch auf einen solchen eine ganze Reihe von Verweisen in den übrigen Werken Wilhelms, auf die alle bereits Kramp aufmerksam gemacht hat:

[1] Ebenda.

[2] M. J. Scheeben, *Handbuch der Katholischen Dogmatik*, II (Freiburg i. Br., 1878) 292.

[3] Man vgl. A. Landgraf, 'Studien zur Erkenntnis des Übernatürlichen in der Frühscholastik,' *Scholastik*, IV (Freiburg i. Br., 1929), 8.

[4] *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, 177.

Tractatus de Causis Cur Deus Homo, c. 1: . . . quod enim nonnulli ad amorem sectationemque virtutum se transferunt et conferunt, divinae bonitatis est beneficium, non humanae virtutis officium. Et hoc in destructione pelagianae haeresos palam Deo adiutore faciemus. [1]

De Fide, c. 1: Ex naturalibus enim solis solummodo descenditur in inferiora et nullo modo supra naturam, vel naturalia per ipsa descenditur, sicut iam declaravimus in tractatu, quo contra pelagianam haeresim gratiam stabilivimus, et ipsam solam principium esse motus in sursum aeternae beatitudinis ostendimus. [2]

. . . Quod autem et virtus gratia sit, licet in praenominato tractatu hoc plene declaravimus. [3]

De Vitiis et Peccatis, c. 5: Iste autem sermo declinat in errorem Pelagii, quem iam in prima parte istius tractatus destruximus et alibi in tractatu de hoc singulari et in sequentibus in capitulo de tentationibus et resistentia evidenter destruemus. [4]

I

Es war mir, da ich in Oxford wegen der Universitätsferien die Türen des Merton Colleges verschlossen fand, nur möglich, die Handschrift des British Museums, die an die Augen ziemliche Anforderungen stellt, einzusehen. Auch war die Zeit, die ich darauf verwenden konnte, wegen vordringlicher anderer Forschungen sehr knapp, so dass ich für die Richtigkeit der Transskription in allen Punkten nicht einstehen kann. Der Hauptzweck dieser Arbeit wird aber auch ohne dies erreicht.

In Brit. Mus. *Cod. Royal 6 E III* liest man auf fol. 44:

Explicit itinerarium mentis in Deum compiliato (!) a ffratre Bonaventura. Incipit Parisiensis de gratia.

Beginn des Traktates:

Post hoc autem gratiam stabilire, qua post lapsum peccatorum ad Deum redimus et ad bene remunerabiliter operandum adiuvamur, ipsius auxilio gratie freti temptabimus. In quo et errorem Pellagii, qui gratiam adiutorium nobis omnino necessarium non esse ad bene vivendum asserit (?), quia nature nostre atque liberi arbitrii vires tam insanissime quam impiissime delirat (?), detigemus.

Es ergibt sich schon aus diesen Worten, dass wir es mit einem Traktat über die Gnade zu tun haben, der gegen Pelagius gerichtet

[1] I, 155b. [2] I, 6b. [3] Ebenda. [4] I, 270 a–b.

ist. Und damit entsteht die Frage, handelt es sich in dem, was Wilhelm mit den Namen *Tractatus de Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia* und *De Errore Pelagii* ankündigt, vielleicht um ein und dasselbe Werk und hätten wir dasselbe in dem Londoner Manuskript vielleicht vor uns liegen. Da sich dies lediglich durch Textvergleiche entscheiden lässt, ist eine Lösung, wenn sie bejahend ausfallen sollte, notwendig mit derjenigen der Authentizitätsfrage verknüpft.

Nach Ausweis des Inhalts ist der Zweck des uns vorliegenden Werkes, ausführlich zu handeln über Gnade und freien Willen, und ihre Rolle gegenüber der Häresie des Pelagianismus sicherzustellen. Und das ist es eben, was, nach dem Verweis in *De Fide* Wilhelm in seinem Traktat *De Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia* getan haben will. Leider spricht er nirgends mehr von besonderen Punkten, die darin zur Sprache kommen, so dass wir unsere Meinung, dieses Werk hier vor uns zu haben, nicht auch durch Textbelege erhärten können.

Es stehen uns aber Textbelege genug zur Verfügung, um darzutun, dass *Cod. Royal 6 E III* den Inhalt des Werkes *De Errore Pelagii* bringt. Ich möchte aber von vorn herein bemerken, dass wir zwar nicht eine Übereinstimmung in Worten, wohl aber in den Gedankengängen und zwar in solchem Umfang zu Tage fördern können, der jeden Zweifel ausschliesst:

1

De Fide, c. 1

Deliciae vero naturales honestatis sunt et honestae in rebus, scilicet honestis honestate naturali et per se nota, sicut delectari de profectu scientiarum, delectari in bonis et honestis operibus, ut est delectari in benefaciendo indigentibus, in honorandis parentibus, in servando fidem amicis. Quia igitur data optima supra naturam sunt, et inde naturam ipsam nostram sursum supra se ipsam trahunt in sublime, scilicet aeternae gloriae et beatitudinis, manifestum est ea maiora et fortiora esse naturalibus, et omnino sublimiora atque nobiliora eisdem. Ex naturalibus enim solis solummodo descenditur in inferiora et nullo modo supra naturam, vel naturalia per ipsa ascenditur sicut iam declaravimus in tractatu, quo contra Pelagianam haeresim gratiam stabilivimus, et ipsam solam principium esse motus in sursum aeternae beatitudinis ostendimus. Quia igitur inter naturam et gloriam gratia media est, gloria autem in fortitudine et magnitudine, nobilitate et sublimitate ultima est seu suprema, necessario

in his omnibus significata est gratia ultima natura. . . . Quod autem et virtus gratia sit, licet in praenominato tractatu hoc plene declaravimus, tamen ex hoc evidenter ostenditur, quod nulla virtus potest contra se, vel supra se, nullaque potentia, et hoc per se, quia nulla virtus vel potentia per semetipsam est maior vel fortior se. Intellectus igitur humanus per semetipsum solum non potest credere contra se vel supra se neque vincere se. Cum igitur necesse habeat, ut ostendimus, credere contra se, hoc est contra omnia, quae pro eo sunt et sua sunt quodammodo et ipsum adiuvant, illuminant et fulciunt naturaliter: necesse habet credere contra omnia adiutoria sua naturalia et contra omnem illuminationem sibi naturalem: credere autem est et videre et illuminari: quare necesse habet videre contra omne lumen suum naturale et illuminari. Non autem potest videre vel illuminari nisi per lumen: quare necesse est ipsum illuminari fortiori lumine atque fortiori illuminatione. Naturalibus autem illuminationibus nulla est fortior nisi aut gratia aut gloria. Quare illuminatio eius hic, cum non possit esse gloria, et cum vincat illuminationes eiusdem naturales, necessario est gratia.[1]

Cod. Royal 6 E III, fol. 45^{v}

'Amplius contra seipsam natura non intendit. Tunc enim natura esset bellari (!) contra seipsam et in destructionem suiipsius. Eodem modo neque supra se neque infra se. Omnes enim iste limitationes contra illam sunt et ei quidem adversantur. Quia igitur humanus animus necessario habet extendi supra se tam intellectu quam affectu: ultra enim quam possit intellectus necessario habet credere, similiter et ultra quam possit natura affectus necessario habet timere, imperare et diligere, similiter et contra se et supra se et infra se. Et ista est extensio, de qua loquitur: extendens celum sicut pellem: super se per magnificentiam, infra per humilitatem, contra per obedientiam, ut supra diximus, ultra per alias (?) commoditatis sollicitudines (?). Manifestum est igitur, quia, ut hec omnia possit humanus intellectus, necessarium habet adiutorium, quod, ut diximus, gratiam vocamus. . . .'

2

Wichtiger ist die folgende Stelle aus *De Fide*, *c.* 1:

Lumen autem fidei omnia lumina adeo obfuscat et obtundit, ut sola veritas sacrificii pura et integra sit in corde credentis et nihil falsitatis aut impietatis ingerere possint vel impingere in illud. Apparet etiam ex his, quia fides haec est digna Deo credulitas, qua ei, scilicet Deo, ut dignum et iustum est, creditur, hoc est sine omni pignore et cautione, scilicet gratis et obedienter et non propter hoc, quia verax est, aut quia verum est, quod ipse loquitur — sic enim crederetur homini cuivis — sed quia iubet, seu praeci-

[1] I, 6 a–b.

pit, seu vult: iubet, inquam, aut praecipit per legislatorem, vel legis expositores: creditur ergo ei ex virtute obedientiae, et ipsa fides est per quam obedientiae suae debitum Deo solvit intellectus humanus. Ostensum est etiam, quia hic fides est fundamentum et caput totius religionis sive religiositatis hic: hoc est in vita ista: ex quo sequitur, quia eius operatio prima est in Dei operationibus, et eius obsequium primum in Dei honorificentia et cultu. Et hoc est quia quemadmodum intellectus primus est inter vires humanae animae nobiles: ita necesse est, ut eius operatio, eiusque obsequium atque religiositas primae sint. Declaratum est etiam, quia aliis credulitatibus et Deo non servitur et contumeliosae sunt ipsae, et insuper Deo non creditur, sed pignoribus et cautionibus, ut diximus. Quare manifestum est non esse fidem, qua Deo vel in Deum credatur nisi hanc, et propter hoc nullam aliam credulitatem fidei nomine dignam, cum nulla alia credulitas incredulitatem sanet, ut ostendimus: et propter hoc nulla sana est alia credulitas, nisi quam facit fides. Immo palam est ex his, quae diximus, quia omnis alia gens infidelis est in Deum et incredula; sola autem gens, quae hac fide fundata, firmata, armata et illustrata est Deoque obediens et subdita, et ideo quantum ad intellectum sanctificata ac Dei obsequio eiusque cultui iam quantum ad hoc dicata est, sola ista gens velut capite inclinato adorat Altissimum, capite id est intellectu per hanc obedientiam inclinato, ceteris gentibus variis erroribus seductis et quodammodo in capitibus inclinatis errorum suorum suasiones adorantibus atque colentibus. Declaravimus etiam, quia fides ista necessaria est, ut intellectus humanus Deo per ipsam serviat, suaeque obedientiae debitum eidem reddat, et ut contra bella, quae adversus ipsum insurgunt, pugnans vincat et victoriae coronam tandem a rege regum recipiat.[1]

Cod. Royal 6 E III, fol. 44^{v}

Dicimus ergo, quoniam suasa aut extorta per probationes aut signa credulitas non solum Deo accepta et meritoria apud Deum non est, sed neque etiam credulitas, qua tamen (?) credatur: in hoc manifestum est uno exemplo: sicut enim venditor, qui soli pignori incumbit emptoris dissolvendo merces nec stat verbo aut promissioni eius, sed, ut ita dicam, pignori credit, nec Deo credere est iudicandus, qui verbo eius preciso et absoluto non credit, sed securitates per probationes et signa veritatis exigit, quasi omnium quoddam pignus et cautio assecurationis. . . . . Sicut ergo incredulus dicitur venditor, qui nulli pignori credit vel fideiiussore (!) vel alia cautione (!), sic incredulus in Deum habendus est, qui absque cautione probationis aut signi illi non credit, quales erant Greci et Judei, sicut dicit apostolus primo ad Cor. . . .

[1] I, 6b.

(*fol. 45r*). . . . Si autem aliter est credendum, ergo absque pignore, cautione, probatione est ei credendum. Amplius contra quemcumque contradicentem est ei credendum. Deo enim dicente et alio quovis (?) contradicente, quis Deo dubitet potius esse credendum. Ergo contra proprium sensum est Deo credendum, si totus sensus contradicat, si totus mundus totaque prophetia contradicant. Sed hoc est super mentem humanam, quod contra se Deo credat; non potest ex se supra se. Est igitur intellectus humanus debitor credulitatis, que supra ipsum est et supra naturam illius. Hoc autem est credulitas gratie, quam querebamus, que locum habet inprobabilitatis et inopinabili[tat]is. Talia enim non credit humanus intellectus, quamdiu illa improbabilia et inopinabilia habet, non credit credulitate sua, sed (?) nec alia credulitate credere habet in potestate sua, sed per suppremum. Nichil (?) potest credere humanus intellectus, nisi aut evidentia veritatis aut probabili veritate (?) aut probatione qualicumque ita sit suasus. Ergo ubi quodcumque istorum desit, non habet in potestate per se credere humanus intellectus. Si ergo a Deo iubeatur credere, necessario habet aliunde et desuper adiuvari, ut preceptum Domini adimpleat. Quis enim dubitat tales multos esse articulos fidei, quibus nec evidentia (!) est verita[ti]s nec probabilitas nec probatio. In illis igitur credendis necessarium est adiutorium divinitus datum, quod nos gratiam vocamus. — Amplius humanus intellectus aut est Deo debitor obedientie aut non. Si sic: manifestum est autem, quod non exsolvit obedientiam in credendo, nisi insuasus propter Dei solum iussum credit. Sicut enim non exhibet obedientiam voluntas, que per semetipsam inducta est ad volendum, non per mandatum imperatum, aut [wohl statt ita] nec intellectus, qui per semetipsum et propriis suasionibus inductus est ad credendum, obedientiam exhibet in credendo . . . .

(*fol. 45v*). . . . . Restat fidem salutarem virtuosam religiosamque necessario nobiliorem esse atque sublimiorem. Nobilior autem atque sublimior non nascitur ex intellectu humano. Non enim nascitur ex eo fides, nisi ex aliquo trium, que diximus, id est aut per evidentiam aut probationem aut per verisimilitudinem. Omnis autem perfectio nobilis intellectus, que non nascitur ex ipso, gratuitum est donum desuper divina largitione coapositum (!).

3

Im Traktat des *Cod. Royal 6 E III* findet sich der Verweis

In quo respondemus, quia errant non intelligentes, quia nec omnis rei cognitio salubris nec omnia interiora ut a Deo accepta. Similiter nec omnis spes nec omnis dilectio. Quod nos in tractatu virtutum latius et diffusius tractavimus. Unde hic aliquam huius memoriam faciemus. [1]

[1] Fol. 44v.

Wirklich finden wir in cap. 11 des Traktates *De Virtutibus* Ausführungen, die daran aufs lebhafteste erinnern:

Amplius: ibidem diximus et declaravimus, quia diligere bonum, inquantum bonum vel quia bonum, non est simpliciter virtuosum, neque gratiam habens aut meritum. Est enim huiusmodi dilectio suasa aliena bonitate vel attracta beneficiis, sicut et dilectio amicorum, et beneficiorum; quare nihil habet laudis aut gratiae iuxta testimonium veritatis in evangelio. Diligere autem malum aut adversarium hoc est virtutis et gratiae diligentis. Et per easdem vias generaliter est declarare et stabilire dilectionem virtuosam, sive virtutem, per quas stabilivimus et declaravimus fidem virtutem. Sicut enim non sua virtute credit aliquis, qui probabilitate ipsius suasus aut evidentia veritatis illius, vel necessitate syllogistica impulsus credit illud, et non sua luce, ut ita dicamus, videlicet in parte ista, sed aliena, videlicet, quam vel probabilitas inducit, aut evidentia veritatis illius emittit, aut necessitas demonstrationis impingit, atque infigit: sic nec sua virtute nec sua bonitate diligit aliquid in bonitate ipsius, intellectus abstractus diligit illud, et non suo calore, ut ita dicamus, sed alieno. Talis est enim bonitas aliena, quae utique ignis est spiritualis ad calefacienda corda calore amoris, cum ipsum calefecerit. Amplius: Generatio ista amoris naturalis est. Naturalis enim est generatio affectionis per apprehensionem, sicut dicit Aristoteles, quia delectabile imaginatum movet, et motus ille intelligitur desiderium. Nec intendit Aristoteles de generatione desiderii nisi naturalis. Cuius autem generatio naturalis est, ipsum quoque naturale est. Quare huiusmodi amor sive dilectio, qua aliud diligitur inquantum bonum, naturalis est tantum. Amplius: Quis non videat, quia innatum est unicuique nostrum diligere bonum inquantum bonum, et quia bonum, et quia natus est amor generari per apprehensionem bonitatis, quemadmodum calor per lumen? Quod enim est lumen ad calorem, hoc est apprehensio sive cognitio bonitatis ad amorem. Attende ergo, quia amor Dei, quia bonus et inquantum bonus, sic est ex domo vel bonitate in amante, sicut calor in lucido et luminoso et sicut calefactio. Sed hoc idem est naturali efficientia et generatione. Amor autem virtuosus, quem hic stabilire intendimus, est similiter ex divina bonitate, verum non per apprehensionem, nec per generationem naturalem, ut diximus, sed per donationem, ut ita loquamur, et ut donum.[1]

4

Dazu kommt noch folgende Parallelstelle

De Virtutibus, c. 11: Ponamus ergo similem illam habere perfectionem ad spiritualia, quam habet ad carnalia: erunt igitur in ea aequales spiritualitas atque carnalitas. Quare neutra vincet alteram tunc. Si igitur altera

[1] I, 134b.

minoretur in infinitum, remanebit altera in infinitum ea fortior. Ita autem est in statu miseriae istius, quod spiritualitas et sensu et certitudine pene nulla est in animabus nostris. Cum enim Deus sit fons omnium suavitatum, omnino insuavis est animabus nostris et neque honorem neque saporem suavitatis eius sentimus, placorem atque suavitatem virtutum pene omnino non percipimus, mortem peccati et peccatorum vulnera non solum non sentimus esse mortem, sed etiam in eis insanissime delectamur. Deinde quis videt mundum istum mare esse spirituale ad immergendas et enecandas animas nostras, videt, inquam, adeo clara visione, ut videtur mare visibile, ad immergenda opera, similiter et maris huius spiritualis spiritualia pericula, videlicet syrtes, syrenas, scillam, carybdim, tempestates et alia pericula spiritualia, quis simili visione spirituali videt ei visioni, qua corporalia similia pericula? Ex his igitur et multis aliis, quae facile aggregare potes, manifestum est tibi spirituale nostrum, hoc est quod in nobis est superius atque nobilius, in infinitum depressum esse et debilius factum esse, quam sit id, quod in nobis inferius, videlicet carnale nostrum. Necesse autem est, ut spirituale nostrum vincat et superet carnale nostrum et ut spiritualitas praevaleat in nobis contra carnalitatem nostram. Necesse igitur est nobis dari ad hoc adiutorium, quod sufficiat spirituale nostrum defendere, servare, et carnale nostrum subiicere, calcare iugiterque mortificare. Et hoc est, quod nos vocamus gratiam, videlicet gratuitum creatoris donum, quod naturalibus nostris apponitur, ut per ipsum spiritualitas animalitatem nostram vincat et superet, captivet atque mortificet. Vides igitur necessitatem, quae cogit nos ponere gratiam.[1]

Cod. Royal 6 E III, fol. 45^{v}

Amplius: si apprehensiones nostre et affectiones in bonis et malis spirituales essent, sicut apprehensiones nostre et affectiones in corporalibus, tunc equales essent in nobis spiritualitas et animalitas, ut ita loquamur; sive caro et spiritus tunc toto studio et viribus et absque rebellione aliqua et difficultate, et insequeremur bona spiritualia et declinaremus mala, quemadmodum facimus in corporalibus. Cum igitur minores sint in nobis affectiones et apprehentiones spirituales quam corporales, ad spirituales autem delicias et spiritualia mala pene insensibiles sumus, manifestum est, quia minor est in nobis spiritualitas, [quam ut] vincat animalitatem. Si vel boni sumus vel fieri debeamus, necessarium igitur est spiritualitatem nostram fortiori appositione augeri aut fortem effici, ut bonis (?) nimis (?). Maius enim a minori vinci inpossibile est. Id autem, cuius appositione vel spirituales efficimur vel magis spirituales, gratiam vocamus. Necessaria est igitur appositio gratie ad vincendam in nobis animalitatem. Ad hoc, ut boni simus, non sufficiunt igitur vires liberi arbitrii nobis in hoc vel ad hoc.

[1] I, 134 a.

Wir konnten zwischen *Cod. Royal 6 E III* und den unzweifelhaft echten Werken Wilhelms von Auvergne auf weite Strecken eine Gleichheit der Gedankenführung feststellen. Eine Durchsicht der gesamten mir erreichbaren gedruckten und ungedruckten frühscholastischen Literatur ergab zudem, dass es sich hier um Gut handelt, das geistiges Eigentum Wilhelms ist und sonst nicht in der Frühscholastik, der auch der Inhalt des Londoner Mansukripts unzweifelhaft angehört, auftritt. Auch die hier herrschende Eigentümlichkeit, einen neuen Gegenstand mit '*Amplius*' und nicht mit '*Item*' einzuführen ist ein Specificum Wilhelms. Zudem liess sich der Verweis auf den Traktat *De Virtutibus* verifizieren. Umgekehrt finden wir all das in dem Londoner Traktat, was Wilhelm unter Hinweis auf ein Werk *De Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia* und ein Werk gegen den Irrtum des Pelagius behandelt haben oder noch behandeln wollte. Es dürfte somit kein Zweifel sein, dass wir es hier mit einem echten Werk Wilhelms von Auvergne zu tun haben, dem Traktat nämlich *De Errore Pelagii*, der identisch ist mit dem Traktat *De Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia*.

II

Es gilt nun dieses Werk in das Gesamtschaffen Wilhelms einzuordnen. Schon die ersten Worte '*Post hoc autem*' stellen uns vor die Frage, welches Werk mit '*hoc*' gemeint sei, und nach welchem Werk unser Traktat also nach dem Plan des Autors einzureihen sei. Der Umstand, dass gerade innerhalb des *Magisterium Diuinale* wiederholt darauf Bezug genommen wird als auf eine notwendige Ergänzung gemachter Ausführungen, legt nahe, dass es als ein Teil desselben beabsichtigt sei. Nach der logischen Ordnung müsste ihm dann ein Platz hinter *Cur Deus Homo* angewiesen werden. Nach J. Kramps [1] Untersuchungen fehlen denn auch in der Druckausgabe dieses Traktats sowohl am Anfang als am Schluss Teile. Es wäre damit die Möglichkeit gegeben, den am Schluss fehlenden Teil in unserem *De Libero Arbitrio atque Gratia* zu suchen. Allerdings steht dieser Annahme im Wege, dass dieses nach den Zitaten als '*tractatus singularis*' neben *De Sacramentis* erscheint. Für einen weiteren

[1] *Gregorianum*, I (1920) 562–564.

selbständigen Teil lässt aber der Plan des *Magisterium Diuinale* nicht Raum, und obendrein sind alle Teile mit Ausnahme des 3. und 4. vom Autor selber numeriert. Diesen beiden aber ist aus Gründen der systematischen Ordnung diese Stelle zuzuweisen. Eine befriedigende Lösung lässt sich hier also vorläufig nicht finden.

Auch die chronologische Einordnung macht Schwierigkeiten. J. Kramp hat unter der Voraussetzung, dass die sich in den Werken des Wilhelm von Auvergne findenden Verweisstellen ursprünglich seien, auf Grund derselben folgende Reihenfolge der Traktate aufstellen können:

De Primo Principio (*De Trinitate*)
Cur Deus Homo
De Sacramentis ausser *De Sacramentis in Genere*, c. 1–2
De Virtutibus: multa et varia
De Fide
De Virtutibus, c. 3–11 (I, 143a)
De Legibus
De Sacramentis in Genere, c. 1–2
De Virtutibus, c. 11 (I, 143a)
De Meritis et Retributionibus
De Universo
De Anima.[1]

Dazu käme nun noch der Traktat *De Errore Pelagii*. Er ist auf Grund der bereits erwähnten Zitate vor *De Fide* und nach *Cur Deus Homo* verfasst. Es wird aber darin, wie bereits bemerkt, eine Stelle zitiert, die sich in *De Virtutibus*, c. 11 (I, 134 b) findet. Obendrein, aber das soll hier ausser Betrachtung bleiben, ist noch nicht geklärt, ob in dem Verweis in *De Vitiis*, c. 5, für das '*alibi in tractatu de hoc singulari*' das vorausgehende Perfekt '*destruximus*,' oder das nachfolgende '*destruemus*' zuständig ist. Jedenfalls wäre in Ansehung der genannten Zitate die chronologische Reihenfolge so festzusetzen:

De Virtutibus, c. 11 (I, 134)
(*De Vitiis*)
De Errore Pelagii
De Fide

[1] Ebenda, II, 71.

Welche von den beiden Listen ist nun die richtige? Ohne Zweifel diejenige, welche sich auf ursprüngliche und nicht erst später eingeschobene Verweise stützt. Welche aber als solche anzusprechen sei, darüber bleiben uns lediglich Combinationen. Es scheinen nun Gründe dafür zu bestehen, dass die Verweise in *De Virtutibus*, c. 11 (134b) auf *De Fide* erst nachträglich eingeschoben worden seien und das 11. Kapitel *De Virtutibus* vor *De Fide* geschrieben wäre. Denn es ist gut verständlich, dass Wilhelm, sobald er den Stoff dieses 11. Kapitels ausführlicher behandelt hat, auf diese neue Arbeit durch nachträgliche Vermerke aufmerksam macht; es wäre aber mit seiner Art schwer vereinbar, dass er nach der Abfassung des Traktates *De Fide* in *De Errore Pelagii* sich noch für solche Fragen auf *De Virtutibus* beriefe, die nach seiner eigenen Uberzeugung besser in *De Fide* behandelt sind, ohne wenigstens auch auf diesen Umstand aufmerksam zu machen. Demnach wäre die zweite Liste die richtige und *De Errore Pelagii* nach *De Virtutibus*, c. 11, und vor *De Fide* anzusetzen.

III

Noch bleibt ein Wort zu sagen über den Wert des Traktates und seine dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung. Für die Erkenntnis der Gnadenlehre des Wilhelm von Auvergne gibt er keine wesentlich neuen Gesichtspunkte, wie sich aus den oben gebrachten Zitaten, die das dogmengeschichtlich Interessanteste und Wesentlichste ausheben, ersehen lässt. Es werden lediglich die in anderen Werken angeschlagenen Motive, allerdings in grossartiger Weise, weitergeführt. Die höheren Kräfte des Menschen, Verstand und Wille, sind aus sich nur fähig zu einen Abstieg. Zu einem Aufstieg bedürfen sie einer besonderen Hilfe von Gott, der Gnade. Wie meisterhaft hier seine Beweisführung ist, lässt schon die Einleitung derselben allein ahnen:

Dicamus ergo, quia iste due vires non possunt nisi per seipsas descendere. Et primo ostendamus hoc in virtute cognoscitiva. Dicamus ergo, quia virtus ista non potest proficere addiscendo nisi duobus modis, quod est per inquisitionem, et hoc a primis et universalibus sumpto initio procedendo ad posteriora et creata, donec veniatur ad ultima creata. Est enim a suppremis ad infima. . . . Manifestum igitur est, quod per in-

quisitionem disciplinarem depressio fit anime huius ab altitudine sua et ab alto primitive cognitionis et radicalis descensio et insuper elongatio a Deo, ad quem fuerat per elevationem supra seipsum proficiendum. [1]

In allem zeigt sich Wilhelm als ein kenntnisreicher, aber auch spekulativ tief schürfender Verfechter der psychologischen Betrachtungsweise des Übernatürlichen, dem sich nichts aus der Frühscholastik, selbst nicht die fälschlich Philipp dem Kanzler zugeschriebenen Quästionen, die ich im *Cod. lat. 470* der Bibliothek von Reims und im *Cod. lat. 15906* der Nationalbibliothek in Paris aufgefunden habe, an die Seite stellen lässt. Wilhelm aber ist des Platzes würdig, den ihm seine Geburt angewiesen hat. Er steht in den Fragen der Gnadenlehre neben Philipp dem Kanzler, beide Gelehrte von gigantischen Ausmassen, Wilhelm einer der letzten Ritter der Frühscholastik, Philipp derjenige, der mit mächtigen Axtschlägen der Hochscholastik die Tore öffnete.

Unser Traktat endet mit den Worten:

Manifestum igitur et divina conditione indigere intellectum humanum et divina gubernatione affectum et insuper subiectione ad utrumque. Hanc autem subiectionem sive obedientiam vocamus gratiam.

Explicit Parisiensis de gratia.

Incipit de sex etatibus hominis etc. [2]

[1] *Cod. Royal 6 E III*, fol 44v. [2] Fol. 46.

Z. Zt. Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

THE PEOPLE AND PUBLIC OPINION IN THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY PEACE MOVEMENT

By LOREN C. MACKINNEY

In the few existing treatises in the English language on the Peace and Truce of God, the popular aspects of the movement and its connection with the development of public opinion have scarcely been mentioned.[1]

Another phase of the subject deserving attention is the relationship between the unusual public sentiment for peace in France and similar aspects of the early crusading period in the same regions. In this brief survey, it is intended merely to show the remarkable development of popular interest and coöperative public action in the eleventh-century peace movement, without entering into technical distinctions and detailed histories of the various types of peace institutions. France, the region par excellence of Crusades, of the Peace and Truce, of revival preachers and councils, and of similar popular enthusiasms, must be the basic field of interest and research; the period under consideration is mainly the eleventh century. Although the Peace of God originated during the late tenth century, its major development came in successive waves of revival and reform that swept over France during the first half of the eleventh century. Meanwhile the peace movement had assumed a more effective form, the Truce of God, and eventually a combined Peace-

[1] J. W. Thompson, 'Social Democracy in the Middle Ages,' *Am. Journ. Sociology*, XVIII (1923), 592, 593, refers to the movement as a protest against the evils of eleventh-century feudal disorder and goes on to say: 'The real significance of the movement is not the religious initiative in it — it is the manifestation of a growing collective consciousness in Europe. In both feudal and lower classes of the people we find evidences of this group mind.' Again, in his *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York: Century, 1928), pp. 668, 689, Professor Thompson says: '. . . it would be an exaggeration to think that such sentiment was wholly of the Church's creation. The better element of the laity must be given some credit, and even the opinion of the masses was not so immobile as it is customarily thought. For it was not long before the laity, both noble and unfree, were participating in the movement.' I believe no other American scholar has suggested this approach to the subject, and so far as I know, the actual extent of popular participation in the movement has never been worked out. L. Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden* (Ansbach, 1892), is the best authority on the general subject, and has chapters on 'Sworn Peace Bunds,' 'Weapon Brotherhoods,' etc.

Truce for all Christians was promulgated by Urban II as a basis for his crusading project. By the time the first wave of enthusiasm for rescuing the Holy Sepulchre had subsided, the spontaneous popular interest in peace had also undergone a change; in both cases, the twelfth-century princes assumed control and under authoritative royal direction the Kings' Peace and the Kings' Crusade took the place of the more popular movement.

Long before the milleninum of the Middle Ages Christian peace had been sponsored by the Church in dealing with the problem of disorder.[1] In fact, until the rise of towns and national monarchies the Church was the one mediaeval institution that insisted on peace for defenceless non-combatants. During the ninth and tenth centuries there was scarcely any other rallying point for order-loving folk. In its encouragement of such sentiments, however, the Church had motives that were more practical than the merely altruistic ideal of social justice. During this period of disorder, the greatest property-owner of Christendom was compelled to foster a peace policy since it had no physical resources with which to defend its immense possessions.[2] By combining the protection of its worldly goods with the defence of the oppressed populace, the Church not only protected the common people but also strengthened its own position. Thus, security for Church and populace became a righteous cause, backed by public opinion. From both spiritual and material standpoints, it was imperative that the clergy take the lead in the Peace of God, or any other popular movement that tended to make an unpoliced

[1] A. Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises* (Paris, 1892), pp. 231, 232, pays a high tribute to the Church as a mediator in wars. See also Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 53; and F. Laurent, *Histoire du Droit des Gens* (Brussels, 1861), VII, 233 ff., on the Church and peace.

[2] From a coldly materialistic viewpoint, one might interpret the early Peace of God as a move to check *violent* physical attacks on churches and churchmen (including their wards); just as the Hildebrandine investiture program can be viewed as a drive against the lay policy of *peaceful* exploitation of church property through secularly controlled clerics. See H. C. Lea, *Studies in Church History* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 335 ff., for a rather unfavorable picture of clerical motives during the ninth and tenth centuries. G. G. Coulton's works, notably his *Five Centuries of Religion* (New York, 1927), dealing with later centuries, gives a vindictively vivacious picture. The councils, charters, etc., of the tenth century often reveal the prevailing clerical interest in acquiring or recovering property. Anathemas against *praedones*, *diripientes*, *rapini*, and *infractores* of *res pauperum* often were in defence of church property. See J. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum* (Florence, 1759–1798), XIX, 75, 90, 103, 163 ff.; XX, *passim*; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89, 144.

world of rampant feudalism safer for the property and persons of non-combatants.

Whatever the motives of the churchmen, it is clear that they were destined to take the initiative in the peace movement.[1] During the early Middle Ages, the Church was the only possible medium for effective peace propaganda among all classes and in all regions. Furthermore, the breakdown of Charlemagne's imperial administration forced the issue upon the clergy. Some of the bishops wielded the fragile remains of the actual police power of the Carolingian bishop-counts.[2] Others found that spiritual coercion was a more effective weapon for controlling public opinion and enforcing some sort of law and order. The power of excommunication had long been recognized; even when used by individual bishops against personal enemies or brigands, it showed great possibilities as a method of consolidating the people's disapproval.[3] Similar pressure, when applied simultaneously by bishops in several dioceses as a result of a provincial peace council, was far more effective in rousing public interest and intimidating wrongdoers.[4] Interdicts, promulgated locally or throughout entire regions, naturally gave a sweepingly impressive impact on public opinion since these rendered the whole people responsible for the restoration of order and justice.[5] Such measures were primarily negative in their psychological in-

[1] The Church was, in spite of its imperfections, the only unselfish, spiritual force in Christendom, and its bishops had always condemned ravagers of the poor laity as well as of the clergy. See Huberti, *op. cit.* pp. 45, 46, on the situation in the diocese of Rheims in the tenth century; also A. Howland, 'Origin of the Local Interdict,' *Am. Hist. Assoc., Report* I (1899) 444, for a quotation from the interdict of 994 in Limoges against those who harried the poor. The lives of Anselm, Peter Damiani, and Leo IX indicate the vital interest of many a mediaeval churchman in peace and justice for the common man. See R. Church, *St Anselm* (London, 1881), *passim;* and Thompson, *Economic and Social History*, p. 667.

[2] Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 75 ff., 119. See J. W. Thompson, 'The Decline of the Missi Dominici in Frankish Gaul,' *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), pp. 7 ff., 18 ff., 21, for instances in Charles the Bald's time.

[3] Lea, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 ff.; above, p. 182, note 2.

[4] Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 f., 144; Imbart de la Tour, *Les Paroisses Rurales du IVe au XIe Siècle* (Paris, 1900), p. 320.

[5] Howland, *op. cit.*, pp. 441, 445, cites interdicts at Laon, Senlis, Urghellum, Limoges, etc., during the late tenth century, and others in the first quarter of the eleventh century. See also E. Krehbiel, *The Interdict* (Washington: Am. Hist. Assoc., 1909), pp. 4 ff..; and Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 168 ff., for later interdicts; also Lea, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 383 ff.; and p. 190, below.

fluence but they stirred public interest and prepared the people for more constructive peace propaganda.

Not until the last decades of the tenth century did the French clergy succeed in devising a peace program based upon the idea of willing coöperation in the interest of public welfare rather than upon fear of spiritual punishment. By definitely extending to all non-combatants the principle of clerical inviolability, the better class of nobles and common folk were drawn into active coöperation with the Church in making a concerted drive against lawless violence. The peace council of Charroux (near Poitiers), at which in 989 the new program seems to have been launched, was attended not only by the clergy of the province but also by a 'great concourse of people of both sexes seeking divine assistance for the eradication of the noxious and pestiferous customs prevailing thereabouts and for the substitution of useful ones.' [1] This was the first occasion on which the populace seem to have taken an active interest in the peace movement.[2] Even though the people were still the silent partners in a primarily clerical program, they were something more than chance spectators; they were an integral part of the public which had been summoned to aid the church in eliminating an intolerable situation that concerned the laity as a whole. The Council of Charroux marks the emergence of a vague collective consciousness that was soon to crystallize in a widespread public movement of unusual social idealism. It definitely introduced the first wave of popular enthusiasm for peace in pre-crusading France. From 989 to the Council of Clermont in 1096, scarcely a decade passed without some manifestation of the willingness with which the masses would rally to the cause of peace and justice. Although some of the earlier peace councils seem to have been little more than conferences of the clergy and nobility for the making of peace compacts and the promulgation of anathemas, such matters had clearly become affairs of public concern. The rank and file of the people were present as witnesses,

[1] See Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 90; and Bouquet, *Recueil* (Paris, 1869), X, 361; for the documents. Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 35, analyses them.

[2] See below, p. 191, for Radulphus Glaber's account of the 1034 revival, which he called the *first* display of popular peace enthusiasm.

if not as actual oath-takers.[1] The attendance of the common folk not only served as an additional guarantee of strict fulfilment of the agreements, but also greatly stimulated public interest and paved the way for more active participation in the peace movement. Furthermore, the use of relics in solemnizing peace pacts gave these an increased importance in the popular mind, and greatly strengthened the moral pressure, by associating peace with the strong emotional appeal of the cult of the saints.[2]

Within a decade after the council of Charroux, similar action was taken in many other dioceses of southern France.[3] In 994, the bishops, barons, and people of Auvergne, 'of all conditions, of whom the number was incalculable,' met in a mass meeting at Sauxilange to draw up a peace pact.[4] At Limoges, however, occurred what was undoubtedly the most notable peace council of the tenth century. A three-day religious revival was held under the joint auspices of Bishop Alduin, Abbot Gotfrid of St Martial, and Duke William of Aquitaine. Relics, it seems, had been mobilized for a double purpose, to end the 'fiery pestilence' then raging in the vicinity, and to solemnize the peace oaths. The joyous emotion that accompanied the display of the relics, and the miraculous cessation of the plague, created a psychological situation under the influence of which the nobles, in the presence of the clergy and the crowds of spectators,

[1] At Puy in 990(?), *milites* and *rustici* took the peace oath and gave hostages. See note 3, below.

[2] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, x, 361, records the use of relics at Charroux; '*Ex agro Pictauo et Lemouicino et adiacentibus regionibus multorum concursus populorum. Nam et multa corpora Sanctorum ibi allata sunt. . . .*' Miracles and much enthusiasm accompanied the occasion. The influence of relics on the mediaeval public is a subject worthy of careful study.

[3] In 990(?), Guy of Anjou, Bishop of Puy en Velay, called a council of 'many bishops,' princes, and 'innumerable nobles,' at which a '*Charta de treuga(?) et pace*' was decreed. In carrying out the program at St.-Germain (near Puy), the bishop used armed forces to induce *omnes milites ac rustici de episcopatu* to join in support of the pact, giving hostages and taking oaths to guarantee the restoration of church property. Thus, it seems, a bishop resorted to war for the enforcement of peace. See Mansi, *op. cit.*, xix, 271, 272; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff. At Narbonne, in 990, a council of bishops and *multi laici nobiles* took action against nobles who had ravaged church lands. *Ibid.*, p. 37; Mansi, *op. cit.*, xix, 103. Often during the same decade, bishops in councils anathematized peace-breakers; viz., at Rheims from 989 to 993, at Urghellum in 991, at Anse near Lyons in 994, at Bourges in 998. *Ibid.*, xix, 95–97, 99–102, 168–170; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, x, 535.

[4] H. Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny* (Paris, 1868), i, 393.

were constrained to adopt a solemn 'pact of peace and justice.' [1] In 1000, another southern prince, Duke William of Poitou, took the initiative in convoking a council 'to restore the church, and peace, and justice . . . and to confirm by excommunication and hostages the inviolability of churches . . . even as was instituted at the Council of Charroux.' The permanent five-year program that was adopted bound the nobles on oath to enforce the decrees in their own localities. This is a noteworthy example of the fact that the laity, from the very start, tended to assume active control of peace organizations.[2]

Thus, by the opening of the eleventh century, in one region of France at least, the nobility were pledged to protect society from feudal violence, and to punish their own fellow barons for violating the pact of 'peace and justice.' It was through constructive appeals to what might be called the public conscience, that the nobility was encouraged to coöperate with the clergy in outlawing peace-breakers and to form an actual machinery of law enforcement. A part at least of an influential class was thereby shifted from a position of neutrality, and possibly of hostility, to a position of active coöperation. Furthermore, there was added to the existing means of enforcement, still another weapon; military, as well as spiritual, coercion could now be employed. Beneath all this, one feels the rising interest of the populace whose approval, though unexpressed, made for the development of a united public sentiment in favor of peace.

It was not long before the common folk began to respond to the universal appeal of this movement. From early times there had been many elements in local parish life that served as a basis for the development of coöperative ideals and actions in support of peace.[3]

[1] Adehmar of Chabannes, recording the event, mentioned the fact that '*laetitia immensa omnes repleti sunt.*' *Chronique* (Paris, 1897), III, 35. Although the *populus* are not specifically mentioned in the record, it is clear that they must have been present on such an occasion.

[2] See Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 136, for the document. On failure of a noble to enforce the peace in his locality, he was outlawed and '*principes et episcopos qui concilium instituerunt . . . omnes unanimiter*' were bound to proceed against him; in much the same manner as the barons of England were sworn to proceed against violators of the provisions of Magna Charta.

[3] Even under the disintegrating influences of feudal exploitation, the parish often functioned as a social unit. The parish church and church-yard were the social-religious center of the community. Economic coöperation was common, e.g., in plowing and harvesting; various

It should not be a surprise, therefore, to find the common folk of the tenth century flocking to church councils, especially those called to consider means for better protection of the persons and property of the church and the 'defenceless poor.' [1] The emphasis, at such gatherings, on ideals of social justice, law, order, and peace, combined with the religious sanctions and anathemas that were employed in making peace pacts, focussed public attention upon the problem in an effective manner. Furthermore, the unrestrained religious emotionalism that was characteristic of Church councils and revivals created an atmosphere unusually favorable for peace propaganda. Although the people attended these councils during the late tenth century, and although they may have been of considerable importance as public witnesses and moral supporters of the pacts, it seems that they were not yet admitted to active membership in the peace organizations.[2]

dues were paid *en bloc; prudhommes* often served as community representatives; property was sometimes owned or used in common. See Luchaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–6, 317, 355, 356, 377, 378; L. Delisle, *Etudes sur la Condition de la Classe Agricole . . . en Normandie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1903), pp. 138–142, 155; H. See, *Les Classes Rurales et le Régime Domanial en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1901), pp. 493, 521. F. Schevill, *Sienna* (New York, 1909), pp. 19, 47, 48, finds early evidences of coöperative community life in Italy.

[1] The populace of the tenth century attended religious meetings of various kinds; records of councils mention the presence of *plebs, caterua, fideles, multitudo populorum*, etc. Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 1–4, 19, 23–27, 29–34; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 318, 319, 321–323. The mutual helplessness of the populace and clergy in the face of feudal oppression made them natural allies in efforts for peace. In an age when peasants were, of their own accord, expressing resentment over increasing feudal burdens, it would have been strange had the clergy disregarded them, or had they failed to respond in support of the cause of peace and justice. For expressions of peasant grievances in various parts of Western Europe, see M. Wood, *The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 1917), pp. 58–60; Luchaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 317, 355, 356; Imbart de la Tour, *op. cit.*, p. 344; Church, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 194; E. Dale, *National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 224; H. W. C. Davis, *Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924), pp. 45–55; E. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People* (London, 1898), pp. 85 ff.; J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 174, and *Economic and Social History*, chap. 27, especially pp. 761 ff.; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 185.

[2] The only possible case is one of uncertain date, viz., that of Puy in 990(?). See p. 185, note 3, above. The recognition of the people as witnesses at councils during the eleventh century is of interest in this connection; e. g., at Metello in 1026, 'all who were present both noble and ignoble were witnesses' of land grants; at Westminster in 1077 *diuersi ordinis omnis* were present as *testes et fautores* and in 1092 matters at a Hungarian national synod were transacted '*cum testimonio totius cleri et populi*.' Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 495, 496; XX, 606, 758, 759.

During the first quarter of the eleventh century the centre of peace propaganda seems to have shifted from southern France, where its earliest development took place, to the basin of the Seine. In this region public interest began to express itself, though more in lines of general reform than in peace, and on the initiative of the kings rather than of the clergy. Robert the Pious, true to his name, actively furthered the cause by sponsoring popular reform synods in different parts of his realm. At Rheims, early in his reign, he had called together the bishops, abbots, princes, and 'all the people of all Francia' to consider the improvement of conditions.[1] The earliest evidence of a distinct peace program in Robert's domain occurred several decades after the first Aquitanian peace council. In 1016, at Châlons-sur-Saône, on the King's initiative, Bishop Hugh held a council that was attended by 'an innumerable multitude of bishops, nobles, and plebs.' As at Charroux in 989, relics assembled from neighboring shrines were employed to solemnize the 're-affirmation of the peace.'[2]

The royal peace program soon expanded into what was intended to be a Pan-Gallic movement. At the instance of the bishops of Soissons and Beauvais, a universal peace oath was proposed 'binding all men to preserve peace and justice.'[3] Fulbert of Chartres' peace hymn, written at about this time, indicates the vigorous propaganda that was employed for the enlistment of the non-noble population:

Ye masses of commoners, give thanks to God . . . he has summoned you to his aid; he puts on you the burden of peace and order. The nobles,

[1] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, x, 281, 514, 530. These records do not definitely mention any peace program. Letters of Fulbert of Chartres, however, contain condemnations of bishops for acts of lawlessness and for lack of interest in peace during this period. *Ibid.*, x, 454, 467, 479. Peace propaganda must have begun early in the century in this region.

[2] *Ibid.*, x, 172; *Miracula S. Benedicti*, edited by Certain (Paris, 1858), p. 192. The wording of the record ('*redintegranda seu firmanda pace*') suggests the possibility of an earlier peace council, possibly at Noyon in 1011. See F. Duval, *De la Paix de Dieu à la Paix de Fer* (Paris: Paillard, 1922), p. 11; and note 1, above. The unusual interest the northern French in general matters of reform is curiously corroborated from the records of the Council of Orleans, called in 1022 by Robert to try several heresy suspects. The Queen stood outside the church doors to prevent the crowd from rushing into the sanctuary to lynch the culprits, but as they were led forth she struck one of them, her former confessor, with her staff. All of them were burned, '*universae plebis consensu.*' Mansi, *op. cit.*, xix, 379, 380.

[3] *Gesta Pontificium Cameracensium*, edited by de Smedt (Paris, 1880), iii, 27; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff.

long unaccustomed to obeying the laws, have made good resolutions and will keep them. Thieves submit . . . travelers go about untroubled . . . the vine flourishes. . . . The lance is turned into a scythe, the sword into a plowshare. This peace enriches the poor and impoverishes the robbers. Hail Almighty Father, give thy complete salvation to all who delight in peace and quiet.[1]

The expectations of the promoters of the movement were by no means a merely sentimental optimism, for it is evident that the current of popular interest in peace was running strong in many localities. Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, a conservative in such matters, was unable to stem the tide of public approval as the peace program of King Robert's bishops spread northward into his diocese.[2] At Rheims, practically everyone took the oath promising to aid in forcing reparations from peace-breakers.[3] The new peace project seems to have met with universal acceptance in the royal realms; the records of the later years of Robert's reign show that peace councils were held 'everywhere' and often, with the enthusiastic approval of all classes of the population.[4] In 1024 a notable revival and reform was begun at Héry near Auxerre; like so many of the North-French councils, it was characterized by an emotionally religious spirit that tended more to general ideals of 'righteousness and justice' than to practical peace pacts.[5] Such movements, though of dubious value as indications of definite progress toward peace, were of great importance in stimulating social consciousness, in encouraging popular activity in public affairs, and in strengthening public morale in support of a régime of law and order.

[1] *Patr. Lat.*, CXLI, 349.

[2] Gerard objected to public oaths and spiritual coercion in peace enforcement, asserting the necessity of separate functions for the populace, clergy, and nobility. To the princes, he asserted, belonged the duty and prerogative of law enforcement. It is interesting to notice that his theory was rapidly giving way to the popular ideal of coöperative peace pacts; a century later, however, the tide had turned and the King's Peace was replacing the People's Church Peace. See *Gesta Pontif. Camerac.*, iii, 27; also p. 193 below, for Bishop Gerard's later experiences, in 1030.

[3] Duval, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[4] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 388, 495, 496; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 172. In some cases the unusual interest was attributed to the prevailing famines. *Ibid.*, X, 375.

[5] 'Innumerable bodies of saints' from almost all parts of the province had been mobilized, and miracles and prodigies of all sorts occurred. One lone bishop raised his voice in protest against 'carrying around the remains of incomparable men for every such affair.' *Ibid.*, X, 375; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 388.

In southern France also, the tenth-century peace movement continued with increasing popular enthusiasm during the early years of the eleventh century. Chroniclers of the period recorded the calling of councils 'often,' 'in each city,' 'through all regions,' 'in many places in Gaul'; they also told how 'the princes of Aquitaine,' 'the faithful populace,' 'innumerable multitudes of the plebs,' 'nobles and poor alike,' assembled at various times to assist in 'reforming the Church and the Peace.' [1] But, notable as was the public interest in peace and general reform during the first quarter of the century, still greater popular responses occurred in the succeeding decades.

After the death of Robert the Pious, the history of peace shifts again to the South, for Henry I did little to further the movement in the royal domains. A noteworthy effort to 'reform the Church and the Peace' was initiated in 1031 at Bourges in a provincial council of the clergy and laity 'both rich and poor.' [2] The public spirit of the people in such synods is vividly illustrated by the records of the contemporary council at Limoges. After two days of deliberation on ecclesiastical matters, a public session was held at which Bishop Jordanus made an appeal to the assembled population for support in a drive against local law-breakers. After a solemn religious service, the bishop preached a sermon in which he made a special plea for the assistance of the people in enforcing an interdict. Before the high altar, in the name of the assisting bishops, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced upon all knights who failed to uphold the Peace; as the clergy dashed their lighted candles to the ground, 'the heart of the people was stirred' and the entire congregation broke forth with the cry, 'Thus may God extinguish the joy of those who refuse peace and justice.' [3] An even more permanent focus of public opinion was furnished by the regulation that daily at

[1] *Ibid.*, XIX, 388, 495, 496. In 1026 at Poitiers, Duke William held a council with many of the clergy and 'faithful' of the province, concerning 'many matters,' including the protection of church property.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIX, 501 ff.; Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 187. In Cambrai, Bishop Gerard heard of it, and '*querebatur*.' Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 509.

[3] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 528 ff.; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213; *Translations and Reprints* (University of Pennsylvania, 1897), IV, no. 4, 27; Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, s. v. interdictum;* Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

the third hour, when the church bells sounded, all the faithful were to throw themselves upon the ground and pray for peace. Clermont in 1096 scarcely exceeded this occasion as an example of public responsiveness to clerical appeals for assistance in a reform movement, except that it was carried out on a grander scale and had more spectacular results.

But the climax of the peace movement in southern France was still in the future. In 1034, after a three-year period of unusually severe famine, a wave of revival and reform, even more noteworthy than those of 989 and 1024, swept the country. The cessation of what was considered as a divine visitation together with the popular dread of its recurrence created an unusual psychological tension in the mind of the people. Mass meetings were held at which excited crowds viewed collections of relics, applauded miraculous healings, and approved with religious enthusiasm the promulgation of the 'divinely inspired' Peace.[1] Radulphus Glaber's account of the 'Great Revival' vividly portrays the intense popular interest that was manifested as the movement spread through Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Provence.[2] Bishops, abbots, and laymen of the upper, middle, and lower ranks of society coöperated in the formation of peace pacts. Public enthusiasm ran high, and it was confidently prophesied that within five years the peace program would be extended to all Christendom. The general psychological situation was quite similar to that manifested during mediaeval periods of cart-hauling and flagellation, or in modern types of emotional revivalism. In all ages, religious phenomena of this sort reveal the powerful emotional forces that are present in crowds and also illustrate the manner in which religious gatherings afford a release or safety-valve for the emotions of the masses, and how such forces can be directed into channels of constructive reform. In eleventh-century

[1] *Gesta Pontif. Camerac.*, iii, 52; *Mirac. S. Benedicti*, p. 99; Radulphus Glaber, *Historia*, edited by Prou (Paris, 1886), iv, 5. C. X. Pfister, *Etudes sur l'Règne de Robert le Pieux* (Paris, 1885), pp. 175, 176, observes that from this time almost every public meeting heard sermons on peace and organized associations for its enforcement.

[2] *Historia*, iv, 5. He mentions the presence at peace councils of *uniuersa plebs, magnates totius patriae, corpora sanctorum*, etc., and describes the *universi tanto ardore* of the people, who '*palmis extensis ad Deum, Pax, Pax, Pax, unanimiter clamarent.*'

France it is noteworthy that this popular religious emotionalism served as the dynamic influence in stimulating a public movement for social progress.

The French peace movement of 1034 was one of the most spontaneous, popular, and idealistic revivals of the century; it impressed itself upon contemporaries as did no other save that of 1096. The emotional forces displayed were more intense than on previous occasions; public opinion was more unanimously favorable; and the program was more thoroughly organized and wider diffused. As a display of enthusiasm for a cause, it was second only to the crusading movement started at Clermont. It is evident that, long before the launching of the First Crusade, religiously motivated crowds in many regions of France were giving expression to a new public consciousness and were entering into coöperative social activities hitherto unknown.

After the peace revival of 1034, as in the aftermath of enthusiasm following the Council of Clermont, the clergy took the lead in translating popular emotionalsim into directed activity. This was done through local synods in which the propaganda was continued and the details of organization completed.[1] For example, at Bourges in 1038 a provincial council organized all persons of the diocese over fifteen years of age into an association sworn to give military assistance if it were necessary for the enforcement of peace. This was the first pact in which the people as a whole are known to have been enrolled as active members.[2] Such associations indicate the recognition of the common folk as an integral and important element of the body politic when mobilized for the enforcement of order. On the

[1] For the *magnam pacem* of Poitiers in 1036, and the *populi* with sacred relics at Puy in 1036, see Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 211; and *Miracula Sancti Privatis*, edited by Brunel (Paris, 1912), ii, 7.

[2] Two earlier possibilities should, however, be noted; viz., the *milites* and *rustici* who took peace oaths at Puy in 990, but only by coercion (see p. 185, note 3, above); and the universal peace oath of Beauvais in 1023, which may not have been actually put in force (see p. 10 above). The 'uplifted hands' at the councils of 1034 (see p. 191, note 2, above), may also indicate some sort of group pledge. For the Bourges association, see Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 217, 218; and A. Luchaire, *Les Communes Françaises* (Paris, 1911), p. 39, in which it is asserted, without actual evidence, that 'each diocese' became the centre of a peace association with judges of peace, armed forces, etc. This is not, however, at all improbable.

other hand, it should be remembered that such associations were not armed militias; for military action by the populace against warrior barons would have been futile. The value of these popular organizations lay in their functioning as rallying points for public opinion; as channels for propaganda; as spiritual, rather than physical, militias, important rather for moral than military suasion. The diocesan association was symbolical of the people's rôle in the peace movement; they served as a preventative of disorder rather than a punitive force; they were, like the 'shot-gun behind the door' a perpetual warning to wrongdoers.

In the Low Countries the peace movement evoked popular responses that were strikingly similar to those in southern France. The psychological soil of Flanders was well prepared for social-religious propaganda, since this had long been a land of strong religious enthusiasm and of expressive public opinion.[1] The practical-mindedness of these town-folk was expressed with naïve frankness by a monastic chronicler of Corbie who said, in referring to their more warlike French neighbors, 'Why should men spread death and destruction amongst one another when they might settle their differences amicably as is done in Amiens and Corbie.'[2] By 1030 these two cities had worked out in detail a Townspeople's Peace, combining practical arrangements suitable to their local needs with the prevailing religious sanctions of the Peace of God.[3] The strength and independence of public opinion in Flanders was manifested by the people's insistence on having a peace council at Oudenarde in 1030, and by their enthusiastic participation, in the face of the stubborn opposition of Bishop Gerard of Cambrai.[4] Again in 1034, the people

[1] The *Vita Burchardi* (in Bouquet, *op. cit.*, x, 357) tells of a peace procession in 981 in which *cunctus populus*, with its relics, took part.

[2] *Ibid.*, x, 378 ff.

[3] The Peace included all inhabitants of both cities during all days of the week; private differences were settled before the priests and Count. The pact was commemorated and renewed annually on St Firman's Day, when delegations from each city carrying sacred relics met to settle outstanding disputes and to make regulations for the future. See Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 192, for details.

[4] In spite of his disapproval of popular peace institutions with religious sanctions (see p. 189 above), Gerard eventually attended the council (probably at the insistence of Count Baldwin), and assumed so favorable an attitude that 'from that time the people began to bless him.' As usual, relics were much in evidence at this council. *Gesta Pontif. Camerac.*, iii, 53; see also J. Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1886), iv, 24, 25.

were active, and 'many, being desirous of new things, embraced the novelty,' i. e., the French type of peace pact with universal oaths. Bishop Gerard once more led the conservatives, urging the advisability of continuing the old methods of peace enforcement by the established princely authority.[1] Although the popular peace pacts had the ascendancy for a time, eventually Bishop Gerard's warnings came true as the Kings' Peace steadily gained ground in all regions.

In every way, however, the years from 1030 to 1034 had brought to France and Flanders a new and constructive experience. Unusual progress in popular activities and social coöperation had been realized. The people as a whole in many regions had taken part enthusiastically in an all-absorbing public movement. Even though they, like their successors of the crusading age or their modern descendants in our own post-war era, fell far short of the results that were expected, even though they failed actually to attain permanent peace, they had risen to hitherto unknown heights of coöperative action; they had worked together in new ways, under strangely idealistic impulses and in broader human relationships; they had discovered, in united action, effective methods of improving the condition of society. Communities that had entered into such activities, in associations that transcended the narrow lines of parishes and social classes, could scarcely return to the former state of mind. Even during brief episodes of popular enthusiasm, progress that could never have been attained in routine existence was made in the development of social consciousness and the encouragement of public opinion. Never before had mediaeval Europe experienced such unanimity of spirit on affairs of public concern; it was over half a century before the French people again ventured so whole-heartedly into a coöperative endeavor.

In the second quarter of the eleventh century the Peace of God came to its climax, and the French people for the first time exerted themselves collectively in support of a public cause. During the same period and under the influence of the same coöperative public

[1] Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 206. H. Pirenne, *Belgian Democracy* (New York, 1915), pp. 28–30, characterizes the Flemish episcopate as pro-imperialists, and therefore opposed to popular movements.

spirit, the peace movement entered into an advanced stage of development, the Truce of God. Under this name peace was extended to all Christians, save for certain periods of time, and was backed by a more effective machinery of enforcement in which the lay princes were increasingly dominant.[1] The decrees of the Council of Elne in 1027 contain the first known Truce provisions. The council was attended by crowds of the clergy, nobility, and populace, 'both men and women.' The *pactum siue treugam*, like most peace pacts of this era, depended upon the nobility, clergy, 'and faithful populace'; on the other hand, unlike peace pacts, it extended protection to all classes of society.[2]

From its inception in 1027, the new program of peace for the entire public, both lay and clerical, noble and ignoble, expanded rapidly.

[1] Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff., 250 ff., gives technical distinctions between the Peace and Truce. Most historians now recognize the differences between the two forms of peace organization, though they are often rather loosely stated. For instance, the Truce has been called 'A Closed Season for War,' 'A Peace for *all classes* at *certain times*, rather than for *certain classes* at *all times*.' As a matter of fact most Truce decrees included the customary peace provisions guaranteeing the inviolability *at all times* of clerics and other non-combatants, and made additional provisions concerning the fighting class, *for limited periods*. J. W. Thompson (*Economic and Social History*, pp. 669, 670) emphasizes the fact that 'a profound change both in spirit and organization' is noticeable in the Peace at this time, and that it 'merged into the Truce of God, a far more effective institution' involving two new factors, viz., time limits, and secular reënforcement. However, from the point of view of popular participation in the movement, it is our conviction that the Peace manifested far more popular religious enthusiasm than the Truce; the latter, although supported by public opinion, was more conservatively aristocratic in organization. Both institutions also had the active support of kings and barons, but more dominantly in the Truce; both were clerically sponsored, for the benefit of the Church as well as the peasants, the middle class, and the nobles. It is, however, unnecessary in this general survey of the people's activities, to enter into detailed comparisons and contrasts. Within the short period and restricted region under consideration one finds peace institutions sponsored by individual bishops, by groups of bishops, by princes, by princes and bishops jointly, by cities, by popes, and by various combinations of all that have been mentioned. The regulations and penalties partook of the nature of both spiritual and secular coercion, in varying proportions. The names applied, e. g., Peace of God, Truce of God, Kings' Peace, Town Peace, Church Peace, etc., are not always distinctive. But the many forms of peace institution, whether in parish, diocese, city, royal domain, or throughout Christendom, were parts of one general movement that exemplifies the growing public demand for peace and justice. The aim of the present study is to keep in the foreground this dominant yet elusive factor in eleventh-century France.

[2] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 483, 484; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff. It should be noted that the Truce of Elne, like most later Truces, included peace decrees for the protection of churchmen, men en route to and from churches and councils, women's escorts, etc., *at all times*. To these were added the provision that 'none should assail his enemy from Saturday night to Monday morning.'

By 1041 it had become an integral part of a popular revival that was as far-reaching, if not as wildly enthusiastic, as the Peace revival of 1034. Radulphus Glaber again recorded the unusual interest evoked by the new reform movement. 'Everywhere,' he writes, 'first in Aquitaine and thence spreading throughout Gaul, by divine inspiration and for the love and fear of God, pacts were made that were called in the vernacular, the Truce of God.' [1] In 1041 the French clergy exploited the prevailing interest by a campaign for the extension of the Truce over all Christendom. Abbot Odilo of Cluny and several of the southern bishops, in the name of '*all* the Gallic clergy,' sent a general letter to '*all* the Italian clergy' urging '*all* who fear God' to coöperate with '*all* the saints and the faithful' in establishing the 'Peace and Truce of God which had been sent down from Heaven.' [2] But Western Europe was not yet ready for a universal peace.[3] Only in Southern France was the Truce immediately adopted; here it soon proved itself a more practical movement than the Peace of earlier times.[4] By mid-century it was being adopted as a working institution in many dioceses. In the vicinity of Narbonne, the unanimity of the clergy, nobility, and people in working out a systematic program of law and order, is clearly indicated by conciliar records. In 1054, a council consisting of churchmen and 'laymen, both noble and ignoble, in great numbers' met at the summons of the archbishop and princes. It confirmed the Truce and Peace 'which the universal Church had unanimously established' and adopted a miniature peace code in twenty-nine sections to be enforced jointly by the clergy and laity.[5] Two years later a similar program was promulgated at Barcelona by order of the princes 'and

[1] *Historia*, v, 1: Violators of the pact '*a christianorum consortio expulsus patria pelleretur.*' [2] Mansi, *op. cit.*, xix, 593–596; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 272 ff.

[3] Benedict IX gave his tentative approval at Marseilles, where he met a delegation of French clerics, but Italy made no response.

[4] During this period of expansion the Truce manifested two noteworthy tendencies. One was the effort at internationalization, a factor that may very well have been a result of the Cluniac influence. See A. Krey, 'The International State of the Middle Ages,' *Amer. Histor. Rev.*, xxviii (1922), 3 ff. The other was the definitely recognizable policy of rewards for supporters of the peace as well as penalties for violators; the Truce decrees clearly indicate this attitude of constructive encouragement. See Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–274, 285 ff.

[5] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, xi, 514–516; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 317 ff. There were separate *capitula de treuga* and *de pace.*

with the assertion and acclamation of the magnates and other God-fearing Christians.' 'Magnates, their warriors, and all men dwelling in their territories' were to confirm the 'Peace and Truce.'[1] Such local organizations were similar to the diocesan peace associations of earlier decades save for the fact that they were secular rather than clerical in form. On both sides of the Pyrenees Truce institutions of this same orderly practical type came into being.[2] They are indications, in a way, of the thoroughness with which ideals of peace had permeated all ranks of the laity of eleventh-century France. Although strongly dominated by the princes and nobles, it can hardly be doubted that such institutions were expressions of a distinct social conscience that was rapidly developing among all ranks of the French laity on matters concerned with law and order. By the middle of the century the Truce had produced a highly organized machinery of peace enforcement, with well-codified regulations and a judicial system in which the laity were rapidly taking the authoritative position once occupied by the clergy. To be sure, there was no such enthusiasm and effusively popular emotion as has been noted in the peace revivals of 989, 1030, and 1041. The mid-century Truce marks the stage of evolution in which the Peace began to take on the more restrained but also more effective and universal character of established public law.

As it spread northward, however, the Truce was not always introduced in an orderly manner. In Neustria, popular preachers such as Richard of St Vannes and Odilo of Cluny endeavored to win the people to the cause by a religious revival during a period of famine. But 'certain perverse and indomitable spirits' carried on a lively propaganda against the cause of 'the men of God,' branding their 'peace by divine revelation' as a 'violation of paternal institutions through the adoption of new and unheard of ideas.' Eventually 'crowds of people' flocked to the 'men of God' to take the Truce-oaths.[3] In Normandy, on the other hand, William employed his

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 368.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 305–311, 333–337, 367, 368; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 843, 844. At St Gilles, Narbonne, Toulouse, and Elne Truce councils were held, at which provision was made for regular systems of appeals, fines, and other practical aids for enforcement.

[3] Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 281, quoting Hugh of Flavigny.

ducal authority to establish firmly the institution. At Caen in 1042 and at Lillebone in 1080, he called together the lay and clerical leaders of his realm to consider the problem.[1] In its final form, 'even as William established it in the beginning in all parishes,' the Norman Truce was thoroughly systematized and secularized; its code of regulations was adopted by a mixed assembly of laymen and churchmen, and provided for a regular judicial procedure of enforcement. The populace also were organized in parish associations, for moral backing, and possibly as enforcing units. With such a happy combination of ducal authority supported by the organized clergy, nobility, and populace, it is not surprising to hear that soon 'a great tranquility and peace hovered over the inhabitants of Normandy.'[2] Under the Conqueror's sons Truce organizations were further developed, with special arrangements for mobilizing the entire people and for protecting the peasantry.[3] On the whole, the Ducal Truce of Normandy concentrated in practical institutional form the various elements of society with remarkable success.

In the Imperial lands bordering France, monarchial authority likewise played the leading rôle in the peace movement. As early as 1041 Emperor Henry III had viewed with concern the Council of Montriond, at which under clerical auspices some ten thousand people were said to have convened for the adoption of a French Truce program.[4] Two years later, as a result of the 'Day of Indulgence' at Constance,[5] he himself took the lead in establishing peace throughout the empire. The personal example of the emperor gave to the people a constructive ideal of peace and order without endangering royal prerogatives. Had Henry been able to hand on his scepter and imperial program to a mature heir, without the disintegrating effects of an interregnum, the Peace and Truce of God

[1] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 559, 560, 597–600, records both councils.

[2] William of Jumièges, *Historiae Normannorum*, VI, 22.

[3] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 923–926, gives the elaborate provisions of the Council of Rouen (1096). L. Garreau, *L'Etat Social de la France au Temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1899), pp. 399, 404 ff., mentions the peasant refuges. See also C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 31, 37, 38, 46, 65, for remarks on secular domination of the Truce.

[4] Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 302. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, p. 316, discusses Henry's policy regarding peace.

[5] Thompson, p. 95.

might never have been introduced into Germany.[1] During the temporary breakdown of the imperial *Landfrieden*, however, the impending chaos forced the inhabitants of many localities to protect or assert their own rights.[2] It was amid the confused conditions of the Investiture Struggle that the Archbishop of Cologne 'on the advice of his faithful subjects' summoned 'the clergy and people' of his province to a synod at which the popular type of French Truce was 'fully discussed and finally adopted by the common consent of all, both clergy and populace.' Emphasis was laid on the responsibility of 'the whole people in common'; 'all the faithful' were reminded that 'this peace has been promised, not to men, but to God.'[3] At about the same time 'the people of Alsace with their leaders mutually' formed a peace pact that partook somewhat of the nature of both the Truce and the *Landfrieden*, but without apparent domination by either the clergy or the secular prince.[4] Meanwhile, Henry IV, who was even less likely than his father to surrender royal prerogatives, promulgated his own edition of the Truce at Mainz in 1085.[5] Thus, at the climax of Germany's eleventh-century disorders there was a strong tendency on the part of the people and their leaders to adopt the peace institutions of France. It can hardly be doubted that it was the pressure of public opinion that forced German political and ecclesiastical leaders to tolerate or support such popular novelties.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 365, cites the unsuccessful efforts at introducing French peace programs as long as German royal authority kept order.

[2] Even in earlier times the Saxon and Thuringian peasantry were stubbornly insistent on having their traditional rights respected. *Ibid.*, pp. 174 ff., 202 ff. The burghers of the Rhinelands also seized the opportunity and gained additional privileges. A. Wauters, *Les Libertés Communales* (Paris, 1878), pp. 323, 330, 331, 348–351.

[3] The original letter, from *Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges*, II, 55–58, is translated in *Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, I, no. 2, 9–12; and in J. H. Robinson, *Readings*, I, 183 ff.

[4] Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book for Medieval History* (New York: Scribner, 1905), pp. 419–421, has the document in translation.

[5] The document, which is translated in E. Henderson, *Select Documents* (London, 1892), pp. 208–211, is much like the Cologne and Alsace documents in general plan; each, however, had a distinctly different initiating and controlling power.

[6] It is now generally recognized that the public was an important factor in the Investiture Struggle and in the Crusades, though very little detailed study has been made of this subject. It seems possible that the potentialities of public opinion may have first come to light through the French Peace and Truce of God in the early eleventh century. The close relationship between the peace movement and both the Investiture Struggle and the early Crusades suggests the possible channels by which public interest spread. See Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, pp. 225 ff., for the influence of public opinion in the Investiture Struggle.

In France, the great social upheaval that accompanied the Crusades furnished an unusual opportunity for the entire people to enter into new lines of thought and action. But the Crusades were not an unheralded or even unexpected outburst of public spirit. They were closely related to the century-old peace movement, which not only contributed to the success of the crusading propaganda but also gained a new impetus through its association with this universally popular cause. Urban II's emphasis on peace among Christians as a prerequisite for successful expeditions against the Turks was an effective means of appropriating and using the long-standing peace sentiment of France and neighboring countries. And, after all, it was high time that the papacy assume its opportunity and responsibility for leadership of the peace movement. Former popes apparently had no realization of the possibilities of an international papal peace.[1] From the standpoint of peace as well as Crusades, the Council of Clermont was epoch-marking. It was not only the first notable attempt of the papacy to adopt and universalize the Peace and Truce, but it was also the climax of a series of great French peace councils. It is strangely significant that public sentiment in Western Europe should have been fanned to a quick flame of popular activity in a French mass meeting under the presidency of a French pope. The remarkable response to the papal appeal at Clermont, in contrast to that at Piacenza, must have been due in part to the preceding century of peace propaganda in France.[2] In its prevailing popular enthusiasm and its peace decrees Clermont was the lineal descendant of Charroux, Limoges, and Elne; it was a typical reform-council, with a final public session at which a supreme appeal was

[1] The casual interest of Sylvester II, Benedict VIII (along with Henry II and Robert the Pious), John XIX, Benedict IX, Nicholas II, and Alexander II, was neither effective nor of international scope. See Duval, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 155, 350 ff., 390–393; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, x, 532; Mansi, *op. cit.*, xix, 1073 ff. Popes, like Hildebrand, who were under Cluniac influence, must have realized the international possibilities and needs of the peace movement, but had more urgent projects. See Krey, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

[2] Though '*plusquam 30 millia laicorum*' were reported as present at Piacenza, there was no such popular interest as during and after the French council. Mansi, *op. cit.*, xx, 801 ff; *Amer. Histor. Rev.*, xxvii (1922), 732.

made to the entire people.[1] On the last day of the council, in the open air, before a crowd that was keyed to a high tension, Urban preached his famous sermon calling for the united support of Christian society. It was the kind of situation that had often occurred at councils for the 'reformation of the Peace'; the intensive emotional forces of a religious crowd when focussed upon a problem of popular concern on which a public conscience had been developed often generated an unexpectedly enthusiastic response. So far as theTruce of Clermont is concerned, the notable point is the way in which the Pope used the prevailing peace sentiment as a medium for his combined projects. The plan of directing the warlike forces of Christendom against the Infidel instead of vainly trying to inhibit them, was in itself a masterpiece of strategy, and marks a stage of the peace movement that was far in advance of that initiated in Charroux in 989, or at Elne in 1027. The attainment of peace at home along with warlike expeditions 'overseas' provided irresistible motives. Not only bishops and barons, but popes, kings, and emperors were destined to become the eager sponsors of the combined causes. The crusading Truce-Peace saved feudal society from domestic wars by glorifying foreign warfare; it protected the church from spoliation by putting it at the head of the plunderers of the Infidel. At the Council of Clermont, Urban gave universal application, leadership, and publicity to the peace movement, by combining it with another popular cause.[2]

The enthusiasm evoked at the Council was more than a temporary emotional effusion. The Pope and his advisors made practical and constructive use of the situation in the interest of peace and cru-

[1] Mansi, *op. cit.*, xx, 828, 829, records the purely ecclesiastical affairs that were considered in the clerical sessions. It seems to me that Fulcher of Chartres' version of Urban's speech may be the report of an address to the *clergy only*, in secret session called for special consideration of the Truce of God. See *Translations and Reprints*, I, no. 2, 2 ff., for the speech itself; and *Amer. Histor. Rev.*, XI (1906), 232, for D. C. Munro's analysis of the different versions.

[2] See *ibid.*, pp. 232, 239, 241, for the papal exhortations on peace; most of them, instructions to the *clergy* (according to Professor Munro's analysis). In all versions of Urban's sermon, however, there was considerable direct or indirect reference to peace. A. Krey, *First Crusade* (Princeton University Press, 1927), pp. 24 ff., contains a convenient translation of the sources.

sades. At one of the sessions a Truce and Peace code had been presented and after unanimous adoption 'every one of the clergy was earnestly exhorted to do all in his power to have it observed in his bishopric.'[1] Following the Council the peace propaganda was undoubtedly spread abroad, along with the preaching of the Crusade, by Urban himself on his trip through southern France, and by the bishops upon whom it had been urged 'that with all speed and solicitude on their return home the plebs should be diligently exhorted.'[2] At local councils which served as auxiliary centres for crusading propaganda, Truce decrees were often promulgated and peace associations organized or revived.[3] The nature of the prevailing propaganda is suggested by an episcopal letter of Ivo of Chartres. After mentioning the 'Peace on Earth' of the first Christmas, and Christ's parting admonition of 'My peace I leave with you,' he exhorted his people as follows:

> What doth Christ's coming profit him who shall be found outside the fold of peace? . . . Wherefore, brethren, great is your responsibility for the observance of peace. . . . We exhort you to keep without fail the holy peace . . . and to swear its observance with your hand on holy relics. . . . Peace and mercy from God to the obedient, anathema to violators of this constitution.[4]

While the bishops and special crusade-preachers stirred the enthusiasm of the people with such appeals, whole regions of France were organized for the enforcement of peace at home and the preparation for warfare abroad. The peace movement, paradoxically and yet quite naturally, had become the pledged ally of warfare.[5]

[1] Fulcher of Chartres, *Histor. Ierosyl.*, i, 2; Mansi, *op. cit.*, xx, 912 ff., gives the canons; see also Munro, *loc. cit.*, p. 232.

[2] William of Tyre, *Belli Sacri Histor.*, i, 15; *Gesta Franc. Expug. Ierosyl.*, 2; see Krey, *First Crusade*, pp. 24 ff., for translations.

[3] See Mansi, *op. cit.*, xx, 923–926, 969 ff., for the decrees of Rouen in 1096, and Auch in 1099. See also, *ibid.*, 931 ff.; Duval, *op. cit.*, p. 23; L. Raynal, *Histoire du Berry* (Bourges, 1844), i, 450.

[4] Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 418–421, quotes the document.

[5] For instance, it was said of Peter the Hermit that while preaching the Crusade he 'everywhere restored peace and concord.' Guibert of Nogent, *Hist. Hierosyl.*, ii, 8.

With the opening of the Crusades the peace movement entered upon a new and broader stage of development. The peace program, initiated over a century before by groups of bishops in local councils, was now appropriated by popes and national monarchs who were in a position to give it a much wider and more practical application.[1] The Papacy, to be sure, had been rather tardy in its efforts, but in many regions the secular rulers had long been active, not only in the Truce, but even in the Peace of God during the early decades of the eleventh century. In fact, during the second half of the century, the Church-sponsored peace showed signs of becoming a purely secular institution. It may be that Urban made a deliberate effort at Clermont to recover for the clergy their vanishing control over the movement. By the twelfth century, however, the French monarchs were rapidly gaining control of the popular peace organizations in their realms. Soon they were skillfully employing the people as allies in the struggle against feudal disorder, and although their motives may have been less altruistic than those of the early bishops, their methods were more effective and it cannot be denied that the populace supported the cause as whole-heartedly as in former times.[2]

In the eleventh century one finds three movements that stirred public opinion in an unusual way. The first, the peace movement, was launched at the Council of Charroux; over a century later, the Council of Clermont marked the opening of the Crusades; between these two councils the opening guns of the Investiture Struggle were fired. In all three cases, mass meetings of the clergy and laity were frequently employed for presenting the cause to the public. The French peace movement presents with remarkable clearness the prop-

[1] In France, to be sure, small-scale peace movements persisted in regions that were beyond the range of effective royal power; e. g., in the South, at Mende (1170), near Limoges (1177), and at Puy where Durandus' Capuchonnes were active in 1180. As a matter of fact, such episodes, though they indicate the growing insistence on law and order among the people, are not examples of the Peace and Truce of God, since they did not restrict peace to certain classes or periods. For papal efforts at building up peaceful international relations, and for cases of papal mediation and restoration of peace in various regions, see Krey, 'The International State,' *loc. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.; Duval, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., 58 ff., 78 ff.

[2] See Duval, pp. 23 ff.; and Luchaire, *Les Communes*, pp. 39 ff., for Louis VI's use of the people, and their support in wars against rebellious barons.

agandistic methods by which the clergy aroused interest, and the unusual manner in which the public responded. We have seen the recurring waves of religious enthusiasm and social reform, which invariably started in councils attended by crowds of people. Such assemblages, at which collections of relics were ordinarily mobilized, afforded a fertile field in which to plant peace propaganda; and there, under the favorable influence of popular religious emotionalism, its seed yielded the fruit of a gradually ripening public conscience. Councils at Charroux in 989, in the royal domains in 1023, in Aquitaine from 1031 to 1034, in Provence in 1027 and 1041, and at Clermont in 1096, were the starting points for waves of social idealism that touched people in all parts of France. But, the evolution of public sentiment for peace and order depended on something more than a series of explosive impulses set off in an atmosphere charged with religious emotionalism. The increasing responsiveness of all classes to the propaganda of peace indicates the steady growth of a social conscience in the local everyday life of the people. Parish associations of peace were, to be sure, the immediate result of some sort of religious assemblage; but their local associations were composed of, and maintained by, people of lowly practical habits whose community life was filled with coöperative activities tending to conserve their rights and improve their welfare. What could be more natural than for such folk to join with the clergy, nobility, and other commoners in larger units, organized for the improvement of the condition of non-combatants in a lawless world. Peace propaganda through the emotional stimulus of church councils crystallized into a public cause local resentment to feudal oppression and social ideals; an apparently inactive populace was transformed into a positive ally of the Church and social reform. At the same time the common folk were encouraged to assert themselves independently: the *coutûmes* granted to many communities during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries indicate a new self-assertiveness among local communities that went deeper than mere attendance at peace councils.[1] They are direct evidences of the increasing public demand for a

[1] See F. Guizot, *History of Civilization in France* (London, 1873), III, 312 f., for excerpts from the *Coutûmes de Lorris* and Luchaire, *Manuel*, p. 395, for comments. See E. Lavisse,

permanent régime of peace and order, not only by churchmen and princes, but by the people themselves.

Psychologically, the general effect of the eleventh-century peace movement was subjective rather than objective; the chief gain was the development of an active public opinion (rather than the actual attainment of peace).[1] Peace councils and peace associations kept before the people the ideal of peace, order, and justice; and drew all classes into active coöperative efforts of a practical nature in support of a common cause. The peace movement fostered the development of public opinion in eleventh-century France, and actually brought forth a distinctly new public conscience on matters concerned with law and order. It created a machinery of social control through universal coöperation. During the tenth century in the absence of an effectively organized state, the church served as the public organism to the welfare of which personal freedom in warfare was subordinated. In a little over a century this inviolate unit was expanded to include non-combatants of the lower class, women, members of the fighting class at certain times, and finally all persons at all times. Thus there was revived the old concept of society as a universal coöperative organism founded upon recognized principles of order and justice, in which once more the welfare of all was preeminent over that of the individual. By the twelfth century national monarchs were prepared to employ the theory, as well as the popular organizations, of the peace movement in their struggles with feudal barons; thus it became one of the foundation stones of the modern idea of state sovereignty. Although the church took the initiative in presenting the peace ideal to mediaeval France, it did so as the spokesman of the populace and those persons of all classes

Histoire de France (Paris, 1901), IV, ii, 133 ff., for the *Usages de Barcelonne;* and Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 362, for the *Coutûmes de Bigorre.*

[1] In many localities, however, there were practical results, comparable to modern drives against lawlessness. Fundamentally, the mediaeval problem of peace was, like that of our day, dependent upon the elimination of the custom of individual violence, and the establishment of the preëminent rights of the group over that of the individual. As applied *within* the state or local unit, perhaps the mediaeval peace movement was not entirely unsuccessful in its efforts. In neither era has *international* peace met with permanent results; Woodrow Wilson and Innocent III both proposed the plan of subordinating the individual state to the welfare of all the states organized into a collectivistic unit; in both cases nationalism prevented.

who were opposed to the violence and anarchy of the feudal régime. Although the nobility, and later the popes and national monarchs, were the active elements in organizing and enforcing peace, their success depended upon the moral support of the laity, great and small. Even though, from the standpoint of political history, eleventh-century society seemed to be 'dissolving itself through material forces,' it was actually 'reconstituting itself through moral forces,' notably the increasing public demand for peace.[1]

[1] The quoted phrases are from Flach, *op. cit.*, I, 472.

Louisiana State University

NOTES

SOME RECENT STUDIES ON THE *PASTOURELLE*

SINCE Professor Salverda de Grave, as recently as 1918, suggested that the early troubadours were themselves writers of Latin verses and attempted to show that all troubadour poetry was inspired by the Latin poets, especially Ovid,[1] there have been several much more elaborate studies along the same line. In 1919, Professor J. J. A. A. Frantzen wrote on the influence of mediaeval Latin literature on the French and German poetry of the tenth century. He upheld Bédier in referring the origin of the *chanson de geste* to the clerks and attempted a similar argument with respect to the lyric.[2] His article contains a good résumé of the early history of monastic and cathedral schools in France, showing how the increase of schools from the middle of the eleventh century gave the impetus for the renascence which followed; he points out that poets of the Middle Ages were accustomed to write both in Latin and in the vernacular, sometimes in both together; and he goes so far as to point out a number of 'popular' themes, including a 'clerical transformation' of a *pastourelle* motif, in the early collection of goliardic poetry known as the *Cambridge Song-Book*. Whatever one may think of his arguments or his evidence, it is certain that no student of mediaeval literature, even of the lyric, can afford in future to neglect mediaeval Latin.

It has been known for some time that there are several goliardic poems, mostly from the *Carmina Burana* (e. g., Nos. 52, 62, 63, 119, 120), which are very similar to the Old French *pastourelles*.[3] Holm Süssmilch, in a discussion of goliardic poetry, cannot see in the Latin *pastourelles* any influence of the troubadours.[4] Frantzen follows him with the suggestion that whenever the same *genre* is found in both goliardic and troubadour verse it goes back to a common source; *pastourelles* and such popular forms, he says, are found in goliardic poetry, and the troubadours as well undertook to renew and change the old manner of them, adapting them to new con-

[1] *Neophilologus*, III (1918), 247–252. The theory was mentioned in his *De Troubadours* (Leiden, 1917), in the collection *Fransche Kunst*.

[2] *Neophilologus*, IV (1919), 358–371.

[3] A. Pillet, 'Studien zur Pastourelle,' in *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie zum 10. deutschen Neuphilologentage* (Breslau, 1902), pp. 87–142, studied the relations at length, concluding that the Latin pieces were in later manuscripts and were therefore probably imitated from the Old French.

[4] *Die lateinischen Vagantenpoesie des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts als Kulturerscheinung* (Leipzig, 1917), p. 43.

ditions and conventions.[1] What this old manner may have been he wisely refrains from suggesting.

In 1923, M. Edmond Faral, following up his studies of the Latin sources of the Old French courtly romances, made an involved study of the *pastourelle* in an attempt to show that it was decidedly a scholarly *genre* which emanated from the pseudo-Virgilian bucolics of the Middle Ages.[2] The crowning piece of evidence, however, taken from the *Poetria* of the thirteenth-century rhetorician, John of Garland, has little in common with the *pastourelle*, either goliardic or courtly, and is obviously part of the débris from Professor Faral's far more successful study of the treatises on poetics during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[3]

M. Faral has little trouble in establishing his first thesis, that the *pastourelle*, at least as we have it in Old French, is aristocratic and highly artistic, but he takes a great deal of pains to make (in some 32 pages) a thorough analysis of a number of specimens. First of all, there are four types of action: (1) those pieces, about fifty in all, in which the cavalier arrives at his desires by means of some promise which breaks down the maiden's resistance; (2) those in which the shepherdess is spared, though hardly, according to Faral, to her own credit; (3) a small, impersonal group, in which the cavalier merely witnesses a scene between shepherd folk; and (4) a very small group, in which ideas on love are exchanged with shepherds. From the points of view also of the characters represented, the sentiments expressed, and the customs depicted, Faral finds plenty of evidence for the aristocratic character of the *pastourelle:* the shepherd, when he appears, is generally characterized as foolish, the dupe of the cavalier; every effort is seemingly made to render the shepherdess laughable; while the knight himself naturally takes off the honors of the occasion. Professor Faral's analyses are made with only one aspect of the situation in mind and might be refuted in some points, but his general conclusions to this point are true.

M. Faral is not satisfied, however. He must show also that the *pastourelle* is not only a *genre* eminently aristocratic, but a scholarly one as well. He dismisses, first of all (pp. 237–241), any idea that the *pastourelle* was ever a popular *genre*. There are for him only three types of specimens: Latin, Provençal, and Old French. He disposes of the Latin pieces as adaptations, accepting *in toto* the arguments of Pillet on this aspect of the question. He agrees with Jeanroy as to the priority of the Provençal *pastourelle* over that of northern France and also as to the aristocratic origins of the *genre*. Having disposed thus summarily of all opposing theories,

[1] *Neophilologus*, v (1920), 58–79, esp. p. 71.

[2] 'La Pastourelle,' in *Romania*, XLIX (1923), 204–259.

[3] *Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1923).

M. Faral goes on to mention what he terms indications of the scholarly nature of the *pastourelle*. He interprets the mooted phrase in the biographies of the troubadours, which says that Cercamon, one of the earliest of the troubadours, composed 'pastoretas a l'usanza antiga,' to mean 'à la façon des anciens,' which is, of course, 'à la façon des Latins.' He would find a striking parallelism in the terms '*chanson pastourelle*' and '*carmen pastorale*,' to substantiate which he goes into minute arguments to refute Gaston Paris' theory that the word '*pastourelle*' is always a noun, signifying 'young shepherdess,' which gradually comes to designate the songs that she sang. Everything seems to him to point to 'a glorious literary parentage,' where the genre is born of an art which owes much to a study of ancient models.

He admits that there are arguments, elaborated in the studies of Pillet, for denying any influence to classical or pseudo-classical pastoral poetry: the great differences (1) in the metre, (2) in the central love adventure, (3) in the chief role of the shepherdess, and (4) in certain characteristics which denote the possible popular origin of the *genre*. Professor Faral, however, is simply not of that opinion. The idea of any popular characteristics in the *pastourelle* is mere reverie, a pleasant form of intellectual day-dreaming. As for metrical form, it is very true that there is a great difference between the light metre and leaping stanzas of the *pastourelle* and the slow, sweeping regularity of the classical heroic or elegiac verses; but, he asks, does the *Roman d'Eneas* derive any the less from the *Aeneid* because it is written in short octosyllabic verses? As for the shepherdess, does she not mingle in the contests of the shepherds in the eclogues, even though she may not be the central figure? From the point of view of style, moreover, the pseudo-Virgilian ideal of simplicity for the bucolic would suit the *pastourelle*. Servius' theory of the three styles of Virgil, the sublime in the *Aeneid*, the tempered in the *Georgics*, and the simple in the *Bucolics*, was reproduced by later critics, until in the work of Conrad of Hirschau,[1] who lived during the first half of the twelfth century, the bucolic came to be felt as a simple pastoral song for the purpose of showing the customs, occupations, and pastimes of pastoral life as contrasted with those of the city.

There must therefore be much in common between this simple bucolic in the Virgilian tradition and the vernacular *pastourelle*. Professor Faral undertakes to show the similarities in minute details which cover several pages, the outcome of which is: (1) that both bucolic and *pastourelle* have personages with particular names, on the one hand Tityrus, Meliboeus (and, one might add, Corydon, Phyllis, and Daphnis), and on the other Robin, Robechon, and Perrin; (2) that, in both, the characters are accom-

[1] *Dialogus super Auctores*, ed. G. Schepps (Würzburg, 1889), p. 72.

panied by animals suitable to their estate, such as sheep, dogs, and an occasional wolf; (3) that, in both, the shepherds carry sticks and are many times described with their musical instruments and their rustic food and clothing; (4) that, whereas the scene of the *pastourelle* is in the fields between such and such a place or in a meadow near a wood, the scene of the bucolic is in the meadow pasture-ground; and, finally, (5) that the rhetoric of simplicity, which critics had come to associate with the Virgilian bucolic, rules also in the vernacular *pastourelle*.

To these elaborate arguments, which really prove only that the two types treat of pastoral life, is added a rhetorical climax: the proof of M. Faral's theory lies in an example of the pseudo-Virgilian bucolic, which John of Garland had quoted as such, but which, being 'a *pastourelle* as we know that *genre*,' fairly proves that the vernacular pieces derive from those in Latin. But what is this so-called '*pastourelle*,' which the thirteenth-century savant has preserved for us in his treatise on poetics? Briefly, it tells, in elegiacs, how a maiden Phyllis, who has a lover Corydon, is pursued by another swain Daphnis. There is naturally a certain artificial resemblance to the *pastourelle*, which may or may not be accidental, but even apart from the extreme differences in style, manner, and versification, and apart from the fact that we cannot be sure that the Latin piece is the older,[1] there are still lacking some of the essential elements of the *pastourelle*, such as the gallant of high degree and the dialogue involved in the request of love.[2]

In the *Memoirs of the Brussels Academy* for 1926, there appeared another attempt, by M. Delbouille, to trace the origin of the *pastourelle* to Latin sources, with little more success than Professor Faral's.[3] The negative argu-

[1] The exact date of John of Garland's *Poetria* is not known, but, since he was still living in Paris in 1252, this treatise probably belongs to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. John does not tell us the source or date of the 'carmen elegyacum amabeum bucolicon;' it probably is indeed one of his own compositions. It is strange that John of Garland, writing at a time when the *pastourelle* was flourishing most profusely, should not have given some hint of the connecting link which he quotes; he tells us instead that it was a typical example of the humble style in which Virgil was wont to compose bucolic poetry, and goes on to point a moral, in which 'flesh' is wooed by 'reason,' only to be pursued and persecuted by the 'world' or the 'devil.' See his *Poetria* (ed. Mari), in *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII (1902), 894. On John of Garland, see L. J. Paetow, 'The Arts Course at Medieval Universities, in *Univ. of Ill. Studies*, vol. III, No. 7 (1910), esp. pp. 16–19, 85–86; and *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland* (ed. Paetow), in *Memoirs of the Univ. of California*, vol. IV, No. 2 (1927), esp. pp. 77–106, 126–27. The date of the *Poetria* is here (p. 109), given as *c.* 1234.

[2] A. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique au Moyen-Age* (3d. ed., Paris, 1925), p. 516: 'La façon dont le genre est traité me paraît découler de sa nature même et je n'arrive à saisir aucun rapport entre nos pastourelles et la bucolique "à la mode virgilienne" qu'il [Faral] cite en terminant, et à laquelle manquent deux éléments essentiels du genre, le galant et la requête d'amour dialoguée.'

[3] *Les Origines de la Pastourelle*, Académie Royale de Belgique, *Mémoires*, Classe des Lettres, vol. XX, fasc. 2 (Brussels, 1926).

ments are very unsatisfactory, since he devotes some six pages to a refutation of Faral's theory and dismisses all possibility of popular origin or inspiration with a mere six lines about a theory 'which presents its charms to the imagination.'[1] He is much sounder in his positive arguments, where he attempts to trace the origin of the *pastourelle* to certain mediaeval Latin erotic poems of the late twelfth century, which were published by Nicolau d'Olwer in 1923 in the *Annuari* of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.[2]

Delbouille proceeds first of all to show the close relation existing between the *pastourelle* and the *chanson dramatique* or popular *chanson de mal mariée*. He cites a number of these songs which could be made *pastourelles* by the mere change of a woman to a rustic maiden or shepherdess. Therefore, he concludes, the theme of the love intrigue is more important than the pastoral character of the story, which is certainly true. This tradition, he continues, is evidently older than the poetry of the troubadours: what then is the source? Many of the Latin poems of the Ripoll school published by d'Olwer have opening scenes like those of the vernacular *pastourelles*. One of these, *De Somnio* (No. 26, p. 46), he cites in full as his chief evidence: a beautiful virgin appears to the poet in a dream, seducing him by her voluptuous offers, which he accepts and enjoys, only to waken and find it all a dream. There are several points of analogy with the *pastourelle*, such as the setting in the springtime, the two characters, the love debate, and most of all, it seems to me, the erotic nature of the narration. The basic situation, however, where the gallant demands love of the maiden with varying success, is here distinctly reversed, and the framework of the dream, though common enough in mediaeval literature, is hardly of the nature to inspire the realism found in the Old French *pastourelles*. M. Delbouille goes on to point out many analogies of the Latin erotic songs with the vernacular *pastourelles*, citing an early poem, probably by one Wido,[3] and several amatory pieces from the early *Cambridge Song-Book*. This last part of Delbouille's work is, I feel, not only sound but distinctly valuable. Although no pieces have been yet discovered which may be taken as the distinct source of inspiration of the *pastourelle*, there are undoubtedly strong points of analogy with the great body of the Latin love poetry from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, especially that of an erotic nature. Along these lines Hennig Brinkmann, in his rather inexact but nevertheless comprehensive way, has gone further than anyone else.

In his research into the history of the MHG *Minnesang*, Brinkmann felt himself hindered and practically stopped by the lack of a good history of

[1] F. Desonay, in a review of the work in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, v (1926), 1015–17, takes Delbouille severely to task for this inconsistency.

[2] Vol. vi (Barcelona, 1923), Secció literaria, pp. 1–84.

[3] Published by Dümmler, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xiv (1869), 245.

mediaeval Latin love poetry. This lack he has himself undertaken to fill in a series of articles [1] and a history of Latin love poetry in the Middle Ages,[2] following these up in rapid fashion with his originally planned treatises on the origin of the *Minnesang* [3] and on mediaeval poetry in general.[4] In these writings the author has attacked a difficult problem in a fresh and vigorous manner and has brought to his aid a vast amount of reading, but his zeal seems to have overtaken his judgment, and the history of Latin love poetry, at least of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, remains for the most part yet to be written.[5]

In his investigations, Brinkmann has, along with many other things, naturally discussed also the *pastourelle*, elaborating in his history [6] what he had merely touched upon in his earlier articles.[7] He points out several analogies of the *pastourelle* with Latin love poetry from the tenth century forward, elements in the vernacular pieces which found expression much earlier in Latin. There is the conversation between two lovers, which is found in Italy in the tenth century *Invitatio amicę* and in No. 35 of the *Cambridge Song-Book*. Up to this time the lovers in these erotic songs have been clerks and nuns, but now, as the influence of Ovid sets in, the characters are taken also from secular life. The *Versus Eporedienses* by Wido, referred to above in the discussion of Delbouille's theory, shows the setting of nature and all elements of an elaborated *pastourelle*, he says, except the ending with the answer to the plea of the lover. This is to be expected, he continues, since as far back as Ovid's epistle of Oenone to Paris (*Heroïdes*, v) all elements of the *pastourelle* are present: the shepherd lovers, the virginity taken by means of gifts, the setting among trees and meadows. Of special importance he finds an unpublished Latin poem in dialogue form from a Florentine manuscript, in which practically 'all *pastourelle* motifs (*sum rudis et simplex, est pater asper homo, uirginitas placuit, fama, locus aptus, anus*), taken for the most part from Ovid, are united.' He goes on to show this influence at work in certain erotic songs in the *Cambridge Song-*

[1] 'Anfänge lateinischer Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter,' in *Neophilologus*, IX (1924), 49–60, 203–221.

[2] *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (Halle, 1925).

[3] *Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs* (Halle, 1926).

[4] *Zu Wesen und Form mittelalterlicher Dichtung* (Halle, 1928).

[5] For an excellent review of the *Liebesdichtung* with detailed criticism, see Karl Strecker in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, N. F., II (1925), 2183–90. See also Paul Lehmann in *Literaturblatt der germanischen und romanischen Philologie*, XLVIII (1927), 6–9, and *Modern Language Review*, XXII (1927), 110–112. For a favorable opinion of Brinkmann's work on the *Minnesang*, together with a survey of investigations on the subject, see G. Müller in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, V (1927), 113–121.

[6] *Geschichte der lat. Liebesdichtung*, pp. 77–88.

[7] *Neoph.*, IX, 203–208.

Book, the *Carmina Burana*, and the St Omer manuscript, most of which are obviously Latin *pastourelles*.[1]

This study of Brinkmann, involving as it does the goliardic *pastourelles* themselves and also the erotic poems which undoubtedly influenced them, seems to me to strike much nearer the heart of the situation than any in recent years. Here is a background, not only for the *pastourelle* but for vernacular love poetry in general. Taking the hint from Ovid, whose spirit was supreme in the poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the clerks produced love songs more sensual than passionate. Why some of these happened to be *pastourelles* with analogues in Old French and in numerous folk-songs, Brinkmann does not attempt to explain. He has done well in pointing out the inspiration for the erotic element in goliardic poetry. Besides the love element, the *Invitatio amicę* and other early pieces cited by Brinkmann have practically nothing in common with the *pastourelle* except the idea of the girl being wooed and making excuses, a motif which is very common in folk-songs and in narrative tradition all over Europe and especially in Romance countries. The Florentine MS. and all the Latin *pastourelles* come from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so that they actually *prove* nothing as to the origin of the *pastourelle* except that the ideas were, so to speak, 'in the air.' The Latin love poetry from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries certainly cannot be ignored in a study of the *pastourelle* and Brinkmann is to be congratulated for having demonstrated the fact so well, but to trace the origin of the *genre* to the specimens which have thus far come to light is, to my mind, out of the question.

Besides attempting to find the inspiration of the *pastourelle* in some phase of Mediaeval-Latin poetry, MM. Faral, Delbouille, and Brinkmann have also agreed in ignoring completely the possible popular origin of the *genre*, a theory which has held the field since Gaston Paris' famous review of Jeanroy's work on the origins of lyric poetry in the Middle Ages.[2] Strangely enough no one had ever attempted to make a thorough study of the *pastourelles* to be found among the folk-songs of France and of Italy [3] until the recent appearance of Edgar Piguet's work on the subject, published by the *Société Suisse des Traditions Populaires*.[4] M. Piguet does not bother himself with the origins of the *pastourelle*, but as an historian takes upon himself to trace its evolution from the twelfth century to the present

[1] For a summary of Brinkmann's ideas on the subject, followed by a direct application to the vernacular *pastourelle*, see his *Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs*, pp. 64–70.

[2] *Journal des Savants* (1891), pp. 674–688, 729–742; (1892), pp. 155–167, 407–430.

[3] This phase of the subject is discussed at great length in my unpublished thesis (April, 1927) in the Harvard College Library. I am at present revising this work for publication at the earliest possible moment.

[4] *L'Evolution de la Pastourelle du XIIe Siècle à nos Jours* (Basel, 1927). Half-title: Publications de la Société suisse des traditions populaires, vol. XIX.

time, placing at the end of this chronological process the present-day French and Italian folk-songs which are analogous to the mediaeval courtly *pastourelles*.

After a brief but careful outline of the history of the mediaeval *pastourelle* and of previous critical studies of the *genre* (pp. 9–16), Piguet devotes the main part of his work (pp. 21–151) to a study of the various themes and their filiation, a section which contains most of the arguments and evidence to uphold his theory. The book ends with a concise statement of the author's views as to the passage of the *genre* from literature to folk-lore (pp. 155–172) and a very complete bibliography (pp. 181–206). An extremely valuable service is rendered by the compilation, from old *chansonniers* and from modern collections of folk-songs, of the various poems which in any way resemble the mediaeval *pastourelle*, and his bibliography, although comparatively few of its items are cited as evidence in the text, will always be a help to students of the subject.

It is clear, however, that M. Piguet has not written this work merely as the literary history of a lyric genre. He is attempting to demonstrate what MM. Faral, Delbouille, and Brinkmann have taken for granted, namely that the theory of popular origins or even of popular inspiration for the *pastourelle* is absolutely untenable. As such, his arguments deserve a closer scrutiny than the limitations of this article allow, but I cannot help pointing out a few outstanding fallacies in his line of reasoning, leaving the minutiae for fuller treatment in my forthcoming publication. In the first place, his ideas concerning the nature of popular material and its transmission seem very confused. To him the date of publication of a song establishes definitely its age: very few folk-songs found their way into print in France before 1850, therefore they are to him modern, even though a comparison of varied and widely scattered versions of certain songs establishes their undoubted antiquity. For example, a song like *Le Galant Volé* (pp. 125 ff.), which has only a few versions all from one section of France, cannot be as old, or be given the same value as evidence, as one like *La Bergère et le Loup* (pp. 107 ff.), which has numerous versions with considerable variation, scattered over all parts of France and much of Italy and Switzerland as well. To insist on the chronology of printed versions of popular material is to show a lack of understanding of the material under consideration.

In the second place, there are some decided breaks in the chain of evolution which he has so assiduously built up. He divides the material into two main groups, according to the *dénouement* of the story: (1) success of the gallant, and (2) baffling of the gallant. The first theme of success, represented by the audacious lover who brutally takes what he wants, is naturally frequent in the courtly *pastourelles* under the influence of Ovid and the erotic Latin poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it is also

abundantly represented in the part-songs and *bergeries* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, treated with even more coarseness; at this point, however, the theme seems to end suddenly, for it is practically unknown in folk-song. The second theme of success, where the maiden makes excuses but is won over by gifts or promises, is also not found very often among the folk-songs.

The second group, in which the gallant is baffled in his attempts, presents a very different situation, if one leaves out of consideration the rather neutral theme of the shepherdess who refuses because she wishes to be faithful to her swain, which scarcely ever changes from the thirteenth century to the nineteenth and which therefore cannot be used as evidence of evolution in either direction. This group contains mostly modern folk-songs, some but by no means all of which have analogies with the Old French *pastourelles*. There is also a large body of folk-songs, such as, for example, *La Fille du Lépreux* and *La Batelière*, not mentioned by M. Piguet, which differ only in the fact that the girl is not always *designated* as shepherdess, an element which is not always fixed, even in the courtly lyrics.

M. Piguet concludes that there is nothing in the *chansons populaires* which is not already present in the thirteenth century, but his demonstration of this, as I have tried to point out, is not at all convincing. There is, moreover, little or nothing in the mediaeval *pastourelle* which cannot be explained as being due to the inspiration of certain popular themes taken over and adapted by court poets and by clerks, who were familiar, on the one hand with the influence of Ovid and of erotic love songs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and on the other hand with Virgil and the trappings of the pseudo-Virgilian bucolic. Certainly the 'popular origins' theory of the *pastourelle* has not yet been entirely overthrown.[1] It must surely be revised in the light of such capable studies as the above four, and in the end we shall probably discover just such a confusion of material as Mr Lowes has shown for the modern creative mind in Coleridge. One thing is still evident: the full history of the *pastourelle* and of the sources of its inspiration remains to be written.

[1] An interesting case for the popular origin of Spanish lyric form, the *serranilla*, has been made by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his inaugural address before the *Ateneo Científico, Literario y Artístico de Madrid* (Nov. 29, 1919) and published in his *Estudios Literarios* (Madrid, n. d.), pp. 255–344. He believes (pp. 280–295) that under the name of *serranilla* are confused compositions of widely varying character, the most primitive of which go back to the travelling-songs of mountain passes. Many specimens, however, have undergone the influence of the Provençal *pastourelle* and contain therefore more of the courtly lyric elements and less adventure.

W. Powell Jones,
Harvard University

THE TRIPLE DEATH IN THE *VITA MERLINI*

In the *Vita Merlini*, attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, is a passage (ll. 305–346, 391–415) which tells how Merlin's sister Ganieda, wishing to show that her brother possessed no supernatural powers, asked him to tell her what sort of death one of the boys present was to die. Merlin said that he would die by falling from a high rock. She sent the boy away, telling him to put on different clothes, and when he returned again asked Merlin to predict the manner of his death. This time Merlin said that the boy would meet with a violent death in a tree, evidently intending his hearers to understand this to mean that he would be hanged. A third time Ganieda had the boy brought in, this time disguised as a girl, and this time Merlin predicted that he (or she) would die in the river. In spite of the incredulity of all, the prophecy came true, for years later while the boy was hunting he fell from a rock, his foot caught in a tree, and his head was submerged in the stream.

> Sicque ruit, mersusque fuit, lignoque pependit,
> Et fecit vatem per terna pericula verum.

Some time ago, when editing the *Vita Merlini*, I suggested that this story had a Celtic source, adducing as evidence the very similar stories told of Lailoken in what seems to be a fragment of a lost life of Saint Kentigern, and of Twm Ieuan ap Rhys in Welsh popular tradition as recorded by Iolo Morgannwg.[1] Both stories were late and could not, in their present form, have been used by Geoffrey, but neither seemed to be derived from the *Vita Merlini* and I cited them as evidence that some such story was current among the Celts and that from them Geoffrey might have obtained it as he did other material in his poem. In so doing however I failed to take account of the fact that there is an even closer parallel to be found in continental Latin literature previous to Geoffrey and there is no indication that this latter rests upon any Celtic foundation.

Hildebert, Bishop of LeMans, whose work was not unknown in England in Geoffrey's time, has two poems on the subject of the birth and death of a certain abnormal individual.[2] Both bear striking resemblances to Geoffrey's work, the longer being perhaps slightly the nearer. In each we have the prophecy of three deaths for one man. One of them, the drowning, is the same as in the *Vita Merlini* and the two Celtic stories; the second, the death in the tree, is the same in all except the Kentigern fragment, which

[1] *Iolo Manuscripts* (2d ed., Liverpool, 1888), pp. 202 and 616.

[2] For a discussion of the authorship of these poems see *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XI (2d ed.), 397–399; the parallel with the *Vita Merlini* is pointed out on p. 756. The poems themselves are printed in *Patr. Lat.* CLXXI, 1445–1446.

has Lailoken beaten to death; the third is, according to Hildebert, by the sword, in the Kentigern fragment by impalement on a sharp stake and in the *Vita Merlini* by a fall, while the Welsh tale which combines the fall and the tree in a single death makes the third death come from the bite of a serpent. But Hildebert's poems contain another triple prediction also: that the expected child would be a boy, that it would be a girl, and that it would be neither, and this also proves true. There is nothing like this in either of the Celtic tales, but it may well have suggested Geoffrey's device of having the boy come in once disguised as a girl. Moreover it is perhaps not fanciful to see in Geoffrey's language in this passage something of Hildebert's epigrammatic style. Everything seems to point to his work rather than either of the other stories as Geoffrey's source.

The whole matter may well serve as a caution to those who are searching for Celtic antecedents for characters and incidents of mediaeval romance. Two good Celtic parallels to an incident might well be considered enough to establish for it a Celtic provenance — certainly many identifications have been made on much more slender evidence than this — but in this case the whole argument is overthrown by the fact that chance has preserved for us one fact that will not fit in with any such theory. In other cases the work which would give the clue may be lost but it is not safe to assume, as is so often done, that no such work existed.

John J. Parry,
University of Illinois

THE MEDIAEVAL ORGAN AND A CASSIODORUS GLOSSARY AMONG THE SPURIOUS WORKS OF BEDE

In the present note it is proposed to offer some comments on Mrs H. R. Bittermann's essay entitled 'The Organ in the Middle Ages' recently published in this journal (Speculum, iv (1929), 390–410), and also to discuss the work of the pseudo-Bede to which she refers on several occasions.

If Mrs Bittermann's observations on Greek and Roman organs are far from complete, the fact may to some extent be excused on the ground that she is mainly concerned with the instrument in the Middle Ages. Yet one would have welcomed some allusion to Tittel's important article, which not only deals very fully with the Graeco-Roman period but contains some valuable mediaeval references as well.[1]

In her account of early mediaeval organs she refers to the works of Aurelian of Réomé and the pseudo-Bede (n. 3 on p. 394); she also gives a translation of the latter passage (p. 396). But these references have no independent value. The earlier portion of Aurelian's *Musica Disciplina* is

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie des klassischen Altertums*, ix (1916), s. v. 'Hydraulis.'

derived almost wholly from earlier sources,[1] while the pseudo-Bede, as will appear hereafter, comes from Cassiodorus. Many references are given to Merovingian and Carolingian poets, but it may well be asked how far these can be taken as evidence for contemporary musical practice. Also it seems as if Mrs Bittermann has not always rightly understood her authorities. For her paraphrase (pp. 404, 405) of a portion of Fortunatus' poem on the procession to the Mass attributes to the poet statements which he has not made. The lines in question are:

> Stamina psalterii lyrico modulamine texens
> Versibus orditum carmen amore trahit.
> Hinc puer exiguis attemperat organa cannis,
> Inde senis largam ructat ab ore tubam.
> Cymbalicae voces calamis miscentur acutis
> Disparibusque tropis fistula dulce sonat;
> Tympana rauca senum puerilis tibia mulcet
> Atque hominum reparant verba canora lyram.[2]

This is not a description of a choir accompanied by various instruments, as Mrs Bittermann would have us believe. Fortunatus, with Psalm CL clearly in his mind, is comparing the voices of the various singers — boys, young men, old men — to the instruments named in that famous Biblical poem. Again, the poem to which Mrs Bittermann alludes on page 405, note 5 [3] is reminiscent of the same Psalm. The lines from Sedulius Scottus' poem (ii, 63, 23–24),

> Nunc variae volucres permulcent aethera cantu,
> Produnt organulis celsa trophaea novis.

have nothing to do with the organ. The poet is describing how all Nature is at its best on Easter morning, and the birds form part of his picture. By *organula* are meant their beaks or throats, a conceit which Sedulius has borrowed from Fulgentius.[4]

The account on page 406 of the singing schools founded by Pepin and Charlemagne is antiquated. For, though the fact is undoubted that these two monarchs introduced important reforms in the matter of Church music, the singing masters, Theodore and Benedict, who in later versions of the story reappear as Romanus and Petrus, belong to legend, not to history.[5] On pages 409, 410 Mrs Bittermann names works on organ con-

[1] See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), 445 ff. and the references there given. Mrs Bittermann nowhere alludes to Manitius' book.

[2] Fortunatus, ii, 8, 53 ff. [3] *Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae*, III, 262, No. 15.

[4] Fulgentius, *Mitologiae* (ed. Helm), pp. 7, 2.

[5] An exhaustive treatment of this complicated tale and a valuable account of Church singing in the earlier Middle Ages will be found in Dom Rombaut van Doren's brilliant *Etude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall* (*VIIIe au XIe siècle*), Louvain, 1925. See especially chaps. 5 and 11 for the question referred to above.

struction by Odo, Abbot of Cluny, and Notker Balbulus. It is, however, very doubtful whether the musical writings going under the name of Odo were composed by the famous abbot. As for Notker Balbulus, the reputation of great musician which he long enjoyed has been irretrievably blasted by Father van Doren, and the tract to which Mrs Bittermann alludes was the work of his namesake, Notker Labeo (*ca.* 950–1022 A.D.)[1] It is surprising to find no mention of the tract, *De organo*, preserved in the eleventh century *Paris Lat. 7202*, a manuscript which also contains a version, worked over by another hand, of Hoger's *Musica Enchiriadis*.[2] In her description of a passage from Amalarius' *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* Mrs Bittermann (p. 405) does not distinguish between what is Amalarius' own and what he has culled from others. At least one passage has been lifted bodily by him from Ambrosiaster.

Finally it should be observed that Gerbert's friend and one-time teacher was Gerald of Aurillac, not Gerhard of Aurillace, as he is dubbed by Mrs Bittermann (p. 410). It may, too, be worth drawing attention to Gerbert's method of teaching music and to his use of the monochord:

> Inde etiam musicam multo ante Galliis ignotam notissimam effecit. Cuius genera in monocordo disponens eorum consonantias sive simphonias in tonis ac semitoniis, ditonis quoque ac diesibus distinguens, tonosque in sonis rationabiliter distribuens, in plenissimam notitiam redegit. (Richer, *Historiae*, III, 49) [3]

Among the many spurious works attributed to Bede the short *Interpretatio psalterii artis cantilenae vel specierum singularum vel nominum quae commemorantur in psalmis*, to which allusion was made at the beginning of this article, seems not unnaturally to have received little attention. Yet this *opusculum* merits some notice, since on inspection it turns out to be a glossary compiled from a famous work of a famous author.[4]

Out of twenty-nine items twenty-five are taken wholly, and two partly, from Cassiodorus' commentary on the Psalms.[5] Additions from the younger Arnobius meet us in one of these and from Jerome in another. One gloss is from Arnobius alone, the other I have been unable to track to its source.

[1] See van Doren, *op. cit.*, chap. 9, esp. 94 with n. 1.

[2] Cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

[3] Mrs Bittermann (p. 405, n. 3) appears to think that the Septuagint is the name given to the Hebrew O. T.; for she speaks of 'the Greek Testament translated from the Septuagint.' There are a number of misprints: on p. 391 read Ctesibius twice for Ctesibus. p. 391, n. 1 read IV, 243 for XI, 243, and, similarly, on p. 404, n. 4, IV, 39 for XI, 39. p. 396, n. 1 the Cassiodorus reference should be LXIX, 540A not XLIX, 510A; in any case the *Varia* should be cited according to Mommsen's edition, not according to that of Migne. On p. 400, n. 4 Elwald should be Ehwald, and *ibid.*, n. 5 Theoderet should be Theodoret.

[4] The work will be found in *Patr. Lat.*, XCIII, 1099–1102.

[5] *Patr. Lat.*, vol. LXX. Arnobius is in vol. LIII of the same work.

It may be serviceable to give the lemma words in the order in which they appear in the pseudo-Bede together with their source:

Psalterium	Cass., *pref.* 4 (15B and D)
Psalmus	*id.*, *pref.* 5 (15D)
Canticum	*id.*, *pref.* 5 (16A)
Psalmus	*id.*, *introd. in psalm.* 2 (35B)
Framea	*id.*, *psalm.* 16, 14 (121B) and Arnobius, *in psalm.* 16 (344A)
Cinyra	?
Cedrus	Cass., *psalm.* 28, 5 (199D)
Hermon	*id.*, *psalm.* 41, 9 (304B)
Myrrha, Gutta Ammoniaca, Cassia	*id.*, *psalm.* 44, 9 (323C)
Ebur	*id.*, *psalm.* 44, 10 (323D)
Hyssopus	*id.*, *psalm.* 50, 8 (364A–B)
Rhamnus	*id.*, *psalm.* 57, 9 (408A–B)
Maceria	*id.*, *psalm.* 61, 3 (429D)
Tympanum	*id.*, *psalm.* 80, 2 (586D)
Aspis	*id.*, *psalm.* 13, 7 (105C) and 57, 4 (406D)
Pelicanus	*id.*, *psalm.* 101, 7 (709C–D)
Nycticorax	*ibid.* (709D–710A)
Passer	*id.*, *psalm.* 101, 8 (710B)
Turtur	*id.*, *psalm.* 83, 3 (602A)
Frixorium	Arnobius, *in psalm.* 101 (470C)
Fulica	Cass., *psalm.* 103, 17 (735A)
Herinacius	*id.*, *psalm.* 103, 18 (735B)
Topazion	*id.*, *psalm.* 118, 127 (881C–D)
Crystallum	*id.*, *psalm.* 147, 6 (1040C)
Organum	*id.*, *psalm.* 150, 4 (1052D–1053A)
Cymbala	*id.*, *psalm.* 150, 5 (1053B)
Sela	Jerome, *Epist.* 28 (?) and Cassiod., *pref.* 11 (17B); cf. also Augustine, *in psalm.* 4, 4.

That most of the last item goes back to Jerome is certain; the references to the various Greek translators of the Bible is sufficient to prove that. Yet its abbreviated form makes it more likely that the definition was derived by the compiler of the glossary from an intermediate source. The presence of two Arnobius glosses is surprising; for there is no evidence that this author's commentary on the Psalms was at all widely known. In the ninth century it was to be found in the libraries of St Riquier, Lorsch, and Würzburg.[1] At the present time only three manuscripts of it are known, two of the tenth century (*Vat. palat. 160* and *Augiensis CLXXXIV*), and one of the fifteenth (*Lipsiensis 155*). In view of this evidence it may seem more probable that the glossary was put together on the Continent rather

[1] St Riquier: G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 11, 103; Lorsch: *ibid.*, 37, 360; Würzburg: *Serapeum*, VI (1845), 182.

than in England; but it would be rash to dogmatize.[1] The popularity of Cassiodorus' commentary on the Psalms is too well known to call for special comment, but it is perhaps worth mentioning one feature in the commentary on the Psalms falsely attributed to Bede.[2] In that work the commentary on each psalm is preceded by a shorter *explanatio*, printed in italics by Migne. These *explanationes* are in some cases taken entirely and word for word from Cassiodorus; in other cases passages from Cassiodorus are combined with additional matter provided by the commentator.

[1] The source of the gloss *cinyra* must for the present remain doubtful. The Latin *Thesaurus* cites two passages from the *Book of Maccabees* and one from Eucherius. But the last named author is not the source of the gloss. [2] *Patr. Lat.*, XCIII, 477–1098.

M. L. W. LAISTNER,
Cornell University

REVIEWS

THEODORE H. BANKS, Jr., transl., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. 143.

S. O. Andrew, transl., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. A Modern Version of the XIV Century Alliterative Poem in the Original Metre.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1929. Cloth. Pp. xv+105.

THE difficulties of making a reasonably literal translation of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* into modern English verse which shall achieve some degree of artistic finish without sacrificing metrical peculiarities, and which shall retain an archaic flavor without the appearance of affectation, are almost insuperable. The dialect is more or less obscure, and the vocabulary, owing to the demands of alliteration, is extraordinarily diversified. It is hard to find modern equivalents for some of the technical terms, especially in the accounts of the hunts and of the cutting up of the quarry, and in the descriptions of costume. The alliterative line with its strongly marked caesura and its jolty movement is out of harmony with modern taste, and the abrupt shifts to the choppy bobs and wheels are disconcerting.

The two most recent translators of this poem have attempted to solve their problem in somewhat different ways. Each has made a fairly literal rendering of the Tolkien and Gordon text (Clarendon Press, 1925) in the same number of lines as the original, and with the same general arrangement of line-length, alliteration, and rhyme. Mr Banks has, however, been at more pains than Mr Andrew to adapt his vocabulary to modern usage, and to mitigate the jolting of the alliterative verse. The long line of the original has, as a rule, either four or five stresses and an indeterminate number of unstressed syllables. Mr Banks decided, out of regard for the modern ear, never to allow more than two unstressed syllables between successive stresses, whereas Mr Andrew permits as many as three. Mr Banks's long lines therefore flow more smoothly than Mr Andrew's, though Mr Andrew reproduces more nearly the movement of the original.

With the same purpose, doubtless, of making as readable a text as possible, Mr Banks discards alliteration in the wheels, though he retains the rhyme, and undertakes only to paraphrase the meaning instead of trying to find a modern equivalent for every word. Mr Andrew, on the other hand, holds as closely as may be to the original wheels in all these respects, with a desperate ingenuity which not infrequently sacrifices smoothness to the exigencies of a *tour de force.*

The earlier version of Miss Weston (in her *Romance, Vision, and Satire,* Boston, 1912) renders the long lines in alexandrines rhyming in couplets,

and like that of Mr Andrew — and with the same result — preserves both alliteration and rhyme in the wheels. These alexandrines, exactly bisected as they are with monotonously recurring caesural pauses, are farther away from the movement of the original than the lines of either of the other two translators. Their jog-trot becomes intolerable after a page or two.

In the matter of vocabulary, the difference between the versions of Mr Banks and Mr Andrew is more marked than in the matter of rhythm. Mr Andrew endeavors to preserve the archaic effect of his original, in the first place by retaining a considerable number of obsolete words which he explains in foot-notes, and in the second place by such pseudo-archaic expressions as 'eft-soons' (p. 63), ''tis sooth' (p. 14), 'as e'en him beseems' (p. 62), 'bigly he strode' (p. 61), 'I wis' (p. 49), 'I wot not' (p. 40), 'shall I give you all my gets' (p. 63). Mr Andrew is not so persistent an offender in this respect as Miss Weston, whose work bristles with 'I ween's,' 'Ywis's,' 'I trow's,' 'I wot's,' 'eke's,' 'e'en's,' 'enow's,' 'erst's,' 'gat's,' 'ta'en's,' and the like; but Mr Banks has almost entirely eliminated this sort of thing, and he very rarely yields to the temptation to use a Middle English word with little or no modification, although he contrives at the same time to convey the impression of quaintness which the reader expects in a modern rendering of a mediaeval poem. Care has to be taken not to over-refine such a rendering, lest it lose the spirit of the original. Whenever an inept phrase is encountered in Mr Banks's version, it will pretty certainly be found that he is reproducing a grotesque or odd touch in his original. For example,

> Much was the warm water welling from eyes (l. 684).
> At the top, Bishop Baldwin the table begins,
> And Ywain beside him ate, Urien's son (ll. 112 f.).
> He once had assumed in a spirit of splendor (l. 91).

But if over-refinement in a modern version of a mediaeval poem should be avoided, so should the opposite extreme. It is not easy, of course, for the translator to decide just where to draw the line, but Mr Andrew's version unquestionably leaves too much of the poem untranslated. The effect of his macaronics may be seen in such lines as the following:

> When that seemly sire sought from those wones (p. 27).
> (Banks: When the seemly hero set out from the city.)
>
> Of a burd was born to abye our trouble (p. 29).
> (Banks: Born of a Virgin to vanquish our pain.)
>
> The snow shower'd snell and snapèd the wild (p. 77).
> (Banks: Down shivered the snow, nipping sharply the wild beasts.)
>
> The Green Knight on ground graithly him dresses,
> A little he louts, to let the skin shew (p. 16).
> (Banks: With speed then the Green Knight took up his stand,
> Inclined his head forward, uncovering the flesh.)

The bobs and wheels present especial difficulties, which Mr Banks meets, as we have seen, by eschewing alliteration and by paraphrasing. Mr Andrew pays for his closer adherence to the original by occasionally uncouth phraseology, and (since he observes alliteration as well as rhyme) by such forced or identical rhymes as 'reason-down' (p. 9); 'himself-twelve' (p. 6); 'red-laughèd' (p. 47); 'courtesy-merrie' (p. 72); 'at all-withal' (p. 78); 'knight-midnight' (p. 84); 'way-straightway' (p. 50). Miss Weston has even more difficulty with her rhymes. She permits, in the wheels, 'hue-feud' (p. 9); 'Giles-while' (p. 70); 'suddenly-reply' (p. 13); 'themselves-twelve' (p. 8); 'win-win' (p. 75); 'bring-bring' (p. 85). Sometimes she gives up a rhyme in despair (pp. 40, 60). Now and then the rhymes in the long lines are also faulty: 'beseem-ween' (p. 14); 'green-green' (pp. 31–2); 'stone-one-overcome' (p. 13). Mr Banks avoids these blemishes.

The tale is told, as every scholar knows, with a degree of skill that can hardly be matched in Middle English literature outside of Chaucer. There is every reason why it should be made accessible to the general reader in a competent modern version. Space will not allow further quotation to illustrate the relative poetical merits of the translations we have been considering. All three translators are greatly hampered by the metrical arrangement of the original text. Mr Banks's version is more graceful and more readily intelligible than Mr Andrew's, and more accurate and less padded than Miss Weston's. If his phraseology is less archaic than Mr Andrew's, it is still sufficiently set off from that of our own day to reproduce much of the feeling of the original. All things considered, Mr Banks's version seems to the present reviewer the most satisfactory, and Miss Weston's the least, of the three.

Frank E. Farley
Wesleyan University

Sister Mary Joseph Aloysius Buck, transl., and comment., *S. Ambrosii de Helia et Ieiunio.* A Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation. The Catholic University of America: Patristic Studies. Vol. xix. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1929. Paper. Pp. xv + 233. $3.50.

Mr Deferrari's 'Patristic Studies' are here enriched by another of the solid and scholarly editions he has led us to expect. Sister Mary has taken St Ambrose's sermons '*De Helia et Ieiunio*,' reprinting Schenkl's text, and provided them with an introduction, an excellent translation, and a painstaking commentary on their sources, content, syntax and vocabulary. Full and accurate Indices crown the work. Like many busy prelates of later days, Ambrose had no hesitation in plundering his predecessors for sermon material; in these, he makes unblushing use of Basil (and occasionally of Origen), on the subject of overeating and overdrinking. It is interesting,

in view of modern American fashion, to find him recommending fasting to women, citing Esther '*pulchrior facta ieiunio*,' because fasting 'has made even women stronger through an increase of grace.' I write this in conservative Spain, where Ambrose's counsel has made little impression as yet. He objected to sea-borne commerce, and boldly asserts: 'God did not make the sea for navigation, but on account of the beauty of the element.' An incidental observation on the judicial practice of disregarding a drunken man's statements, shows a change from the earlier Roman law. These items will indicate the general interest of the sermons. Sister Mary has made a real contribution in this volume. I admire her accurate proof-reading of the numerous Greek quotations, but there are a good many misprints in the Latin and English.

Charles Upson Clark,
Smithsonian Institution

Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930, Pp. viii + 295.

This latest product of the Haskins workshop bears all the characteristic marks which have given to its predecessors their great and deserved reputation. Its special quality is indicated by its title. It is not a treatise on mediaeval culture, such as a disciple of the 'New History' might rashly have ventured upon. It is neither more nor less than what it calls itself: a group of studies upon separate aspects of the one theme, the intellectual life of that middle period of European history which is only now coming into its rights as a time fruitful in inspiration and suggestion for the student of the modern world.

Of these twelve studies, all but three have already appeared in print but have been revised and readapted to the present purpose. While no effort has been made to force them into any artificial uniformity, there runs through them all a community of interest which gives to the volume a distinct impression of unity. All are based upon Latin originals. The vernacular appears only incidentally by way of contrast or supplement. The method is that made familiar by the author's former publications. In every case there is a basic text or group of texts around which is gathered illustrative material contemporary and later, bearing upon the special topic in hand. The narrative is closely knit, free from all rhetorical decoration but enlivened by a gentle humor that redeems it from any effect of dulness.

The book as a whole is intended for scholars, primarily indeed for scholars within its special field. This appeal is made evident by the abundance—one is almost tempted to say the superabundance—of notes critical and expository and of quotations from the sources. Roughly speaking, such illustrative matter forms about one half of the volume. It bears wit-

ness to the patient thoroughness of research that has gone into every minute detail, to the breadth of scholarship that has governed the selection, and the balanced judgment that certifies the conclusions upon controverted points.

Especially notable is the frequent reference to problems as to which certainty is unwarranted in the present state of knowledge. The author is an inspiring teacher as well as an accomplished scholar, and the teacher's quality comes out most fully in suggestions of unexplored fields awaiting the labor of investigation. We shall be surprised of this book does not prove to be a mine of wealth to younger scholars seeking for topics that will reward inquiry.

Probably the chapters of most general interest will be the first five, which taken together give us most engaging pictures of student life and all that went with it. The general reader, whose ideas of the Middle Ages are of a time of universal stupidity and dulness, will be surprised at the evidences of humane activity reflected here. He will, perhaps, be led to ask how it could possibly be that these very lively human boys could grow into a class of intellectual dullards, how these young experimenters in the qualities of metals should develop minds impervious to the suggestions of a truly scientific method, or how this army of entertainers, traders, pilgrims and message-bearers could wander in and out of all corners of Europe with eyes blinded to the obvious facts of the world about them. The answer he will get here is: 'They didn't.' We hope he will be led back to Professor Haskins' earlier books on Mediaeval Science and the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century for further enlightenment.

The three hitherto unpublished papers deal respectively with student manuals, with the Italian formulas for composition in the epistolary form, and with a peculiarly instructive case of persecution for Waldensian heresy at Rheims in 1230–31. This last is a characteristic illustration of the author's purely objective attitude toward all spiritual phenomena. Burning of heretics was as natural to the thirteenth century as boycotting for 'Darwinism' is to parts of these United States in the twentieth. It is interesting to note that one of the chief errors of the luckless baker of Rheims was precisely that of our contemporaries the Buchmanists, the right and duty of open and mutual confession of sins.

The volume closes with graceful tributes to two fellow workers in the mediaeval field: the veteran Henry Charles Lea and Charles Gross, the author's colleague and friend.

E. Emerton,
Harvard University

HILDE HÜGLI, *Der deutsche Bauer im Mittelalter dargestellt nach den deutschen literarischen Quellen vom 11–15 Jahrhundert.* Berlin: Paul Haupt, 1929. Pp. 176. Paper.

THIS work is the most recent publication in the *Forschungen zur Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* edited by Professors Harry Maync and S. Singer of the University of Bern, and obviously is a product of research done in seminar. It may be described as a study of the spirit of protest in Old German literature between 1050 and 1500 against the social and economic grievances of the time. 'Hart ist der Boden, härter ist der Herr, und heiss brennt die Sonne,' is the constant refrain. A brief historical introduction shows that the harder condition of the mediaeval German peasant began at the end of the twelfth century when in Old Germany 'die letzte grosse Rodungsperiode' terminated, when the great 'Drang nach Osten' had spent its force, and the colonial lands east of the Elbe and the Inn — so long the place of refuge of the oppressed — had become filled with settlers. The author is not quite right, however, in writing that in Frankish times there was no peasant class. It is true that the laws do not formally recognize such a class, but there is plenty of evidence of it in manorial documents like the *Capitulare de villis* and the polyptychs of Abbot Irminon and of St Rémy.

The general economic revolution in the twelfth century provoked by increase of commerce, the growth of a money economy instead of the old *Naturalwirtschaft*, the rise of towns and the formation of the burgher class aggravated the lot of the peasantry. Social cleavages were more various in Germany than in France, where there was no *ministerialis* class, no impecunious wandering knights, and where the liberty and social status of the burgher class was greater and more assured. Several interesting citations show how the German peasants took advantage of these cleavages, sometimes identifying themselves with the knights against bishop or noble, sometimes siding with noble or knight against the burghers, as in Württemberg and Baden against the cities forming the Swabian League. William Tell and Arnold von Winkelried are pointed to as idealized types of heroic German peasants. But it seems strange that no reference is made to Heinrich der Teichner, the Austrian rhymer (*ca.* 1350, ed. T. G. Karajan, Vienna, 1855), lines 101 f., which are a *locus classicus* for portrayal of the peasant as a warrior. This seems to be the only important source which has been omitted; but Seifried Helbling might have been utilized more fully. Among works consulted it is odd to find no mention of Michael (*Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*), or Steinhausen (*Geschichte der deutschen Kultur*), or Schauffler (*Quellenbüchlein zur Kulturgeschichte . . . aus mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern*), the value of which is inestimable because of historical notes attached, and a glossary. The latter would have been a convenience to the reader of this book.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON,
University of Chicago

Otto J. Kuhnmuench, S. J., *Early Christian Latin Poets from the Fourth to the Sixth Century, with an Introduction, Translation, Commentary, and Notes.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1929. Pp. xiv + 472.

Although the growing interest in the Middle Ages has been plentifully illustrated of late by books of selections from Mediaeval Latin literature, no such works have recently been devoted to the Latin literature of the Empire, and in particular, the Christian Latin Literature that forms so important an approach to the Middle Ages. Father Kuhnmuench, who is professor of Latin at St Louis University, fills the gap with the volume before us. He has made admirable selections from Christian Latin poetry ranging from Juvencus to Fortunatus, with pithy and serviceable sketches of the different poets. The translation is accurate and sensible; the style wisely does not soar too high. A few of the pieces at the end of the book are left without translations. The notes are concerned with difficulties in construction and vocabulary; they might well have included some reference to the Classical models followed by the Christian poets. The book may be profitably used in college courses and will also be serviceable for graduate students of mediaeval literature who would gain in short order and through examples rather than through other people's descriptions an idea of certain literary developments, such as the Biblical Epic, which cannot be understood without an acquaintance with these forerunners of the Middle Ages.

E. K. Rand,
Harvard University

Karl Langosch, ed., *Asinarius und Rapularius.* (*Sammlung Mittelateinischer Texte* herausgegeben von Alfons Hilka, No. 10), Heidelberg, 1929. Pp. xii + 108. RM. 5.50.

Asinarius and *Rapularius*, the elegiac comedies from which the Brothers Grimm took their stories of the Ass and the Turnip, are here edited by Dr Langosch in a fashion worthy of his master, Karl Strecker. Of previous editions, the most noteworthy is that by Johannes Bolte in 1918, but it is surpassed by the present work. The author has himself collected the available manuscripts, grouped them in classes and used their testimony discreetly in the formation of the text. In the case of *Asinarius* and the original version of *Rapularius*, the manuscripts fall into two main classes; the text of the second version of *Rapularius* depends upon a single source. The introduction includes valuable remarks on metre, grammar and style. The notes contain reference to imitations of Classical authors, notably, as one might expect, Ovid. The presence of Ovid might have been noted in the hemistich *quisquis fuit ille deorum* (*Asinarius* 35 and 95 = *Met.*, i. 32). As for the date and provenience of the works, they were written, according to Dr Langosch, in South Germany about 1200.

E. K. Rand,
Harvard University

VÁCLAV NOVOTNÝ, *České Dějiny*, Dílu I., Část III. Prague: Jan Laichter, 1929. Illustrated. Pp. 1085. Paper.

IT IS almost eighteen years since Professor Novotný brought out the first volume of his *Czech History*.[1] The second volume followed the first within a year. These two volumes covered the period from the beginnings until the accession of Přemysl I (1197). The long delay in the publication of the third volume is to be explained by the fact that much of his time was spent on the preparation of his monumental *Life and Teaching of Master John Hus* in collaboration with Dr Vlastimil Kybal.[2] The third volume carries the story to the middle of the thirteenth century. Professor Rudolf Urbánek has written two volumes (part III) on the Age of Poděbrad (1438–1457).[3] The plan of the whole would evidently call for one more volume on the Přemyslids, to 1316, and part II, of two or more volumes, covering the reigns of the Luxemburg monarchs, John, Charles IV, Václav, and Sigismund, the last three of whom were emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Because of the fact that this latter is a period in which Novotný is particularly at home, we look forward to the forthcoming volumes with keen anticipation.

The present volume begins with an extended treatment of social and economic conditions in Bohemia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *tributum pacis*, the *statuta Conradi*, the founding of the many Cistercian, Benedictine, and Premonstratensian monasteries, and a survey of the life of the religious Ludmilla. The Ludmilla legends are assigned to the first half of the twelfth century (pp. 1–214). The rest of the book treats exclusively the eventful years of the reigns of Přemysl I and Václav I. The repeated shifting of allegiance of Přemysl to take advantage of every possible opportunity to strengthen his dynasty and the position of the Bohemian crown is considered in full detail. He was ambitious and realized the strategic importance of his position. The Bohemian crown certainly gained in prestige under his rule.

The dispute of Bishop Andrew, who, before being Bishop of Prague, had been royal chancellor, with Přemysl, analogous in many ways to that between Thomas à Becket and Henry II, is shown to have been more the result of local conditions of property ownership and divided jurisdiction than a repercussion on Bohemian soil of the prolonged struggle between the Church and the Empire in the rest of Europe. Novotný has amassed a great amount of carefully sifted data concerning the economic organization of the clergy and its effects upon the people, the nobility, and the crown.

[1] V. Novotný, *České Dějiny*, Dílu I., Část I., *Od nejstarších Dob do Smrti Knížete Oldřicha*, Prague, 1912. Dílu I., Část II., *Od Břetislava I do Přemysla I*, Prague, 1913. Pp. 782, 1214.

[2] V. Novotný, *M. Jan Hus, Život a Dílo* 2 vols., Prague, 1919, 1921; Vl. Kybal, *M. Jan Hus, Učení*, 2 vols., Prague, 1923, 1926.

[3] R. Urbánek, *České Dějiny*, Dílu III., Část I. a II, *Věk Poděbradský*, Prague, 1915, 1918.

Novotný contends that though the Church may be said to have gained in the struggle against the secular lords, reaching back over more than a century, yet its gain, through *privilegia* and *libertates ab introitu*, in independence from the nobles, was almost nullified by the assumption on the part of the king of the prerogatives and jurisdiction of the nobility.

The second half of the reign of Přemysl I covers the period of his dealings with Emperor Frederick I and the negotiations leading up to the betrothal of Frederick's son Henry to the princess Agnes, daughter of Přemysl. Diplomatic relations of the Bohemian kings in this period with the Empire, the Roman curia, the kings of England, France, and Denmark, and the German princes are closer and more considerable than even the specialist in mediaeval history generally realizes. Novotný has used the sources, e. g. C. J. Erben's *Regesta diplomatica Bohemiae et Moraviae*[1] and G. Friedrich's *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*,[2] as well as the *Regesta Imperii*, so thoroughly as to bring into true perspective the actual place occupied by thirteenth-century Bohemia among the states of Europe.

The dominant and manifold influence exercised by the Church in its various branches upon the life of the Bohemian nation is recognized at every turn. Novotný promises to treat the matter of the alleged Germanization of Bohemia under Václav I in the forthcoming fourth volume. The text closes with an excursus on the oft-reported battle between Tartars and Bohemians at Olomouc in 1241 which shows that there is no historical evidence for such a battle, and explains the later account of it in chronicles as due to a confusion of a battle against the Comanni of 1253–54 with the earlier and more serious invasion of the Mongols. A very complete genealogical table of the Přemyslids (894–1346) is appended. It is to be hoped that the present growth in popularity of the Slavic languages will proceed rapidly enough to make it possible for such a fine example of historical science as this work of Novotný's to come into general reference use in this country.

[1] Ed. C. J. Erben and J. Emler, 6 vols., Prague, 1855–1892. Covers period from 600 to 1346.

[2] Ed. Gustav Friedrich, 2 vols. and Appendix, Prague, 1904–1912. Covers period from 805 to 1230.

S. Harrison Thomson,
Huntington Library

Padres Benedictinos de Silos, *Antiphonarium Mozarabicum de la Catedral de León*, León, 1928. Pp. lxiii, + 245. Pes. 25.

Germán Prado, O.S.B., *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano*, Santo Domingo de Silos, 1928. Pp. 121. Pes. 5.

Idem, Manual de Liturgia Hispano-Visigótica o Mozárabe, Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1927. Pp. 315. Pes. 4.

Justo Pérez de Urbel, O.S.B., *San Eulogio de Córdoba*, Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1928. Pp. 456. Pes. 7.50.

THESE four books, all of different types, represent the contributions to the study of the Mozarabic liturgy made in the past two years by the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos. The first, which is a good transcription of the celebrated *Antiphonary of King Wamba* of the León Cathedral Archives presented in very satisfactory form, supplies a text of primary importance for the study of the Mozarabic use. The Mozarabic Sacramentary, Liber Ordinum, Lectionary, Psalter, and various minor texts have been available for some time in more or less satisfactory editions, but the Antiphonary, of which the León manuscript is the best, has remained completely unknown. This edition, published at the expense of the Bishop of León, Ilmo. Sr. D. José Alvarez Miranda, is edited by the Benedictines of Silos and prefaced by their abbot, Rmo. P. D. Luciano Serrano, who presents arguments of the greatest interest in connection with the date of the manuscript.

The Antiphonary has generally been assigned to the sixth decade of the eleventh century, but according to the proof brought forth by Padre Serrano in the Introduction [1] it seems more likely to be the work of the tenth century. The manuscript was written for an abbot Ikila or Ikilanus. On fol. 349v of the *Becerro* of the Cathedral of León there is a donation of June 26, 917 made by an abbot Iquila to the convent of Santago in León which mentions among other gifts an Antiphonary and other liturgical manuscripts. In another donation of 927 [2] his name is found, as well as in documents of 947, 948, and 949: he was still living in 960.[3] The theory that the manuscript is of this period is supported by internal liturgical evidence. San Pelayo was martyred in 925, and although his feast was celebrated in León from 930 onward it became more popular during the reign of Ramiro III (967–980), when the relics of the saint were translated from Córdoba to León by the bishop Velasco (966–969). Now the name of San Pelayo was not included in the original calendar of the Antiphonary, but was added in a different hand. There is no recognition of San Isidoro, whose relics were translated from Sevilla to León in 1063, although his name appears in the 961 calendar of Córdoba, the 976 MS. of Albelda, the 994 MS. of San

[1] Pages XI–XIV.

[2] *Bercerro of León*, f. 379.

[3] Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XXXII, 251–258.

Millán and in all eleventh century calendars. As further arguments against the 1069 date are brought up the facts that on fol. 1 is found the monogram of Fernando I (†1065), and on fol. 6v the monogram of his queen, Doña Sancha (†1067) with those of his sons, Alfonso VI and García. Just as the date of 1069 on fol. 26r has been made to furnish the year of the copying of the manuscript, the reference to King Wamba on fol. 25v has been made the basis of an assertion that the text reproduces an Antiphonary of his reign: however, Padre Serrano points out that the gathering which contains these leaves (foll. 20–27) is not an essential part of the manuscript, as it contains only astronomical and other tables, that it is in a later script, and was probably inserted in the manuscript in 1069. In view of this array of facts the change in dating seems justified.

The edition deals only with the text of the manuscript, for, although musically it is one of the richest of the Middle Ages, it is noted in the Visigothic neums that are still undecipherable. There is a brief description, with an indication of the colours, of all the miniatures, and six good full-page plates. As a piece of bookmaking it is very satisfactory, but for working purposes the lines are a little long to follow easily; it would have been more useful, although less ornamental, had it been printed in double columns a little more widely spaced. The contents require no comment, as it is certain that the publication will be consulted with keen interest by all students of the Mozarabic liturgy.

R. P. Germán Prado, already known to readers of SPECULUM through his article *Mozarabic Melodics*, which appeared in the April 1928 issue (note also SPECULUM, IV [1929], 145), contributes two historical studies that supplement one another. The first, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano*, written for the seventh centenary celebration of Toledo Cathedral, gives a brief history of the rite from its origin to the present day, while the second, *Manual de Liturgia Hispano-Visigótica o Mozárabe*, is a sort of popular encyclopaedia of the rite that will prove useful for reference.

In his *Historia* Padre Prado discusses the origin of the Mozarabic liturgy, the contributions made to it by San Isidoro, San Ildefonso, and their contemporaries, the influence of the Spanish Councils, and the general development up to the eleventh-century suppression. There is a brief account of the attempts at restoration of the rite, the Chapel of Santa Maria de Aniago, the Mozarabic Chapels of Toledo and Salamanca, the work of Lorenzana, and finally the modern interest and the actual canonical situation. A second and much shorter section of twenty pages describes the Romano-Toledan rite as distinguished from the Mozarabic, with chapters on the Mass, the ritual, and the music of this use. The book is distinctly convenient, as it brings together much historical information from scattered sources: however, much of the reader's time would be saved if the references

were more frequent and complete. The *Manual* is arranged in quite another manner, as it endeavours, not to sketch historical development, but to give a general reconstruction in popular form of the liturgy at a period when it was still the national use of Spain. As an introduction there is the briefest sketch of the history, of the literary forms of the rite, and of the churches and their furnishings. Part II contains a study of the Mass, with the text of the Easter liturgy, printed in double columns in Latin and Spanish, as illustration. Part III is devoted to the sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Unction, Matrimony, and Holy Orders, with a discussion of some of the more occasional offices connected with persons and things, while Part IV studies the Office, with illustrative texts as in the section given to the Mass, the office of the dead, and the music of the rite with nine pages of illustrations. The *Manual* is well presented except for the illustrations, which are not photographs: modern drawings will never reproduce mediaeval manuscripts and ivories satisfactorily, but here they are clearly used in the interests of economy, and it is, after all, something to have a book of this sort sell for 65 cents. Unfortunately the printer has raised havoc with some of the captions, so that the illustration of San Juan de Baños (p. 50) masquerades as San Baudilio de Berlanga, while the proper description of Baños is placed below the interior view of San Miguel de Escalada (p. 110). The order of the pages of music has been badly jumbled as well; for the reader's convenience, the correct sequence is pp. 297, 298, 299, 304, 300, 296, 301, 302, and 303.

The fourth of these books, *San Eulogio de Córdoba*, by R. P. Justo Pérez de Urbel, is popular in its presentation, but is none the less interesting because of the light that it throws on the church in Córdoba in the ninth century. Soundly but not visibly documented, it presents a vivid picture of one of the most interesting periods of the mediaeval history of the most extraordinary of western countries. Padre Pérez is thoroughly acquainted with documents of the Mozarabic liturgy and has already presented an interesting study of the origin of the Mozarabic hymns:[1] the references which he makes to the rite in this excellent life of San Eulogio, although of necessity incidental, are accurate and of interest for their presentation of the use of certain texts. The other points of the book cannot be mentioned here, but it is, on the whole, distinctly good as an example of accurate and yet readable popularization of mediaeval history.

[1] *Origen de los Himnos Mozárabes* (Bordeaux, 1926).

Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr,
Harvard University

WALTHER SCHWAHN, ed., *Laurentii Vallae de Falso Credita et Ementita Constantini Donatione Declamatio.* Leipzig: Teubner, 1928. Pp. xxiv + 82.

DR SCHWAHN has here paid a pious tribute to the memory of that picturesque figure of the Renaissance, Laurentius Valla, in the publication of the first complete critical edition of his famous *Declamatio* on the Donation of Constantine the Great, written in 1440. The work has at various times been translated into English, French, German, and Italian; but the text has heretofore received, generally speaking, little more than cursory attention.

The *Praefatio* discusses the several manuscripts in which the *Declamatio* occurs and their interrelation, supplying some notice of the three earliest printed editions of the sixteenth century. *Codex Vaticanus 5314*, dated 1451, is from the hand of an ignorant but careful scribe and apparently stands closer to the original than any other. The undigested learning possessed by the copyist of *Cod. Ottobonianus 2075*, a document which is finely illuminated and contains a personal likeness of Valla, has often led him into serious pitfalls. His attempts at emendation are frequently misplaced. *Cod. Lucanus 582*, closely related to the latter version, bears the imprint of careful emendation by several hands. Six of Valla's works were found originally in *Cod. Urbinas 337;* but the text of the *Declamatio* has so suffered at the hands of ancient dissenters from its views that merely a few fragments of the beginning and the ending are extant.

Ulrich Von Hutten's edition, a sound and scholarly work, but for some reason showing various omissions from the text, appeared in 1517. But its mistakes are very few, and here and there, where all the MSS are in error, the true reading has been restored. An anonymous edition, published in 1520, has little to commend it. There are many discrepancies between it and the codices. And, as Dr Schwahn intimates, not only is the editor dull, uncritical, and quite unfitted for his task, but in one place he introduces an interpolation which proves him quite harebrained. The first complete printed edition of Valla (Basel, 1540) contains a *Declamatio* the text of which agrees in the main with Hutten's, but restores two of his omitted passages.

It is strange to find that Dr Schwahn makes no use or even mention of later editions of the *Declamatio*, as those of Schard (Basel, 1566), Bonneau (Paris, 1879), and particularly Coleman (Yale University Press, 1922). This last is a critical edition, with notes and translation, which at the time of its publication was designated by the discriminating critic of *The London Times* as 'eminently scholarly.' Though Coleman's text is constructed almost solely on the basis of the Vatican codex and Hutten's edition, it is a sound and thoughtful piece of work, and in a few places is undoubtedly

successful in restoring Valla's true reading where Dr Schwahn seemingly has failed. Coleman's edition also supplies a practically complete series of references to Valla's frequent citations from ancient authors sacred and profane. Dr Schwahn's notes furnish many of these, it is true, but several he appears to have been unable to identify.

However, the text is a highly satisfactory one, established with extreme care and patience, and should be of service to many students in reaching a better understanding of this brilliant but all too little read *littérateur* of the fifteenth century.

A. D. Fraser,
Alfred University

Robert Francis Seybolt, transl., *Renaissance Student Life. The Paedologia of Petrus Mosellanus, translated from the Latin by Robert Francis Seybolt, Professor of Education, University of Illinois.* University of Illinois Press. 1927. Cloth. Pp. xix + 100.

Peter Schade, of Bruttig on the Moselle, was Professor of Greek at Leipzig for the seven years before his death in 1524 at the age of 30 or 31. Disturbed by the Latin jargon spoken by his pupils — for Latin was then the obligatory language of the campus — he composed a series of student dialogues in a purer style than that of earlier manuals. We have long since abandoned trying to improve the colloquial language of undergraduates; but these dialogues have an independent value in the light they throw on student life and interests in Renaissance Germany. The need of money from home, complaints about compulsory chapel and fasting, abuse of inquisitive proctors and other familiar topics form the subject matter. Mr Seybolt has turned the dialogues into English that is a mixture of colloquial and formal, like the original, has provided a good introduction, and has marshaled an imposing battery of bibliographical lists and annotations; Latin authors in general are not cited from modern texts (we even have a reference to 'Martianus Minucius Felix Capella'), and the Greek quotations are practically all marred by misprints; however, that will mean little to the students and professors of education, who, we hope, will read the book with care, for it is a useful and illuminating piece of work. At the end, Mr Seybolt has reprinted an amusing Latin-Flemish school dialogue of about 1500, with an English translation.

Charles Upson Clark,
Smithsonian Institution

Speculum Religionis: Being Essays and Studies in Religion and Literature from Plato to Von Hügel, with an Introduction by F. C. Burkitt, F.B.A.; presented by the Members of the Staff of University College, Southampton, to their President, Claude G. Montefiore, M.A., D.D., D.Litt. Oxford: Clar. Press, 1929. Pp. 216. Cloth. $7.00.

This collection of essays may be appropriately noticed in Speculum, if only because of its title. The eminent scholar, too, in whose honor it is published — Dr Claude G. Montefiore — though not primarily a mediaevalist, has produced studies of Jewish thought which are by no means without relation to the intellectual history of the Middle Ages. But of the nine papers in the volume only two fall properly within the field of this journal: that on 'The Religion of the Gallo-Romans,' by Mr H. W. Lawton, which is at least relevant for its bearing on the mythological background of Celtic saga and romance; and that on 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Anonymous Life of St Oswald,' by Professor S. J. Crawford.

Mr. Lawton's essay is an interesting attempt to summarize and interpret the essential facts about the divinities of ancient Gaul. While there is little that is absolutely new either in the material presented or in the author's observations, the treatment of the subject is, for its length, one of the best available. The paper is also fairly well documented, though the references are insufficient as a guide to earlier discussion. One misses, for example, in connection with the suggestion that Mars and Mercury represented different aspects of a single Celtic god, any mention of Jullian's similar argument published in 1902 in the *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, IV (1902), 101 ff. Again, in connection with the Matres or Matronae (whose cult is treated very briefly even for the limited scale of the essay), there is no reference to Ihm's important monograph in the *Bonner Beiträge*, LXXXIII (1887). And in the much fuller discussion of the Tarvos Trigaranus, where Mr Lawton sets forth in some detail the theory of Salomon Reinach, he might well have included the recent study of Czarnowski in the *Revue Celtique*, XLII (1925), 1 ff. In general the essay cannot be depended upon for an adequate indication of opinion or for citation of authorities on matters of controversy. But the survey of Gaulish religion as a whole, with which Mr Lawton is really concerned, is excellent. The assimilation of Celtic gods to Roman — reflected in the familiar *interpretatio Romana* — is very well treated; and the general theory of progress from animism with multitudinous daemons or spirits, through the stages of a pantheon and of syncretism, to the monotheism of Christian Gaul imposes an orderly development, almost a simple one, upon the innumerable facts, obscure and loosely related, of the ancient records. If the statement of the matter seems almost too simple, Mr Lawton might point out that he had not the space to allow for exceptions and complications. One may question, however, whether he does not distinguish too confidently between divinities of

Celts and pre-Celts, assigning fertility gods to the latter and gods of war and culture to the former; or whether the development of a pantheon of greater, personal gods was so largely the product of classical influence as he implies.

Professor Crawford's paper deals with the Anglo-Saxon monk Byrhtferth of Ramsey, whose *Proemium super Bedam De Temporibus* was edited by Professor Forsey in SPECULUM, III (1928), 505 ff. It is an attempt to show that Byrhtferth was the author of the latin *Vita Oswaldi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, and the evidence is found mainly in a comparison of the vocabulary and style of the *Vita* with that of Byrhtferth's *Manual*. The argument is reasonable and the conclusion seems very probable, though the reviewer is not familiar enough with the artificial Latin of the tenth century to feel sure in every case of the significance of parallel passages. A thorough investigation of 'Euphuism,' both Latin and English, in the late Anglo-Saxon period has yet to be made, and in such a study Professor Crawford's article, as well as his edition of the *Manual*, will have to be taken into account.

F. N. ROBINSON,
Harvard University

Kemp Malone and Martin B. Ruud, edd., *Studies in English Philology, a Miscellany in honor of Frederick Klaeber*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x + 486. $7.50.

IF THERE is much to be said against the learned miscellany as the peculiar bane of bibliographers, there can be only one opinion as to the high distinction of the scholar in whose honor this handsome volume has been issued. Professor Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf* is one of the outstanding achievements of scholarship in America. The extent of his scholarly activities in the fields of Old and Middle English is impressively revealed by the nine pages of bibliography which conclude the present volume.

The miscellany contains thirty-eight separate articles, which vary in length from two pages to thirty. The list of contributors includes the names of distinguished scholars in Europe as well as in America. The matter is necessarily miscellaneous, ranging from a linguistic study of 'Old West Germanic and Old Norse' to an essay on English prose style in the seventeenth century; but nearly four-fifths of the volume is devoted to matters mediaeval or pre-mediaeval, and eighteen of the articles, comprising some two hundred pages, deal with Old English. Of these eighteen, ten are concerned, as is highly fitting, in a Klaeber *Festschrift*, with the *Beowulf*.

The nature of the volume precludes the possibility of a detailed review. Such a review would fill many pages, and would be beyond the competence of any single reviewer. As the names of the contributors and the character

of the two editors would lead one to expect, the book maintains a high level of sound scholarship; but none of the contributions stand out as of exceptional significance. Since the plan of the volume has allowed but a very limited space to each contributor, the result was necessarily scholarship of detail rather than of far-reaching conclusions.

The Mediaeval Academy of America has already honored Professor Klaeber by making him one of its fellows. All of its members must rejoice that the University of Minnesota has paid so fine a tribute to so fine a scholar at the conclusion of thirty-five years of distinguished service.

R. K. Root,
Princeton University

Karl Vossler, *Medieval Culture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929. Two vols., pp. x + 354 + 454. Cloth. $8.00.

This is a very good translation, by William Cranston Lawton, of Vossler's *Die göttliche Komödie*, long known and highly prized. It is made, not from the more familiar first edition (1907) of the original, but from the second, which shows considerable divergence in the interpretation of the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*. The new version has been revised by the competent hand of Dino Bigongiari; and Dr J. E. Spingarn has added, under the modest caption of 'Bibliographical Note,' forty big pages of admirable critical material — restricted, it is true, to English titles, but covering, in addition to General Works, the fields of Mediaeval Religion, Mediaeval Thought, Mediaeval Literature, and Dante. To some extent, then, it is a new book that comes to us under the new name.

How far that name is justified may be inferred from the fact that the whole first volume is devoted to a portrayal and explanation of the civilization of Dante's day. *An Introduction to Dante and his Times* is, indeed, the appropriate subtitle of our treatise. 'The Religious Background,' 'The Philosophical Background,' and 'The Ethical and Political Background' are the three great themes of Tome I, and each of them calls for a long course of exploration. For the first topic the author goes back even to the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians; for the second, to the Orphics and the Pythagoreans; for the third, to Plato and Aristotle. And very little is omitted on the way. Professor Vossler's mind is primarily metaphysical, and his concern is mainly with backgrounds, whether he be engaged in the exposition of Dante, as in *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum 'süssen neuen Stil,'* or in the study of language, as in *Geist und Kultur in der Sprache;* for he is a trusted guide in both these seemingly incompatible disciplines.

As a prelude to the Background volume, we are offered a comparison of Goethe's *Faust* and Dante's *Divine Comedy*. 'Only we Germans,' Vossler

declares, 'have a thoroughly personal, naïve, and equally eminent poet to set beside the great Italian. And since *Faust* has come to be our loftiest and most cherished creation, and because we flatter ourselves that we are moderately familiar with it, we have a right to hope that we may approach the *Divine Comedy* with a prepared mind.' Comparisons being in order, it would be interesting (had one the time) to compare Vossler's comparison with Santayana's, which includes also Lucretius.

Like Santayana, Vossler is an esthetician; and perhaps the most personal chapters of the second tome are those called 'Dante as Artist' and 'The *Commedia* as a work of Art.' Even this volume, however, which is specifically Dante's, is by no means devoid of Background; in fact, it falls into two nearly equal parts: 'The Literary Background of the *Divine Comedy*' and 'The Poetry of the *Divine Comedy*.' In theory, though not always in practice, Vossler is a devotee of Croce.

On the whole, *Die göttliche Komödie* would seem to have proved its right to the appellation *Medieval Culture*.

C. H. Grandgent,
Harvard University

Margaret Wattie, ed., *The Middle English* Lai le Freine, *edited with a Study of the Date and Dialect of the Poem and its Analogues* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, x, 3). Northampton, Mass., 1929. Paper. Pp. xxii + 27. $0.75.

Middle-English literature has been well served by the publication of Miss Wattie's competent edition of the charming early fourteenth-century translation of Marie's *lai: le Fraisne*. The text is based on photostats of the unique Auchinlech MS. and advances in accuracy of detail over that of Varnhagen, whose variants are noted. Is it worth while recording all of Weber's wrong readings of the MS.? Likewise a general question of editorial practice is whether the very common custom of indicating the scribal distinction between *u* and *v* (e. g. to print MS. *vp* rather than *up*) serves any real purpose beyond illustrating a paleographic commonplace. The distinction between long and round *s*, for example, is quite regularly ignored except in strictly diplomatic reproductions, usually prepared for rather special purposes where paleographic detail is of considerable importance; even here really difficult points can only be settled by the inspection of photostats — consider the cheapness and convenience of modern photostasis — or the manuscript itself. In other words, Middle-English paleography cannot be satisfactorily taught by means of printers' types, and what is sorely needed, is a ME. paleographic atlas going far beyond Skeat's useful *Twelve Facsimiles* (Oxford, 1892).

Miss Wattie's Introduction gives a good orientation in the dialect and analogues of the story. In the analysis of the language, a graphically

clearer distinction between the dialect of the unknown author and that of the Northern (hardly NW. Midland) scribe would have brought together and emphasized the northern 3d sg. pres. ind. *−s*, pr. ppl. *−and* (add *sikeand* to *wepeand*), the northern orthographic *v* for *w* (p. x, n. 26), *sh−* vs. *h−* forms of the fem. pron., *th−* vs. *h−* forms of the 3d pl. pron., as well as the spellings *fram* (invar.), *knaweleche*, *lat* ⟨?ON. *láta* vs. OE. *lǽtan*, and perhaps *yȝoven*, pp. to *ȝive*. P. vii, n. 6 add '*souchy*' vs. ordinary ME. *souche*(*n*). P. x (§6): it may be open to question whether *graid*, pp., properly belongs with the reduced *ichil* and the contracted *schust; graithed*, pp., is no doubt the more ordinary form, but *graid* is by no means unique and may well represent ON. *greidd-r*, pp. to *greiða*, rather than a mere contraction of ME. *graithed*.

The discussion of analogues follows Warnke in the main, but might not a fuller discussion of the more detailed relationship between Marie's poem and ME translation have advantageously occupied some of the space devoted to the sketch of the analogues, especially since the latter are so adequately presented in Warnke's Introduction? On p. xvi the inference borne by the mention of *Aucassin et Nicolette* should be modified at least by a reference to J. R. Reinhard, 'The Literary Background of the Chantefable,' SPECULUM, I (1926), 157 ff.

The Notes (p. 13) deal with the few textual cruxes. If *bite* (l. 91) means 'be it,' it should perhaps be taken as standing for '*be to*,' i. e. '*be* ⟨it⟩ *to* each woman' rather than as an anagrammatic shuffling of letters. MS. *swhe* (l. 267) should probably be restored *sw* ⟨*i*⟩ *þe*, not *sw* ⟨*it*⟩ *he;* the *h* quite likely arose from a blurred or defective *þ*. MS. *y loui* (l. 280) is glossed under *love* vb. as '1st sg. pres.?' ; in the Notes *ylovi* ⟨*d*⟩ is preferred. The French text (ll. 271 ff.) does not help, but, even if one excludes the possibility of 'I love ⟨to see⟩ wealth in ⟨the hands of⟩ goodness (i. e. the abbess),' to assume an inadvertent dropping of *−d* seems at least as difficult as Zupitza's *yleve* 'glaubet' (better 'glaube,' since imper. pl. is *−eþ*, as *herkneþ*), which demands no more emending than '*bite*'> '*be to*' above.

Under § 4 (*Lais bretons*) of the Bibliography (p. xxi) Miss Wattie might well have given a blanket reference to Warnke's more complete bibliography, noted Bruce, as she does, and gone on to assemble references to the numerous items that have appeared since 1925. In that year Warnke, for seminar use, issued under the title *Vier Lais* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925) a diplomatic text of Marie's General Prologue, *Bisclavret*, *Chevrefeuil*, *Lanval* and *Laüstic* from Brit. Mus. *MS. Harley 978;* here, too, could have been noted Ezio Levi's edition of *Eliduc* (cited p. xviii, n. 72), especially distinguished for its important study of the tale of the husband with two wives and notes richly illustrating the *realia* of the poem. Note also Axel Ahlström, 'Marie de France et les Lais Narratifs,' *Kungl. Vetenskaps-*

och Vitterhets-Samhället, Handlingar, 3d Ser., vol. XXIX (Göteborg, 1925), No. 3, pp. 37.

In 1926 appeared two important critical reviews of Warnke[3]: E. Brugger, *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLIX, 116–155, and O. Schultz-Gora, *Zs. f. Roman. Philol.*, XLVI, 314–325, followed in 1927 by Brugger, 'Eigennamen in den Lais der Marie de France,' *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLIX, 201–252, 381–484; E. Hoepffner, 'La Tradition Manuscrite des Lais de Marie de France,' *Neophilologus*, XII, 1–10, 85–96; J. Loth, 'Le Lai de Bisclavret,' *Revue Celtique*, XLIV (1927), 300–307; 'Le Lai de l'Oiselet', ed. R. Weeks in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (Paris, 1927), pp. 341 ff.; Fr. Hiller, *Tydorel, ein Lai der Marie de France* (Rostock diss., 1927); and M. Wilmotte, *Romania*, LII, 353–355, who adduces evidence pointing: (1) to Marie's tendency to borrow; (2) to putative borrowings from Chrétien, whom she would, therefore, have followed, not preceded.

In 1928 Joseph Bédier published a substantial and valuable study on 'La Tradition Manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre; Réflexions sur l'Art d'éditer les Anciens Textes,' *Romania*, LIV, 161–196, 321–356, while Miss E. Margaret Grimes issued a much-needed edition, *The Lays of Desiré, Graelent and Melion* (New York, Institute of French Studies). S. Pellegrini's 'I Lais Portoghesi del Codice Vaticano *Lat. 7182*,' *Archivum Romanicum*, XII (1928), 303–317, revives interest in a field once cultivated by the late Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, whose 'Lais de Bretanha: Capitulo inedito do Cancioneiro da Ajuda,' *Revista Lusitana*, VI (1900), 1–43, is, by the way, not noted by Warnke. Too recent, of course, for Miss Wattie to have included are A. H. Krappe, 'The Celtic Provenance of The Lay of Tydorel,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV (1929), 200–204; E. Nagel, 'Marie de France als dichterische Persönlichkeit,' *Roman. Forschungen*, XLIV (1929), 628 ff.; and S. Foster Damon, 'Marie de France: Psychologist of Courtly Love,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XLIV (December, 1929), 968–996, where Marie's careful juxtaposition of the lays and their contrasting characters is pointed out and elaborately analyzed.

The volume ends with a complete and well-made Glossary. Under '*oway*' the note promised for the rare and interesting variant '*owy*' (l. 302) is missing, but see Introduction, p. viii, ll. 10–12, for discussion.

Miss Wattie has performed, as suggested at the outset, a most useful service, and the series to which she contributes is to be congratulated in continuing to make generally available short ME. literary texts heretofore accessible only in periodicals or old editions.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Cambridge, Mass.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

Arthuriana (*Proceedings of the Arthurian Society*), Vol. I. Oxford: Blackwell, 1929. Paper. Pp. 69.

R. Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xiii + 345. $5.00.

L. H. Champly, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Cluny, 3e éd., revue et augmentée par René Champly*. Paris: Librairie Centrale des Sources, 1930. Paper. Pp. xx + 367. Fcs. 30.

G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xii + 372.

E. Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne: Etudes et Documents*. Paris: Champion, 1929. 3 vols. Paper. Pp. iv + 315; 460; 388.

C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii + 295. $5.00.

F. Hervey, *The History of King Eadmund the Martyr*. Oxford: University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. vii + 61. $2.50.

A. Hyma, *Erasmus and the Humanists*. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 109. $0.85.

G. Pietzsch, *Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1929. Paper. Pp. 124.

C. Rojo and G. Prado, *El Canto Mozárabe*. Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1929. Paper. Pp. 157.

P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Renovatio*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929. Paper. I, pp. xiv + 305; II, pp. vi + 185.

E. Vinaver, *Malory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 208. $5.00.

SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

HUMANISTIC STUDIES AND SCIENCE[1]

By JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY

IN attempting to study the history of literature I have been increasingly impressed with the futility and even the danger of the boundaries and divisions commonly recognized. Indeed I am persuaded that such a conception, for example, as the history of English literature is not only arbitrary and artificial, but positively detrimental to the pursuit of the object we really have in view. What conception can we form of the intellectual and spiritual life of the English people in the Middle Ages if we confine our study to the writings produced by and for them in the English language? For two hundred years the literature read and enjoyed by the upper classes was that produced at home or on the Continent in French. For an even longer period — in fact, for nearly a thousand years — the language of the most highly educated classes, for all its serious thinking and for no little of its relaxation and diversion, was Latin. And where shall we lay down the boundaries that separate literature, on the one side, from professional writing, and on the other, from journalism? The presence of beauty and skill in construction or expression is not decisive. Many writings of the past occupy an honored place in the history of English literature despite their lack of beauty or power; and the essays of Clutton-Brock were just as fine when they were merely leading articles in *The Times* as when they were gathered into a book.

But it is not in writing only that the intellectual and spiritual life, the culture, of a people finds expression. The importance of the arts, of law, of government, of institutions, of social ideals and customs, and of industry and commerce needs no emphasis. They

[1] Presidential address read at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, April 26, 1930.

are essential and important features of human culture and cannot be neglected by the humanist. It is indeed only as the humanist conceives his problems in the light of these facts that his work can have any large and vital human meaning, any claim to equal standing with the natural sciences.

Both the sciences and humanistic studies have their origin in the same impulse — Man's irrepressible desire to know all that can be known about the world in which he lives and about himself and how he came to be what he is. But despite this unity of origin, it is the belief of many, both humanists and scientists, that there is an impassable gulf between the sciences and humanistic studies, both in methods and in aims. Some students of literature and literary history look with fierce contempt upon all efforts to introduce scientific methods or aims into these fields of study. Scientific men, on the other hand, have regarded literary scholars, if not with contempt, at least with condescension, for two reasons: First, because of a lack of critical methods in ascertaining facts and an arbitrary preference for some other standard than truth in interpreting them. With the growth of historical criticism this cause of reproach has been largely removed and it is recognized, even by scientists, that some humanists apply to the ascertainment of facts a criticism as searching and a logic as inexorable as their own. Moreover, it is recognized also that some of the sciences dealing with inanimate nature must, on the basis of both aims and methods, be classed with the historical sciences; such notably is geology, the aim of which is to ascertain in what order and under what conditions certain sequences of phenomena occurred in the past and to reconstruct imaginatively the panorama of the life of our planet.

The second cause of reproach still exists, at least in the minds of some critics. Our problems, say our scientific friends, are petty; they have no range, no large significance. Why, they ask us, do you waste so much of your energy upon insignificant authors and periods and phenomena? Why do you not formulate and undertake researches of real significance, looking toward the establishment of important and far-reaching general laws, such as have been discovered and formulated in the natural sciences?

The reply to this is threefold. In the first place, for reasons which need not be discussed at present, humanistic studies as sciences are in their infancy. They are in much the same condition and stage of development to-day that the natural sciences were in during the Middle Ages. They had then existed for a long time. There was a certain inheritance of data and theories wafted down directly from the Greeks and Romans, through tradition and through the meagre stream of classical writers — such a body of learning as we find, for example, in the famous encyclopaedia of Isidore of Seville. This inheritance was enormously enriched during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by treatises in all branches of science translated from the Arabic and comprising huge accumulations of Greek learning and the large additions made by Moslem scholars of many lands. These new floods of learning were eagerly received and were tremendously stimulating to some of the most powerful and brilliant minds of that time. There seemed to be no lack of data, there was no lack of industry, and certainly there was a great readiness on the part of scholars to theorize and generalize. But what was the result? Did Albertus Magnus or Peter de Maricourt or Roger Bacon formulate scientific generalizations of importance and far-reaching significance? No; it would be difficult to mention a single general law discovered in the Middle Ages that now forms part of the body of science.

Why was this? The data were abundant, the scientists were able men and ardent scholars. The answer is a thrice-told tale. Although the data were abundant, they included as facts innumerable false observations and many mere inventions. More than two hundred years passed before it was recognized that science could not advance without casting away all these accumulations and collecting fresh data with critical precautions that would have been inconceivable to men of the thirteenth century, and furthermore that generalizations and theories must be derived from the study of the phenomena themselves and not from theology or metaphysics or logic.

In the humanistic fields we have vast accumulations of data — supposed facts — many of which will not bear critical examination and must be replaced by the results of investigations made without

bias or prejudice under the strictest observance of critical method. We have many generalizations and theories of widest scope; but unfortunately most of them were borrowed — not, to be sure, from theology and metaphysics, but from biology and an embryonic and inadequate psychology. They must be cast away and replaced by theories based upon the phenomena themselves.

In the second place the phenomena of our subjects are much more difficult to deal with for scientific purposes than those of the natural sciences. We cannot reproduce them at will under experimental conditions for critical examination. They must be studied when and as they occur. Many of them occurred at times and places so remote that only the most meagre and unverifiable information is available concerning precedent and attendant conditions. Even those that are nearer to us in time and space can be known only partially and imperfectly. Moreover, in the whole range of phenomena forming the fields of humanistic studies there enter human nature and the human will — elements held by many persons to be incalculable, so irregular in operation as to make absurd any attempt to discover in these fields any scientific laws, any invariable sequences of events. These fields, such thinkers tell us, lie outside the reign of law, can never become provinces of the domain of science.

It is not strange, then, that humanistic studies have been slower than the sciences to arrive at any coherent body of laws or even to devise satisfactory methods of investigation. And if it were the task of humanistic science to explain in the individual objects studied — men, books, works of art, and the like — the features which distinguish them from the type or class to which each belongs, the features which constitute their individuality, one might well doubt whether scientific methods and results are possible. But the objects of study of the natural sciences are always and necessarily, not individuals, but types. Formulative science never deals with anything else; for the very sufficient reason that only the typical is capable of formulation. In a world that consisted only of disparate individuals science could never formulate, but could only describe, and there would be as many separate descriptions as there were individuals to describe.

This has been the situation with the humanistic sciences in attempting to deal with the exceptional — with the elements in the book or the work of art or the institution that set it apart from all the rest. But experience is constantly proving that, even in our respective fields of study, if we attempt to study, not the individual and exceptional, but the typical, regularities can be discovered, generalizations can be made, laws can be formulated.

The ultimate aim of both the natural sciences and the historical is the integration of their fields of study. There is perhaps a difference in the methods of integration proper to each. What form the ultimate integrations of science will take we need not stop to consider. For us it seems clear that integration can be accomplished only by the constructive imagination, operating on a secure basis of ascertained fact. Our aim is an intelligible picture of the life of mankind — its feeble beginnings, the motives and the methods of its creation of instruments, agencies and institutions of a richer, fuller, and nobler existence, the development of its arts and ideals. Part of this task belongs to the anthropologist and archaeologist, part to the orientalist and classicist, part to the modernist, and part to the mediaevalist.

It is hardly too much to say that humanistic studies, with the ideals and purposes which control them to-day, not only are akin to the so-called sciences but are in fact more dependent upon the fundamental conceptions of science for their very existence than are the natural sciences themselves. When men believed, as the whole Christian world did until recently, that the human race was created less than seven thousand years ago in a single pair of beings whose sin of disobedience resulted in the peopling of the earth by successive generations of men, the historical sciences were inconceivable. The only significant events in the annals of the race were those concerned with the punishment, discipline, and training of a chosen people, and with the acceptance of a plan for balancing accounts and at no distant date closing the ledger of human history. The whole past of all the nations but Jews and Christians was a meaningless muddle. The civilizations of Egypt and Tyre and Nineveh and Babylon had flashed into significance for only brief moments of their

long night when they served as instruments to aid or discipline the chosen people. China and Japan and India, sitting in darkness, still awaited the moment which would give meaning to their long existence. The sole possible philosophy of history was the story of the fall and redemption of Man. Events which bore no perceptible relation to that might be studied, but only in an idle dilettante spirit, as amusing spectacles or for the utilitarian purpose of extracting from them practical lessons for guidance in similar circumstances.

It is not strange therefore that in the Middle Ages history was never undertaken by men of great philosophical and constructive minds, but was left to the annalists and the propagandists; and that in modern times it attracted only the theologian, the politician, and the polemist. Particular careers, or episodes, or periods could be seen and presented as wholes, subject to some definite principle and disclosing some definite meaning, but the spectacle of the whole movement of the life of the human race as the inclusive subject of humanistic studies was inconceivable until natural law began to replace magic in explaining sequences of events and the conceptions of theology began to yield to those of biology.

It is in this spirit, I think, that the Mediaeval Academy was born and has worked. Not merely to stimulate many workers to cultivate the mediaeval field, but to aid in developing in each a vision of the whole great process of human life in the Middle Ages is the aim and purpose of the Mediaeval Academy. It is not intended that the specialist should abandon his specialty and attempt to attack the problem of mediaeval civilization as a whole. To do this would be to revert to the chaotic and unfruitful conditions of mediaeval science. But each specialist will perhaps work with a clearer sense of the dignity and importance of his specialty if he understands and feels that he is helping to write the history of human culture. Seen in this way, for example, the study of the script of Tours becomes, not a mere curious chapter in the development of writing, but a means of tracing, where other evidence fails us, the interrelations of centres of culture in the Middle Ages and some of the channels through which classical literature was distributed. The census of Italian families resident in London in the fourteenth cen-

tury becomes interesting not only for the history of international commerce but also for the revision of some of our ideas on international literary relations. The assemblage and study of business terms in use throughout western Europe is a contribution to both philology and the history of commerce and culture.

Millions are being spent on the discovery and reconstruction of the life of man in remote antiquity. We mediaevalists do not begrudge the orientalists and archaeologists their good fortune. Their task is a great one and the importance of the contributions they have made and are making to the cultural history of mankind cannot be exaggerated. But we do deplore the failure of the intelligent public to recognize in equal measure the claims upon its interest of those great ages which lie so near us and yet are still as deeply buried under prejudices and misconceptions bequeathed to us by the Reformation and the Renaissance as the ancient cities of the Nile and the Euphrates under the drifted sands of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Aside from the enchantment of remote antiquity, it is perhaps the remarkable discoveries of art treasures — buildings, statues, pictures, ornaments, fabrics, and documents — that awaken popular interest and secure for oriental research the liberal aid of a host of Maecenases. Unfortunately for the mediaevalist, his treasures have lost their publicity value. Cathedrals not inferior in beauty and splendor to the temples of the East defy the passage of time in many a European city and town, but they have long been known. Carvings in ivory, figures in stone and wood, rich designs in gold and silver, enameled and set with precious stones, illuminated manuscripts of exquisite beauty, remain in abundance to testify of the skill of the mediaeval artist and the taste of his master, but they are scattered in a hundred museums and treasure-houses; and though their power to charm and refresh us can never fail, they have lost the power to excite us as they would if they had been freshly dug up yesterday.

This should not be so. Important for the vision of Man's halting and painful climb upward from the Quaternary mire as are the mysterious civilizations of the Nile valley, the Mesopotamian plain, and the uplands of central Asia, — and no intelligent person can fail

to be deeply stirred by the revelations now being made by the orientalist and the archaeologist, — the infinitely various and fascinating life of the period we roughly call the Middle Ages must not be neglected. It lies close to us. In it arose many of our most important institutions. Our social life — our customs, our ideals, our superstitions and fears and hopes — came to us directly from this period; and no present-day analysis can give a complete account of our civilization unless it is supplemented by a profound study of the forces and forms of life, good and evil, which we have inherited from it.

To carry out such a program, to construct the large and true picture of the course of human civilization which it is our object to aid in constructing, we need large additions to our funds for special investigations. Such enterprises as the excavations of Cluny are very expensive, but there is no question that Cluny will yield ample returns for all the time and money spent upon it. Equally great and expensive undertakings are the histories of science, and art, and commerce, and institutions, and of the part played by each in human culture. And as our work grows, it becomes more and more necessary to provide not only for the investigations and the investigators but for a staff of administrative officers free to devote their time and energy and learning to choosing the most fruitful projects and to giving adequate assistance in carrying them on. At present the Executive and Advisory Committees devote to the work of the Academy an amount of time and thought that can be appreciated only by one who knows the number and the magnitude of the projects submitted for their consideration and, if accepted, for advice and active coöperation. In particular, the Executive Secretary should be free to devote his whole time to the interests of the Academy, and the members of the Executive and Advisory Committees should at least have their expenses paid when they attend meetings. That they should give their time and work free is surely all that the Academy can expect. The provision of a permanent endowment is therefore necessary both for investigation and for administration.

University of Chicago

ON THE TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SPECULUM STULTORUM:* II

By JOHN HENRY MOZLEY

IN my first article (SPECULUM, IV (1929), 430 ff.) I showed that the readings characteristic of Wright's MS. *B* in its divergences from *A* and *C* are also found in a number of other MSS, designated by me *EFLGHI*. Of these *EFL* contain large lacunae (Wr. pp. 97–124, and pp. 130 to the end); these I discussed, and gave typical readings for pp. 1–97 in these three MSS and *B*, and for pp. 1–41 in *GHI*. I now propose to deal rather more fully with the four MSS *BH* and *GI*.

B and *H* (*Arundel 23* and *Bodleian 496*, F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS* (Oxford, 1922), II, i, item 2159) show great similarity throughout, both containing the prose Prologue and ending together at Wr. p. 144, 10. We may safely take *H*'s readings as those of *B* where *B* has suffered from loss of leaves (Wr. pp. 41–59). Generally speaking they support *EFL*, but in the final portion of those MSS (Wr., pp. 124–130) that support *I*, is varied by readings that agree with the *A*-group against *EFL*.

G and *I* (*Digby 27*[1] and *Bodleian 780;* see *Summary Catalogue, loc. cit.*, item 2583) are also closely akin; they both have the prose prologue, and *G* ends at Wr. p. 106, 18 '*dissimulante diu*,' while *I* has a lacuna at that point until Wr., p. 124, 6 (i e., the end of the first lacuna of *EFL*), and ends like *EFL* at p. 130, 16, '*spreta iacent*'; in the middle of the work *I* [1] has lost a number of leaves, from Wr. p. 50, 6 to p. 71, 14.

Both MSS begin by supporting *EFL*, but after Wr. p. 71 there is a tendency to desert it, though during the final portion of *I*, which is the same as that of *EFL*, *I* is nearer to them than *B* and *H* are. The fact that all these four MSS, *BHGI*, give a general support to the *EFL* readings, and that between them they contain all the work

[1] This MS., I am informed by Dr Craster, should be dated late 14th century.

down to Wr. p. 144, points to some common ancestor that originated this tradition, and therefore to omission, either purposed or accidental, as the cause of the lacunae in *EFL*, rather than to those MSS representing the earliest form of the work, and additional passages having been subsequently added. It is not surprising that fifteenth-century MSS should show some influence of the *A*-tradition. But there is another important consideration, namely that of the lines that are found in the *EFL*-group but not found in the *A*-group. It will perhaps be useful to give a table of these:

1. *Quam bene reddemus . . . uicem:* p. 76, 9, 10. In *ELBHGI;* not in *A*-group or *F* (by *A*-group I mean the MSS *ACDMNJK*, for which see below). Probably due to homoioteleuton, though it may be an addition of *E*.
2. *Committamus . . . tuus:* p. 59, 25, 26. In *EFLBHG;* not in *A*-group. Though not strictly a homoioteleuton, the double '*noctis*' may have caused omission by the latter group.
3. *Cellarum . . . parit:* p. 84, 5, 6. In *EFLBHGI;* not in *A*-group.
4. *Quamque . . . loqui: ibid.* 9, 10. In *EFLBH;* not in *A*-group or *GI*. These seem both to be insertions; there is no special cause of omission, and they can be easily detached from text.
5. *Qua facie . . . pedem:* p. 85, 19, 20. In *EFLBHGI;* not in *A*-group.
6. *Pila pusillorum . . . ego: ibid.* 25, 26. In *E . . . I;* not in *A*-group. The same remarks apply as in Nos 3 and 4.
7. *Lesam . . . recepta:* p. 91, 14, 15. In *E . . . H;* not in *A*-group or *GI*.
8. *Canonicos . . . domus:* p. 95, 1, 2. In *EFBH;* not in *A*-group or *LGI*. Must have been omitted through homoioteleuton.
9. *Sic igitur . . . mihi:* p. 95, 11, 12. In *EFLBH;* not in *A*-group or *GI*. One would expect this couplet to follow the next one; in that case '*sumat . . . sumam*' may have caused omission, as in No. 2.
10. *Sed sit ut . . . reor:* p. 100, 1–4. In *BHGI;* not in *A*-group. Probably addition; no cause of error.
11. *Murmure . . . simul:* p. 112, 19, 20. In *BH;* not in *A*-group. Possibly omission through homoioteleuton; text seems doubtful here.
12. *Per me . . . caro:* p. 119, 11, 12. In *BH;* not in *A*-group.
13. *Belli . . . prior: ibid.*, 15–18. In *BH;* not in *A*-group. These two seem likely to be later insertions, though the first may be homoioteleuton.

14. *Plurima . . . locutus:* p. 133, 4, 5. In *BH;* not in *A*-group. Must have been omitted through homoioteleuton.

15. *Quam uel eos . . . manu:* p. 137, 1, 2. In *BH;* not in *CDMNJK*. No apparent cause of error; perhaps inserted to explain '*ante*'; why '*eos*'? The lines seem hardly like Nigel's style.

Of these, Nos 7, 8, 14 are certain omissions, Nos 1, 2, 9, 11 very likely ones. The *EFL* tradition then goes back to a text earlier than *A*, for it is a text from which *A* omitted certain couplets by the common mistake of homoioteleuton. The fact that No. 14 occurs in the second large passage omitted in *EFL* is an additional reason against explaining those lacunae by the hypothesis of the original form.

Readings of *BHGI*

For Wright, pp. 1–41, see my first article.

For pp. 42–59, where *B* fails (and *I* from pp. 50–71):

43 *leditur et, ACDJKMN: lesa sed est, EFLGHI*

44 *illius, ACDJKMN: illata, EFGHI*

46 *accipiam, ACDJKMN: decipiam; EFGHI*

47 *cederit, ACJN: sederit, ELGHI*

48 after '*in undis*' *EFLGHI* have two lines not in the other MSS

51 *in urbem, ACDJKMN: ad urbem, EFLGH; uidebunt, A–N: uidebit, E–H*

52 after '*omne meum*' *E–H* have 5 lines not in other MSS

53 *ait, ACJ: aue, EFH* (line omitted in *G*)

55 *multum doluere dolore, ACDJKMN: iam dedi* (*di*) *cere dolorem, EFLGH*

56 *sanum, ACDJKMN: sura, EFLGH*

58 *profert, ACDJKMN: promit, EFLGH*

I have not given all the instances of *GHI* supporting *EFL*, but these will suffice to show that support is fairly consistent. The same remark will apply to the next section, pp. 60–97, but here it will be necessary only to refer to the list of readings in my first article, and to point out that the readings in the right-hand column, those of *EFLB*, are in practically all cases those of *H* also (the only exceptions being 74 *quos et pudor ipse parentum BHGI* with *A*, etc.

against *EFL*, 76 *parem GHI* with *A*, etc. against *EFLB*, 81 *nisi quod GI* with *A* etc. *cur sic, H: quorsum, EFLB*). With regard to *GI*, however (i.e. *G* alone from pp. 60–71), the case is different; *G* supports *EFLBH* consistently from pp. 60–71, but of the examples given between p. 71 and p. 97 *GI* only give that support in '*Vienna*' for '*uicina*,' p. 78, and in the addition of the couplet '*qua facie . . . pedum*,' p. 85; *I* follows *BH* in '*harum sunt . . . parientes*,' p. 94, and *G* in '*flagellat*' for '*flagella*,' p. 97. During the next eight pages *GI* are if anything closer again to *BH;* owing to the lacuna they cannot of course be compared with *EFL*. *G* then (Wr. p. 106) comes to an end, and *I* has a lacuna till Wr. p. 124; for these last pages the following examples show *I* allied with *EFL* against *BH:*

124 *statui reddere, EFLI: statui tradere, H: statuo tradere, AB*

125 *uidere, ELI: reperere, AFBH*

127 *hec dicens, ELI: et dicens, AFBH; pondus inerte, ELI: pondere mersa, ABH*

128 *quam sic ditauit gracia totque dedit, EFLI: cui natura potens tot preciosa dedit, ABH*
neutra uacat domine seruit utraque sue, EFLI: utraque dat domine debita pensa sue, ABH
subsistit, EFLI: subsistens, ABH

129 *quicquid, EFLI: quiquam, A: quicquam, BH*

130 *consuetudo frequens, EFLI: mos malus esse solet, ABH*

We have now to consider some MSS of the other class; so far we have had Wright's *A* and *C*, and the MS. which I have called *K*, but there also belong to this class *DJMN*.

D (Dublin, *Trin. Coll. 440*) — for the examination of which I am indebted to the kindness of the College authorities in sending it for me to the British Museum — seems originally to have belonged to a Dublin monk, since on the verso of the 1st folio appears the inscription in contemporary writing '*Constat Dompno Petro Le Monacho Duulm.*' Its date is about 1400. On the whole it supports *A*, but agrees with *K* in many corrections of that MS. It has a singularly large number of clearly impossible readings, from the point of view both of grammar and of metre.

J (Oxford, *All Souls 37*), about the same date as *D*, is a very close follower of *A*. This MS., beautifully written in large letters with rubricated headings and initials illuminated in red and blue, is found in the same volume with a text of the *Flores Historiarum*, which is a copy of that in the Library of Eton College. Eton, however, has no copy of the *Speculum*, and we cannot say what MS. was copied by *J*, but it must have been either *A* or a MS. closely akin.

M and *N* (Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MSS (*105 and 191*) come next; here, too, I am indebted to the Librarian, Canon Kynaston, for allowing them to be sent to the British Museum. Of these *N* is practically a copy of *M;* it also has the same dislocation that *M* has (after Wr., p. 126, 14 *M* leaves a line blank, and then continues p. 135, 26 as far as p. 145, 16; the omitted passage is then inserted, after which follow the last four lines); exactly the same thing occurs in *N*, though *N*'s scribe by a marginal note shows that he is aware of the mistake. Further, *M* has omitted the four lines, Wr. p. 36, 4–11, by homoioteleuton, but inserted them later, and the same thing has happened in *N*. Again, ten complete lines are omitted by both MSS, '*nec minus . . . ista deus*,' p. 144. *N*, however, cannot be a direct copy of *M*, since it has four lines omitted through homoioteleuton by *M*, Wr. p. 13, 8–11. Also in the first part of the work *M* has got several rubric headings just one paragraph out of place, but *N* has not made this mistake (which, however, might be due to correction by *N*). The conclusion is that both were transcribed from the same original, whose text we have wherever *M* and *N* agree.

M (14th century) belonged to the chantry of St Richard de Cantelupe at Lincoln, *N* (15th century, 1st half) to the Chapter Library, which explains why *N* appears in the fifteenth-century catalogue of the Chapter Library while *M* does not.

While the occasions when *C* and *J* differ from *A* are extremely rare, this is not the case with *MNK* and *D;* these four MSS in fact constitute a second tradition of variants from *A*, though not so marked a one as that of *EF* and their fifteenth-century supporters. *GI* are sometimes found in agreement also. Some examples are given here:

3 *igitur, AC: ergo J: om. DKMN*
5 *et ut hoc . . . declarat, ACJ: om. DKMN*
8 *iuxta Salomonem qui ait, ACJ: unde Salomonis, DMN: secundum illud quod Salomon ait, K*
9 *seria, AC: certa, DKMNGIJ*
10 *liquida, ACMN: liquide, DJK*
13 *donatus, ACJMN: dotatus, DKGI*
22 *socialia, ACJ: solacia, DMN: solantia K*
23 *nulloque, ACMNJ: nullique, DK*
27 *quod ego nunc cunctis, ACMNJ: quod cunctis ego nunc, DK*
28 *anona* (*amoma* supr.), *A: anona, C: aroma* (corr. from *annona*), *J: amoma DKMN*
29 *queque tuta minus, ACMN: que caudata minus, DK*
30 *obsita, ACJ: consita, DKMN*
31 (rubr.) *Confessio Bicornis, AC: Predicacio Bicornis, DK* om. *J: Planctus Bicornis* (out of place), *M: Consolacio Bicornis, N*
44 *grauiore, ACMNJ: leuiore, DK*
47 *cederit, ACMNJ: cesserit, DK*
50 *quid sit ego, AMNJ: quid sim ego, C: sum quid ego* (*sim, K*), *DK*
53 *uacando, ACMNJ: uacabo, DK*
54 *Arnoldus, ACMNJ: Arnaldus, DK*
56 *Tarabella, ACMNJ: Tarebella, DK*
62 *triumpho, ACJ: triumphi, DKMN*
69 after *sacrata gerat, DK* have 2 lines added.
77 *Discessus Burnelli* (rubr.), *AJ* (om. *C*): *Recessus Burnelli, DKM: Recessio Burnelli, N.*
80 *paribusque, A: paribus sed, K: paribus sed et, D: paribus et, MNJG*
91 *nunquam, ACJ: raro, DKMN, sunt et canonici*, etc., *ACMNJ: DK* have two different couplets for this one.
95 *meo nomen de nomine sumat, ACJ: meum sumat de nomine nomen, DKMN*
101 *reseruant, ACMNJ: reformant, DK*
103 *de quibus, ACJ: ipsemet, DKMN*
109 *cura, ACJ: crura, DKMN*
111 *stertere, ACJ: sternere, DKMN*
112 *supplice, ACJ: simplice, DKMN*
124 *ac operor mala semper, ACJ: aut operor mala queque, DKMN*
125 *Narracio* (rubr.), *AC: De tribus sororibus fatalibus, DKMN*
ib. *si Styga iurasset, ACJMN: si de Saturno, DK*
127 *pondere mersa, ACMNJ: pondere pressa, DK*
134 *fama frequens . . . nouas:* this couplet transposed before preceding one in *DKMN*

135 *refert, CMNJ: dolet, DK*
138 *firmata fide, CJM: seruando fidem, DKM*
142 *uincula cuncta repente, CJ: uincla penultima cuncta, DKMN*
144 *maxime, CJ: saltem DK*

Manuscripts Abroad

The following MSS exist in countries outside England and Ireland:

France. Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Latin 16519*, fol. 51 ff. Dated 1391. Incomplete, ending '*fecit et in populo*' etc. (Wr., p. 99, v. 2). Has prose Prologue. Supports *EFL* group. (*S*)

Belgium. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., *No. 3156* in vol. v of Joseph Gheyn's catalogue, ff. 35–94v. Dated 1388, and described on fol. 2 as '*Liber monasterii Stabulensis.*' Lacks prose Prologue. This MS. and *R* (see below) were used by Martène, who in *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio* edited a portion of the *Speculum* (Wr., pp. 81–95) 'ex duobus MSS codicibus, uno Stabulensi altero Reginae Sueciae'; and the title of the work in the MS., *Gesta Burnelli*, agrees with his remark, 'in veteri codice MS. Stabulensis monasterii opus antiqui poetae invenimus nomine Burnelli.' Generally speaking it agrees with the *A*-group, but more particularly with later MSS such as *D* and *K*. The Utrecht and Paris printed editions appear to derive from this MS., for among other similarities they share the mistake of omitting six lines (Wr., p. 39 '*ne possit*' to p. 40 '*simul*'), and the alteration of '*perurat*' to '*perurant.*' (*O*)

Brussels, Bibl. Roy., *No. 180*, in vol. 1 of Gheyn, ff. 122v.–136v. Dated 1415, and hails from Cologne ('*pertinet fratribus S. Crucis in Colonia*'). Lacks prose Prologue, and has the same omission of six lines as *O*, to which it is closely akin. 460 lines are missing in the earlier part of the work (Wr., p. 12 '*consuetudo*' to p. 17 '*tuam*,' and p. 20 '*ante tamen*' to p. 31 '*vale*'). Belongs to *A*-group. (*P*)

Italy. Rome, Vatican Library, *Reg. Lat. 1379*, ff. 1–70. The Prefect of the Library informs me that it is early 15th century, and in a hand possibly French, not Italian. It has the words '*Explicit Speculum Stultorum per manum fratris H. de Palude.*' From the very few variants given by Martène in the extract quoted by him (see

above) it may be concluded that this MS. belongs substantially to the same group as *O*. Has prose Prologue at end of work. (*R*)

One of the Vienna MSS (V^1, below) was surrendered to Italy in 1918, but I have no information as to its present whereabouts. Date, 15th century. (V^1)

Denmark. Copenhagen, Royal Library, *S. 1364*, fol. 85–134. Date, 1470. Lacks prose Prologue. Belonged to the Domus Sanctae Mariae in Bordesholm, then to Library at Gottorp. Closely akin to *W* (q.v.). (*Q*)

Germany. Wolfenbüttel, August-Bibliothek, *616. Helmst.*, ff. 93–137. Date, 1419. It came to Helmstadt from Lübeck, and had been previously in the possession of Flacius, who had perhaps bought it in England (see M. R. James, *Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, London, 1919, p. 68). Lacks prose Prologue. It appears to be the MS. referred to by Leyser in *Poetae Medii Aevi*, p. 754: 'Exstat Sp. St. mstum in bibliothecae Academiae Juliae correctius longe edito exemplari Guelpherbytano [i. e., the Wolfenbüttel edition of 1662], quod ad manus nunc est.' Belongs on the whole to the *A*-group, though it would perhaps be safer to call it intermediate between the two, as it occasionally supports the *EFL*-readings. *Q* follows this MS. closely. (*W*)

Breslau, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *IV. Q. 126*, fol. 153–181. Incomplete, ending (Wr. 101) '*facta nephanda tegunt*,' and has lost a leaf between fol. 163 and 164. Comes from the Corpus Christi community of the Knights of Malta in Breslau. Date, second half of 15th century. Has prose Prologue. Supports the *EFL*-group. Akin to the first four Vienna MSS (q.v.) and to *S*. (*T*)

Austria. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.

i. *3154*, from Salzburg, 15th century. Now in Italy. (V^1)
ii. *3283*. Dated 1418. 87 fol. (V^2)
iii. *3467*, fol. 1–56. 15th century. (V^3)
iv. *3487*, 44 fol. 14th century. (V^4)
vii. *12531*, fol. 85–133. 15th century. (V^7)

MSS V^1–V^4 all agree with *T* in ending at the same line, and in supporting the same tradition. They have the prose Prologue in a somewhat shortened form.

v. *3529*, ff. 1–74v. 15th century. (V^5)
vi. *4459*, ff. 2–26v. *ca.* 1400. (V^6)

These two MSS support the *A*-group. From the couplet at the end of V^6, '*Spec(u)lum Stultorum reperitur copia quorum/Rome Colonie necnon ubicunque locorum*,' it seems that the MS. may have come from Cologne, and this is supported by the presence of macaronics on the last folio, composed of Latin and Low German mixed. This MS. is also peculiar in writing out the verses as prose, and sometimes substituting a loose prose paraphrase, e. g., for Wright, p. 14, v. 26, we find '*pro certo enim non est in medico salus quam eger optat*' (= '*non est in medico quam cupit eger opis*'). V^6 deals in summary fashion with the prose Prologue, having only the first 12 words.

For the above description of MSS, I have used: (1) information kindly supplied me by the various Librarians; (2) a transcription of the Brussels MS. *P* made by the scholar Mone, now in the possession of Dr G. G. Coulton, who very kindly allowed me to use it; (3) rotographs of selected portions of *QSTW* and the Vienna MSS, and of *O* in full.

In none of these MSS is there the long interpolation on the later orders, found in some of the English MSS.

An analysis of all the MSS shows that their allegiance is pretty evenly divided, 14 belonging to the *A*-group, viz., in England and Ireland *ACMNJDK*, abroad *OPRQW*V^5V^6, and 13 to the other, viz., in England *EFLGIBH*, abroad *STV*$^2V^3V^4V^7$. This distinction is admittedly a rough one, some MSS, e. g. *GIQW*, being of a mixed nature. As for date, we have one of the 13th century, eight of the 14th, four of *ca.* 1400, and the rest of the 15th century. It is curious that scarcely one of the MSS that support the *EFL*-readings is complete; *H* is the sole exception, and we have seen that its support is not consistent throughout. Consequently, although these readings are very often superior to those of the other group, and in some cases date back to a MS. earlier than *A*, it would be impossible to take any of them as a basis for a revision of the text. It seems that *A* must remain by virtue of its age as the basis, but be corrected where necessary from the other tradition rather than from the later representatives of its own group.

The dating of the MSS shows that the popularity of the work was greatest between 1350 and 1425, and it may be recalled that Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale* (*CT.*, B. 4502), which has a reference to 'Dan Burnel the Asse,' was written just about the middle of that period.

I have not attempted to construct anything in the way of a stemma of MSS; while undoubtedly providing a pleasing exercise of ingenuity, their practical value appears to be little.

I may be permitted, finally, to refer once more to the question of the lacunae that exist in the three MSS, *EFL*. These lacunae suggested a hypothesis of an earlier and shorter edition of the work, and in my first article (pp. 434 ff.) I pointed out that the text runs on quite naturally from p. 97 to p. 124 (Wr.), and that the intervening passage has quite the nature of an interpolation, or rather a later addition; that in the second passage, p. 130 to end, there is nothing connected with the story of the *Speculum*, that it might not have been in *A* at all, and that there is no hint of either of these passages in the prose Prologue. Assuming for the moment that the hypothesis is correct, and that Nigel added the passages in question at a later time, we have: First edition of work some time before 1180 (Louis VII of France, referred to Wr. p. 17, died in that year); in 1189 Henry II died, and there was a dispute, in which Nigel took part, between the monks of Canterbury and Archbishop Baldwin (Stubbs, ed., *Epistolae Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series, No. 38, 1865) pp. 312, 315, 317); Nigel's treatise *Contra Curiales* was written after the capture of Richard II in 1192 and before William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, had been superseded by Hubert Walter in 1195; William had made himself thoroughly disliked, and the treatise is a bitter attack upon those in authority; about this time then we may imagine the three passages added, viz., the long tirade of Wr. pp. 97–110, the '*sententiae*' of Crow, Cock, and Sparrow-hawk, and the story of Dryanus. The conversation of the three birds whom Burnellus overhears must in some way represent his criticisms of the laity ('*sed quid de laicis dicam*,' etc.), but it is not clear how, and it cannot be said that there is any indication of date in that passage. The story of Dryanus, however, we find con-

nected with Richard I, with whom it was a favorite tale; originally Sanskrit, it seems to have been localised in Italy before 1195: under that year it is told by Matthew Paris as an apologue often repeated by Richard I (see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, Rolls Ser., No. 57, 1874, II, 413–416, also H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum*, II, 174; cf. III (ed. J. A. Herbert), 196). Matthew Paris connects Richard's liking for the tale with his efforts to get support for the Crusades; it may have begun about then to figure as an exemplum in sermons and other exhortations, so that we are perhaps justified in seeing in its insertion in Nigel's work a mark of date, namely of the reign of Richard I.

A consideration of the variants in *EFL* and the rest of that group shows that: (1) in some cases, i.e., those of the lines omitted by *A* but found in *EFL*, the tradition goes back to a MS. earlier than *A;* (2) some of these variants give undoubtedly the true reading, e. g., '*audito*' p. 5, '*mutus erat*' p. 11, '*Stamine*' p. 33, '*patet*' p. 18; (3) others are either wrong or have the appearance of later improvements, e. g. '*nocuit differre paratis*' (Lucan, *Phar.*, i. 281) in place of '*noli tardare pedester*,' p. 32, and perhaps '*orbe quod in toto non fuit usque petens*' for '*nec tamen inuenit que cupiebat ibi*,' p. 37, while in other cases there is nothing to choose between the readings; (4) the tradition of variants from *A* runs right through the other MSS, such as *B*, that have all or nearly all the poem, suggesting that the original of *EFL* had it too, and that the lacunae are therefore due to loss of leaves or intentional omission. On the whole this evidence is against the hypothesis, which must therefore be left unproved.

I have also noted the following fragments of MSS:

Munich: Stadtsbibliothek, *Cod. Lat. 14529*, 15th century, fol. 154: *Querela Brunelli* '*Ecce senem cernis fractumque labore decenni*' (p. 97); fol. 160 '*Brunellus de diversis ordinibus. Ex bibliotheca monasterii ord. S. Benedicti ad S. Emmeramum Ratisbonensis.*'

Prague: Univ. Library, *Cod. III. D. 17*, 14th century: 'fol. prael. non num. *Fragmentum Brunelli carminis Satirici Nigelli Wirekeri*, quod vulgo intitulatur Asinus seu Speculum Stultorum (initio carens).' [1]

[1] J. Truhlár, *Cat. Codd. Manu. Scriptor. Latinor.*, I (Prague, 1905), 186.

—— *Cod. X. D. 9*, anno 1394: fol. 94b–96b: (*Nigelli Wirekeri*) *Sp. St. seu Brunellus.* (Adest tantum epistola prooemialis ad Wilhelmum et duo versus initiales poematis codice mutilato).[1]

For completeness' sake I may mention a late (? 18th cent.) transcription in the Bodleian (*Summary Catalogue*, No. 3852) made from *F*, *H* and *I*, the two latter MSS being used for the passage Wr. pp. 106–124 and for the Interpolation respectively, and lacking altogether Wr. pp. 97–106 and 124 to the end.

The Incunabula

The Incunabula are not of much importance for the establishment of the text, but it may be of interest to tabulate them (so far at least as I have been able to do so).

1. The *Editio Princeps* is that of Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus Leempt at Utrecht, about 1474 (= Proctor 8851, Hain 16214); it has 6 lines omitted, from p. 39 '*ne possit*' to p. 40 '*perurant*' in Wright; fol. 17 should follow fol. 6 in this ed.

2. The edition of Gui Marchand at Paris, 1485 or 1490 (= Proctor 7978, Copinger 6586). Has the same omission as 1.

3. The edition of Conrad Kachelofen at Leipzig, 1487 or 1495 (= Proctor 2904, Copinger 6585); it lacks the prose Prologue, and omits p. 123 l.5 to p. 130 l.27 in Wright.

4. The edition of Cornelis van Zierikzee at Cologne, February 28, 1499 (= Proctor 1491, Hain 16218); the date is printed, the pages m iv a and b have been transposed; this edition has woodcuts.

These are all represented in the British Museum. (Hain 16215, 6 and Copinger 6584 I have not been able to examine.) They fall into two groups, 1 and 2 against 3 and 4, 1 and 2 on the whole following the *A*-group of MSS, 3 and 4 the *EF*-group.

Since 1 and 2 share the same error with the MS. *P* (see p. 257), they must either be copied direct from *P* or from some kindred MS.; the latter seems the more likely, as *P* is too near to *A* in its readings; probably some intermediate MS. was the source of the Utrecht and the Paris printed editions. Those of Leipzig and Cologne must derive from some MS. akin to the later members of the *EF*-group, but not now existing, for none of the MSS on the Continent belong to that group, and it is not very likely that either *B* or *H* (unless their provenance is foreign) should be the MS.

[1] *Ibid.*, II (1906), 67.

Generally speaking, the incunabula are very free in their treatment of both text and metre (e. g., '*Cicerone discretior ipso*' for '*disertior*,' '*de conche cursu*' for '*de lucis*' or '*lincis*,' in Nos 3 and 2 respectively). The Paris edition also alters '*in titulo caude Francorum rex Lodowycus/non tibi precellit pontificesque sui*' to '*in caude titulis Anglorum rex Edoardus*' etc.! If this is Edward IV (1461–1483), it is an argument for the intermediate MS. referred to above, since the Paris edition is dated 1490.

Kentons, Haslemere,
Surrey

THE ORIGINS OF THE LEGEND OF ROMEO AND JULIET IN ITALY

BY OLIN H. MOORE

I

THE MONTAGUES AND THE CAPULETS IN HISTORY

THE powerful families of Montague and Capulet, who figure in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, never resided in Verona, and in fact never existed at all. Contrary to the general impression, the term *Montecchi* — the Italian equivalent of 'Montagues' — like the term *Cappelletti* (*Cappellini*), meaning 'Capulets,' was the nickname of a political band or faction, not the name of a private family.[1]

For the early history of the *Montecchi*, the most comprehensive and probably the most reliable source is Rolandino, the Paduan notary (died 1276), who chronicles the career of the da Romano family, with especial attention to Ezzelino III. The notary's work was regarded by contemporaries as so authoritative that it served as the model for several later chronicles, notably the *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini*.[2]

[1] For an opposing view, see Robert Davidsohn, 'Die Feindschaft der Montecchi und Cappelletti ein Irrtum,' *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXVII (1903), 419–428. On p. 420 he speaks of the *Montecchi* as a *Haus*, while on p. 426 he says, on the contrary: '. . . nun waren die Cappelletti keine Familie.' See also the review of Davidsohn's article by E. G. Parodi in *Bullettino della società dantesca italiana*, XII (1905), 240–242.

Cf. C. Cipolla, *Compendio della storia politica di Verona* (Verona, 1900), pp. 130, 131: '. . . *parte dei Montecchi*, famiglia potente, la quale (per quanto sembra) ricevette il suo nome dal grosso villaggio di Montecchio Maggiore, che trovasi tra Verona e Vicenza.'

Cf., however, A. M. Allen, *A History of Verona*, edited by Edward Armstrong (London, 1910). On p. 45 the writer says: '. . . no family called *Montecchi* ever lived in Verona. It is more probable that the leaders of the party came in the first instance from Montecchio, a hill-fortress in the Vicentine district.'

Miss Allen, while in my judgment more accurate than other writers on this point, does not clearly state that the *Montecchi* were not a family. She merely says that the alleged family did not reside at Verona. She seems misleading, moreover, in suggesting apparently that the leaders of the *Montecchi* party resided originally in Montecchio Maggiore. It would seem, as we shall find presently, that during the early part of the thirteenth century the castle was in the hands of the de Pilio (Pillio, or Piio) family, and that it was used by the heterogeneous *Montecchi* faction merely as their first recruiting station.

[2] *Rolandini Patauini Chronica*, edited by Philip Jaffé, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XIX, 32–147. For the indebtedness to Rolandino of the author of the

According to Rolandino, the term *Montecchi* arose in the following manner: Azzo marquis of Este became podesta of Verona in 1207.[1] The Ghibelline leader Ezzelino da Romano was violently opposed to such political preferment for his personal enemy. He therefore called a gathering of his followers — from Verona, Vicenza and elsewhere — in the castle of Montecchio. This circumstance served as a sort of christening for Ezzelino's followers, who were thenceforth known as *Montecchi* (*Monticli* or *Monticuli*).[2]

In another passage Rolandino repeats his assertion that the name *Montecchi* belonged properly to a political band. He states that Azzo VI, Marquis of Este, had forced an alliance with Bonifacio, Count of S. Bonifacio, and that his faction came to be known as the party of the Marquis. Members of the rival party of Salinguerra Torelli and Ezzelino II da Romano, he says, were known as 'Montecli.'[3]

The castle of Montecchio Maggiore, the ruins of which are still visible, was situated in the neighborhood of Montebello Vicentino, in the foothills of Vicenza, and is the only authentic landmark for the story of the Montagues and the Capulets. As was indicated by the Latin form of its name — *Monticulus*, 'little mountain' — it was built upon a small eminence. It matters little that eventually the name of the castle seems to have been adopted by members of the family resident there — 'Marchixius and Confortus de Monticulo'[4]

Annales S. Iustinae Patavini, see *ibid.*, p. 148, and especially n. 3. The *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini* were published under the title of *Monachi Patauini Chronicon* by L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1727), VIII, 665–734.

[1] Parisius de Cereta gives the date as 1206 (*Monumenta cit.*, *Annales Veronenses*, XIX, 6).

[2] '. . . congregatis amicis suis de Verona Vicencia et undecumque potuit aliunde in castrum Monticli Vicentini districtus — unde postea dicti sunt Monticli . . .' — Rolandino, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Rolandino's statement concerning the origin of the *Montecchi* was copied, in somewhat garbled form, by Lorenzo de' Monaci: '. . . Ezerinus . . . congregatis omnibus amicis suis de Verona, Vicentia, et Monticulo (unde postea Monticuli dicti sunt) . . .' — Laurentii de Monacis, *Ezerinus III*, Bk. xiii, in L. A. Muratori, *op. cit.*, VIII, 138.

[3] 'Et alii fovebant partem comitis de Sancto Bonifacio, que erat pars marchionis; alii partem Sallimwerre, que erat et Eccelini, et hi dicebantur Montecli . . .' — Rolandino, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[4] 'Item eo anno (1285) dictus potestas Parme armata manu cum 2000 peditibus, banderiis levatis, tubis et campanis pulsatis, ivit Monticlum ad domum Marchixii et Conforti de Monticulo.' — *Annales Parmenses*, edited by Philip Jaffé, in *Monumenta cit.*, XVIII, 698.

In 1247 troops from Parma retreated to this castle, and thence continued their march to

— just as the family of Ezzelino da Romano itself derived its name from the ancestral castle of Romano.[1] The essential fact is that we find no authoritative mention in the first half of the thirteenth century of a da Montecchio family. For instance, in the year 1239, according to Rolandino, the castle of Montecchio belonged to Ugucio de Pilio (Piio, or Pillio), and was captured by Emperor Frederick II.[2] In 1242, it appears, Ugucio surrendered his castle to Ezzelino da Romano.[3]

It is perhaps significant also that the *Monticuli* are at first invariably referred to in the plural, as if indicating their conglomerate nature, recruited as they were from all parts of northeastern Italy, or *undecumque*, as Rolandino significantly observes.

Not only was the term *Montecchi* reserved at the outset for a political band in Verona, but the term *Quattuorviginti* (Italian *Quattroventi*), applied to the chief allies of the *Montecchi*, was apparently also the nickname of a faction. *Quattuorviginti* seems to have meant originally the eighty followers of the Count of S. Bonifacio who were bribed by Ezzelino da Romano and Salinguerra Torelli to become renegades.[4] While this theory rests upon no more secure basis than a marginal note in one of the manuscripts of the *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini*, it affords nevertheless the most plausible explanation offered for the source of the name.[5]

On the other hand the Counts of S. Bonifacio — the chief antagonists of the *Montecchi* and the *Quattroventi* — represented a real family, descended from Milo, Count of Verona, who ruled from 930 to 950, and from his brother Egelric.[6] The story goes that a certain Tiresio killed Count Sauro, of this family, on the hill of S. Bonifacio.

the city of Parma (*ibid.*, p. 672). In 1296 the castle was stormed by Azzo Marquis of Este, who was nevertheless obliged to withdraw, because of the loss of seven of his best soldiers (*ibid.*, p. 719).

[1] *Gerardi Maurisii Historia*, in L. A. Muratori, *op. cit.*, VIII, 14B. The da Romano family formerly went by the name of da Onara. Cf. also W. F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes* (New York, 1906), p. 207.

[2] 'Et (imperator) stans ibidem Vicencie, fecit sibi Monteclum maiorem dari, castrum scilicet Ugucionis de Piio Vicentino districtus, et positis ibi custodibus Sarracenis, fecit ipsum ulterius per imperium custodire.' — Rolandino, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[3] Parisius de Cereta, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[4] A. M. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 51, and n. 2.

[5] *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini cit.*, p. 152, and n. *d*.

[6] A. M. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 45.

Tiresio left for the Orient after the homicide, but his brothers made peace with the heirs of Sauro by ceding to them the hill of S. Bonifacio, near Verona.[1] Thereafter the Counts of Verona took the name of S. Bonifacio.

For the first third of the thirteenth century, the chronicles are replete with accounts of the battles of the quarrelsome *Montecchi*, whose fluctuating fortunes it will be impossible to follow in detail here. After 1236, mention of the *Montecchi* becomes much rarer, but apparently their power, as well as that of their allies the *Quattroventi*, still continues in 1245, when a distribution of enemy booty was made in their favor.[2]

Under date of 1252 occurs what is apparently the first attempt to use the term *Montecchi* as a family name. Parisius de Cereta, who seems to have had a fondness for adding titles to proper names, makes a bare reference to a certain *Carnarolus de Monticulis* as one of the numerous victims put to death by Ezzelino da Romano in that year.[3] Rolandino, however, who gives a detailed account of this af-

[1] C. Cipolla, *Compendio cit.*, p. 131.

The anonymous author of *Ricciardi Comitis Sancti Bonifacii Vita* (Muratori, *op. cit.*, VIII, 122) makes the murder occur in 1184, the victim being 'Alexandrum Comitem San-Bonifacium' and the murderer a member of the Montecchi 'family,' Ceresius 'Monticulus.' This utterly unreliable 'chronicler,' who is undecided about the Trojan origin of the S. Bonifacio family, makes Bonifacio the son of Sauro, and the nephew of the murdered 'Alexander' (*ibid*). According to him, Ludovico was the son of Bonifacio, and Rizardo the son of Ludovico. '. . . et cùm Guelphorum pars praevaluisset, virtute potissimùm Ricciardi, Ludovici S. Bonifacii Filii, tunc penè imberbis, impigri, ingentisque spiritus adolescentis, Monticulis Urbe pulsis, Azo Estensis Marchio, auctore Ludovico Ricciardi patre, Praetor Veronae creatur . . .' (*ibid.*). Cf. col. 123: '. . . Ludovicus Sanbonifacius cum filio Ricciardo . . .'

As a matter of fact, Ludovico was the son, not the father, of Rizardo, whose biography this anonymous 'chronicler' essays to write. '. . . (Ricardus) . . . Reliquit autem unicum filium parvulum nomine Ludovicum . . .' — *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini*, p. 162. Cf. A. M. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Rolandino refers to this son as 'Leoisius' (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

It might be noted also that Parisius de Cereta makes Bonifacio the son of Sancius (= Sauro?) of S. Bonifacio (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

The date of the death of Sauro is given in the *Annales Sanctae Trinitatis* as 1189 (*Monumenta cit.*, XIX, 5).

[2] '1245 . . . Veggasi doc. 26 apr. 1245 *S. Mich. in Camp.* 387, dove sotto la podesteria di Guiberto de Vivario si parla de distribuire "bona et possessiones Jnimicorum inter amicos partis monticulorum et quattuorviginti."' — C. Cipolla, *Antiche Cronache Veronesi* (Venice, 1890), p. 292, note.

[3] Parisius de Cereta, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Parisius de Cereta not only gives a title to all the other persons mentioned in this passage, but bestows the title of *comes Sancti Bonifacii* upon Marcus Regulus, who died in 1142, and is referred to in the *Annales Breves* simply as *comes Malregula-*

fair, mentions no connection between Carnarolus and the *Montecchi*. According to his version, 'Dompnus' Carnarolus, as well as his brother, Friar Felisius, of Padua, were victims of Ezzelino III da Romano. He calls Carnarolus a prominent citizen — 'potentem virum et divitem' — of Verona. His brother, on the contrary, seems to have been a humble priest, and a teacher of the Germans in Padua: 'Praeceptor sive magister Alemanorum in Padua.' [1] Carnarolus was imprisoned, compelled to do menial service in the house of the tyrant, and then publicly flogged in the streets of Verona.[2]

While it does not seem, consequently, that the title *de Monticulis* given by Parisius de Cereta was well established, there appears nevertheless to have been a gradually increasing tendency to use this sobriquet as part of a family name. For instance, on September 23, 1279, one of the signers of the peace between Brescia, on the one hand, and the allied citizens of Verona and Mantua on the other, was the Mantuan Astolfinus *qui dicitur Monteclus*.[3] Again, in 1324, according to an unedited chronicle, Crescimbene *de' Monticoli* with his two sons was expelled from Verona by Can Grande della Scala, and finally took refuge in Udine.[4] This gradual application of a party nickname to private families may be compared with such American expressions as 'Gypsy' Smith, 'Silver Dick' Bland, or 'Texas' Jones, indicating the tribal, political, or geographical connections of the individual.[5]

tus (*Monumenta cit.*, XIX, 2). The best evidence would indicate that the title of *comes Sancti Bonifacii* was not adopted by the family until the latter part of the twelfth century. See C. Cipolla, *Compendio cit.*, p. 131.

[1] Rolandino, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[2] 'Supra dictus siquidem dompnus Carnarolus in platea Verone est dilaceratus per frusta . . .' (*ibid.*, p. 99).

In the *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini*, Carnarolus is spoken of simply as a 'miles Veronensis,' and a victim of Ezzelino da Romano (*Annales S. Iustinae cit.*, p. 162).

[3] C. Cipolla, *Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra Verona e Mantova nel secolo xiii* (Milan, 1901), p. 178.

[4] 'Non senza amaritudine singhiozzando rammento lo sventurato giorno, nel quale il magnifico M. Crescimbene de' Monticoli con due figli di tenera età, e con il signor Federico Della Scala (di cui Crescimbene favorì le trame contro Cangrande), fu nel 1324 crudelmente scacciato da Verona. Al quale dopo lunga peregrinazione, da Carlo IV imperatore fu concesso di abitare in Udine (1348), e fu provveduto di onorevole mantenimento.' — *Cronaca Ms. Udinese*, cited by Cino Chiarini, *Romeo e Giulietta* (Florence, 1906), p. 42, n. 2.

[5] In the Appendix to the 14th century *Antonii Godi Nobilis Vicentini Chronica*, in L. A. Muratori (*op. cit.*, VIII, 91, 92), is a list of Vicenza families which have been lost sight of:

If the historical development of the term *Montecchi* has been little understood in the past, we have been more fortunate with regard to the term *Cappelletti*. Thanks to the valuable researches of R. Davidsohn, the origins of the *Cappelletti* are fairly familiar to specialists in Italian mediaeval history, although still ignored, unfortunately, by certain authorities on the literary history of the period. For the benefit of the latter, it will be recalled here that the Guelf *Cappelletti*, far from being a family living in Verona, were a faction associated with the political affairs of Cremona. Their Ghibelline opponents were known as *Barbarasi*,[1] according to reliable chroniclers, or *Troncaciuffi*, according to the commentator Peter Alighieri.[2] Obviously the nicknames *Barbarasi* and *Troncaciuffi* referred to the practice of shaving their beards, as a mark of distinction.[3] In fact, they have been compared appropriately to 'the Roundheads and the Croppies of English and Irish history.' The *Cappelletti*, or *Cappellini*, for their part, evidently wore small hats or caps as insignia. Later, as was pointed out by an able Italian critic three quarters of a century ago, history repeated itself, and the name was adopted by a troop of Venetian light horsemen — a fact which may have had its weight with Luigi da Porto.[4]

The fortunes of the Cappelletti may be traced briefly, if only to establish further the parallel with the fate of the *Montecchi*. In 1249, taking advantage of the declining authority of Emperor Frederick

'*Hae sunt familiae, quae in Civitate nostra Nobiles erant, et ita extinctae ut de eis vix maneat memoria.*' Among these 'families' were mentioned the 'Comites Monticuli Praecalcini,' who were given as ancestors not only for the *Montecchi* of Verona, but also for their bitter rivals, the Counts of S. Bonifacio.'

'Comites Monticuli Praecalcini, ex quibus nati sunt Comites de Sancto Bonifacio, et Domus Monticulorum qui potens fuit Veronae.'

[1] '. . . . habendo Amadinus magnam partem in civitate que Capelleti appellabatur; alii intrinseci Barbarasi dicebantur . . .' — *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, in *Monumenta cit.*, XVIII, 498.

[2] *Petri Allegherii Super Dantis Ipsius Genitoris Comoediam Commentarium*, edited by Vincenzo Nannucci (Florence, 1845), pp. 332–333.

[3] See R. Davidsohn, *loc. cit.*; W. F. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

[4] Cf. Giuseppe Todeschini, 'Lettera a Bartolommeo Bressan,' in *Lettere storiche di Luigi da Porto*, edited by Bartolommeo Bressan (Florence, 1857), p. 428.

For *Cappellini*, the alternate form for *Cappelletti*, see *Cronaca di fra Salimbene Parmigiano dell' ordine dei minori*, translated by Carlo Cantarelli (Parma, 1882), I, 264: 'In Cremona, que' che parteggiavano per la Chiesa si chiamavano Cappellini, o Cappelletti; que' che tenevano per l'Impero, si nominavano Barbarasi.'

II, the Cappelletti attempted an uprising against the *Barbarasi*, without success. The insurgents were banished from Cremona, together with their leader Amadinus de Amatis.[1]

The following year, a band of some 2000 *Barbarasi* attacked the *Cappelletti* in their place of refuge. After a long siege, Amadinus de Amatis was captured. By a stroke of good fortune, the prisoners were all permitted to escape by their custodian Marquis Lancia, podesta of Lodi. The cause for this leniency remains a disputed point — whether bribery, or sympathy with the *Cappelletti* faction, or jealousy of the podesta of Cremona.[2]

In 1259, we find the combined authorities of Verona, Mantua, Ferrara and Padua making an alliance with the podesta of Cremona, by the terms of which they agree to consider the *Barbarasi* party as being the commune of Cremona, and promise to give neither aid nor counsel to the *Cappelletti* banished from that city.[3]

In 1267, it would appear, the *Cappelletti* had recovered some of their lost power. Through the intercession of a legate of Pope Clement IV, they were allowed to return to Cremona,[4] where they seem to have caused few disturbances worth recording. The last reference to them by a contemporary occurs in Dante's *Purgatorio.*

As far as authentic records go, the Ghibelline *Montecchi* of Verona never seem to have come into conflict with the Guelf *Cappelletti* of Cremona. The history of the twelfth century, however, furnishes a curious parallel for the formation of their names. In that century, the mercenary troops commonly known as *Brabançons* derived their names from the duchy of Brabant, where they were first recruited, much as the *Montecchi* were named for the castle of Montecchio Maggiore, first recruiting station of Ezzelino II da Romano. The antagonists of the *Brabançons* were called *Caputii*, from the linen hoods which they wore, just as the *Cappelletti* were named also for their characteristic headgear. Apparently, no claim has ever been advanced that the *Caputii* were a private family.

[1] *Annales Placentini Gibellini, loc. cit.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 499.
[3] C. Cipolla, *Documenti cit.*, pp. 71, 77.
[4] *Annales Parmenses Maiores*, p. 680.

II

Early Development of the Legend of the Montagues and the Capulets

If it be admitted that the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti* existed as unrelated political factions, some of the currently accepted views regarding the origins of the legend of Romeo and Juliet will have to be revised. It will be impossible to accept, for instance, the view of Cino Chiarini, who says, following Todeschini: 'I *Montecchi e i Cappelletti* nominati da Dante rappresentano due diverse frazioni del partito ghibellino.' [1] The *Cappelletti*, as we have seen, were followers of the Pope, not of the Emperor. Nor will it be possible to accept the statement of G. Brognoligo, whose views still find the widest acceptance, that the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti* were a 'coppia di famiglie.' [2]

In fact, when we come to trace the literary tradition of the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti*, we shall be confronted by a new problem, similar to that presented in the historical evolution of the *Montecchi*. It will be our task to determine at what stage of the development of the legend the idea arose that the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti* were families. A second problem will be: When did the notion of hostility between the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti* first manifest itself?

To answer these questions, for which no satisfactory solution has yet been offered by literary critics, we shall be obliged to begin at the source, and trace the early development of the legend step by step.

The earliest apparent association of the terms *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* occurs in the sixth canto of the *Purgatorio*. Here Dante, inspired by the stately presence of the troubadour Sordello, pronounced a bitter apostrophe to Italy, in which he invoked the aid of Albert of Hapsburg. He earnestly beseeched this emperor, who was so indifferent to Italian affairs that he had neglected to be crowned

[1] *W. Shakespeare: Romeo e Giulietta*, edited by Cino Chiarini, (Florence, 1908 or later), p. xii.

[2] Gioachino Brognoligo, 'Montecchi e Cappelletti nella Divina Commedia' (Bologna, 1893), Estratto dal *Propugnatore, Nuova Serie*, VI, Part 1, Fasc. 31–32, p. 8.

in Italy, to come and behold the civil strife which was demoralizing the country:

> Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti,
> Monaldi e Filippeschi, uom senza cura;
> Color già tristi, e questi con sospetti![1]

With his characteristic symmetry, Dante balanced the names of the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti*, factions which had destroyed themselves in past strife (*color già tristi*), with the contemporary and better known parties — the Monaldi and Filippeschi of Orvieto — who were in a dubious situation because of their dissensions (*e questi con sospetti*).[2] The language of the poet was somewhat cryptic, as was customary when he assumed the rôle of high priest. Furthermore, the first two factions mentioned had completely passed from popular recollection. As a consequence, a series of misinterpretations arose, which became crystallized into one of the most famous legends of literature.

Let us now examine, in chronological order, some of the early comments upon this passage.

(*a*) Jacopo Della Lana

1323–28. — According to Jacopo della Lana, who obviously undertakes little more than a paraphrase of the text of Dante at this point, the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* were a party in Cremona, while the *Monaldi* and *Filippeschi* were a party in Ancona.[3] Apparently the first-named factions were allies, in his opinion, although they might also have been taken to be enemies.[4]

(*b*) Ottimo Commento

1334. — The *Ottimo Commento* here follows literally Jacopo della Lana.[5]

[1] Orvieto was in the province of Ancona (*ibid.*, p. 14, and n. 3).

[2] 'Qui per digressione noma parte di Cremona per principio di Lombardia, e parte d'Ancona per principio della Marca Anconitana.' — *Comedia di Dante degli Allagherii col Commento di Jacopo della Lana Bolognese*, edited by Luciano Scarabelli, in the *Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare dei Primi Tre Secoli della Lingua* (Bologna, 1866), II, 72. Scarabelli changes the reading Cremona, given by all the codices, to Verona.

[3] *Purgatorio*, VI, 106–108.

[4] See G. Brognoligo, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[5] *L'Ottimo Commento della Divina Commedia* (Pisa, 1828), II. 83–84.

(*c*) Peter Alighieri

1340–41. — The first commentator furnishing accurate historical information regarding the political situation in Verona and Cremona during the thirteenth century was Peter Alighieri. According to him, there were two parties in Verona, that of the *Montecchi*, and that of the 'Counts.' In Cremona, the *Cappelletti* were opposed by the *Troncaciuffi*. In Orvieto, the rivals of the Monaldi faction were the Filippeschi.[1]

By the party of the 'Counts,' Peter Alighieri doubtless means the faction of the Count of S. Bonifacio, which was also called the party of the marquis, because one of its leaders was the Marquis of Este. The name *Troncaciuffi*, as has been observed, was an alternative form for *Barbarasi*.

(*d*) Codice Cassinese

Middle of 14th century. — The author of the *Codice Cassinese* follows closely the commentary of Peter Alighieri.[2]

(*e*) Giovanni Villani

1348. — The chronicler Giovanni Villani does not mention the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti*, but describes the Guelf Monaldeschi and the Ghibelline Filippeschi as families which were active rivals in the city of Orvieto during the early part of the fourteenth century. In 1312 the Monaldeschi succeeded in expelling the Filippeschi from Orvieto, almost under the nose of the Emperor himself. In 1337, after a period of tyrannical rule, the Monaldeschi were themselves driven out by the indignant citizens of Orvieto.[3]

[1] 'De quo secutum est quod in Verona est facta pars Montecchia et pars Comitum; in Cremona Cappelletti et Troncaciuffi; in Urbeveteri pars Monaldeschia et Philippesca; et sic de aliis.' — Peter Alighieri, *loc. cit.* See G. Brognoligo, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[2] *Il Codice Cassinese della Divina Commedia*, edited by Monaci Benedettini, Tipografia di Monte Cassino (1865), p. 220.

For paleographical reasons the editors date the commentary about the middle of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, pp. xviii and xl).

[3] *Cronica di Giovanni Villani* (Florence 1823), IV, Bk. IX 8, chap. xl, 34, 35; and VI, Bk. xi, chap. lxxv, 153.

(*f*) Benvenuto da Imola

1379. — Benvenuto da Imola, for the passage in question, utilizes several sources. Like Giovanni Villani, he asserts that the Monaldi and Filippeschi were noble houses of Orvieto, but goes a step further, originating the statement that the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* were families also. This natural error may doubtless be ascribed to the influence of Villani.

Benvenuto gives an account of the alliance of the *Montecchi* with Ezzelino da Romano, and of their struggle against Azzo Marquis of Este, who succeeded in returning to Verona, owing to the support of the Count of S. Bonifacio. Except for one important detail, he follows here the *Monachi Patavini Chronicon*, or *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini*.[1] He differs from the chroniclers, however, by representing the *Cappelletti* as allies of the *Montecchi*, a notion which he may have derived from Jacopo della Lana.[2]

(*g*) Francesco da Buti

1380. — Probably influenced by Jacopo della Lana, Francesco da Buti places both the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti* in Cremona. He is the first writer to mention hostility between the two parties, having perhaps some inkling of their difference in political faith.[3]

(*h*) Comento ms. Tratto da Varj Chiosatori (Barberiana de Roma)

14th century? — The above-mentioned commentary, which is cited by Alessandro Torri, represents the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti*

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 149. See John M. Gitterman, *Ezzelin von Romano, I. Teil: Die Gründung der Signorie* (1194–1244) (Stuttgart, 1890), p. 94.

[2] 'Dicit ergo: *Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti.* Istae fuerunt duae clarae familiae Veronae, maxime Monticuli, quae habuerunt diu bellum cum alia nobilissima familia, scilicet, cum comitibus de Sancto Bonifacio. Nam Monticuli comites cum favore Eccerini de Romano eiecerunt Azonem II, marchionem estensem, rectorem illius civitatis; sed ipse in manu forti cum comite Huberto Sancti Bonifacii, Monticulis acie debellatis, reintravit Veronam, ubi finem vitae feliciter terminavit. Et dicit: *Monaldi e Filippeschi*; istae fuerunt duae nobiles domus de urbe veteri . . .' — Benvenuto de Rambaldis de Imola, *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comoediam*, Sumptibus Guilielmi Warren Vernon, curante Jacobo Philippo Lacaita (Florence, 1887), vol. III.

[3] *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Commedia di Dante Allighieri*, edited by Crescentino Giannini (Pisa, 1860), II, 138.

as hostile factions, after the manner of Francesco da Buti. By a curious inversion, however, the author makes the *Montecchi* Guelfs, and the *Cappelletti* Ghibellines.[1]

(*i*) Anonimo Fiorentino

Late 14th or Early 15th Century. — The Anonimo Fiorentino, abridging the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, asserts that the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* were families allied against the Marquis of Este in Verona.[2]

(*j*) Edizione Nidobeatina

1478. — The author of the *Edizione Nidobeatina* follows closely Peter Alighieri. His geographical explanations are taken apparently from Jacopo della Lana.[3]

(*k*) Christoforo Landino

1481. — For the passage under consideration, Christoforo Landino abridges the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola.[4]

(*l*) Alessandro Vellutello

1544. — Alessandro Vellutello, as usual, repeats the statements of Christoforo Landino.[5]

(*m*) Bernardino Daniello

1568. — Following Benvenuto da Imola, Bernardino Daniello represents the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* as being allied families. He is the first commentator to speak of the *Cappelletti* as Ghibellines.[6]

[1] Cited by Alessandro Torri in *Giulietta e Romeo* (Pisa, 1831), p. xviii.

[2] *Commento alla Divina Commedia d'Anonimo Fiorentino del Secolo XIV*, edited by Pietro Fanfani (Bologna, 1866–1874), II, 107.

[3] *Alighieri Commedia con Commento* (Milan, 1478), Fo. 97r.

[4] *Dante con l'Esposizione di Christoforo Landino e d'Alessandro Vellutello*, edited by Francesco Sansovino Fiorentino (Venice, 1596), p. 186.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[6] *Dante con l'Esposizione di M. Bernardino Daniello da Lucca*, (Venice, 1568), p. 274.

We have now reviewed the early stages of the development of our legend, and the results may be summarized as follows:

The traditional conception of the *Montecchi* and the *Cappelletti* really begins with an obscure passage in Dante's *Purgatorio*, where, in one verse, the names of the factions are found in juxtaposition. In the verse immediately following, the poet places the names of rival factions in Orvieto, the Monaldi and the Filippeschi.

Three interpretations for the passage presented themselves:

(*a*) The *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* were allies, and probably Ghibellines, because they were described as *già tristi*, and hence were proper subjects for the Emperor's solicitude.

(*b*) The *Montecchi* of Verona and the *Cappelletti* of Cremona were early thirteenth-century examples of civil dissension, while the Monaldi and Filippeschi were early fourteenth century examples of the same evil.

(*c*) The *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* were hostile factions — or perhaps families — just as the Monaldi and Filippeschi were said by Villani to be rival families.

The conception of the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti* as allies, first apparently suggested by Jacopo della Lana, was developed by Benvenuto da Imola, who originated the statement that the names in question belonged to families. Benvenuto also drew from Paduan chronicles details of the conflict between Ezzelino da Romano and the Este family. His ideas were later adopted by Anonimo Fiorentino, Christoforo Landino, Alessandro Vellutello and Bernardino Daniello.

Peter Alighieri was the first commentator to explain that the *Montecchi* were a faction of Verona, while the *Cappelletti* were a party at Cremona. The author of the *Codice Cassinese* copied him, while the author of the *Edizione Nidobeatina* amplified his statements. Peter Alighieri's explanation, while historically correct, proved the least popular of all.

The idea of hostility between the *Montecchi* and *Cappelletti*, first suggested by Francesco da Buti, is found in the *Comento MS. Tratto da Varj Chiosatori*. Eventually this innovation was generally

adopted because of the example of the novelist Luigi da Porto, who, pretending to investigate old historical records, in reality consulted principally some of the Dante commentators.[1]

[1] Luigi da Porto seems familiar with the commentaries of both Benvenuto da Imola and Francesco da Buti. In the opening paragraph of his *novella*, he writes:

'. . . E avvegnachè io alcune croniche leggendo abbia trovato, come queste due famiglie unite cacciarono Azzo da Esti governator della detta terra, il quale poscia col favore de' Sambonifazi vi ritornò; . . .'

Here he accords perfectly with Benvenuto da Imola, and with no known chronicler. For the story of the hostility of the two 'families,' he doubtless follows Francesco da Buti. He has also read apparently the *Cronica MS. Udinese* already referred to.

Ohio State University

THE ICONOGRAPHY AND THE SEQUENCE OF THE AMBULATORY CAPITALS OF CLUNY

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT

Research Associate in Archaeology of the Mediaeval Academy of America

ALL extant portions of the Abbey church of Cluny are receiving careful study in connection with the Mediaeval Academy's project of excavation, and the eight beautiful sculptured capitals from the ambulatory are no exception to this rule. They are well known, ranking among the finest of Romanesque sculptures by universal consent, but they have presented great archaeological problems.

That they were still in their places in 1823 is attested by a lithograph of the exterior of the apse, dated in that year and republished in SPECULUM, III (1928), 403. The drawing shows the ambulatory roof still in place, though the apse vault had fallen, and probably injured the capitals in its fall. The modern stable, constructed to house the stallions of the government Dépôt, covers a large part of the site of the sanctuary. Apparently it was built about 1835, and the capitals were in all probability taken down rather than thrown down when the ruins were demolished to make way for it. Indeed, there is still in use at Cluny an old lewis which fits more recent enlargements in the mediaeval lewis holes.

Five of the capitals bear a stenciled O, which may mean that they were set aside for Doctor Ochier, a local magnate of the day. He had a small lapidary museum in a pavillion near the town hall, and the capitals are said to have formed a part of it. Doctor Ochier's house — none other than the abbatial palace built by Jean de Bourbon — eventually came into the possession of the Town of Cluny, as did his collection. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the palace was in large part transformed into a museum to receive these and other objects. The fragments from the excavations are stored in this building.

The capitals are now set on parts of the original marble shafts on the ground floor of the museum. They bear traces of several unre-

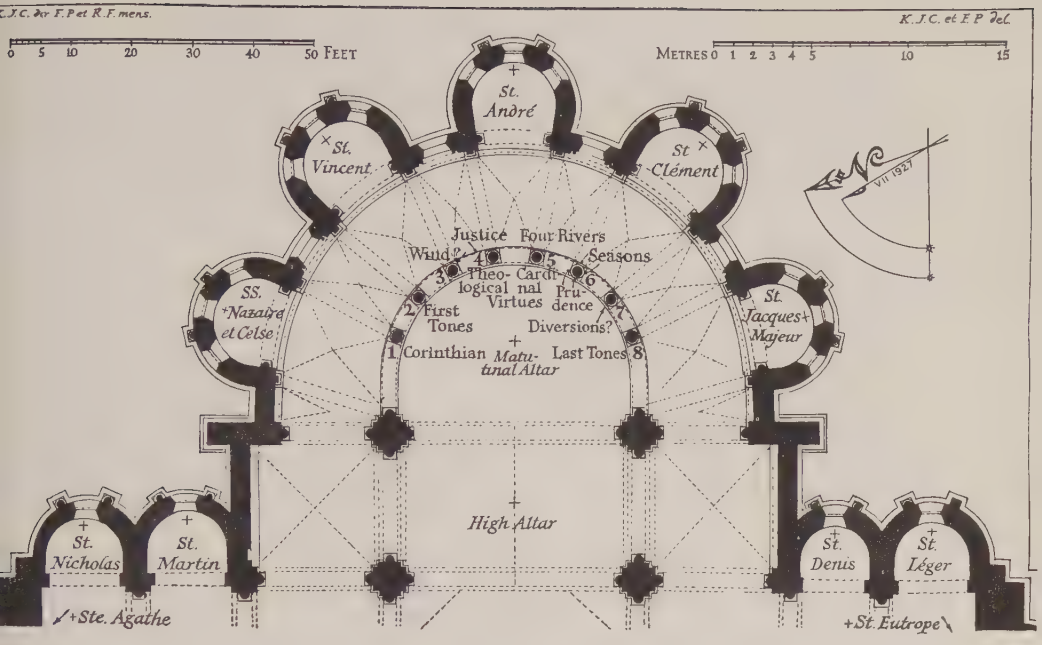


FIGURE 1

APSE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1929

The sequence of the capitals is indicated.

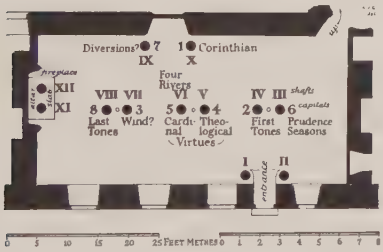


FIGURE 2

DIAGRAM OF MUNICIPAL MUSEUM AT CLUNY, INDICATING LOCATION OF SHAFTS AND CAPITALS

The shafts are given Roman numerals; the capitals, Arabic numerals.

lated systems of numbering, so that for convenience a diagram is given here with the shafts numbered I–XII according to their position in the museum and the capitals numbered 1–8 according to the sequence recently worked out by the present author and set forth in this article. These numbers, as well as those assigned to the transept capitals already published, will be used in the final monograph on the abbey which is to be published by the Mediaeval Academy.

The present arrangement puts the handsomest capitals near the doors and in the centre of the room, and the least broken face toward the light. There is nothing to show that any other idea governed the placing of the pieces. There is no known indication on the capitals or in the records of the original grouping, and since the capitals have been moved at least three times and rotated once (by Doctor Pouzet), nothing in their present arrangement can be relied on as evidence for the original arrangement.

The same may be said of the shafts. Number VII still retains an iron dowel on top; shaft IV, the smallest in diameter, was probably near the top of a column. The size of the shafts varies from $1'–6\frac{1}{8}''$ (0 m. 46) to $1'–7\frac{13}{16}''$ (0 m. 503) in diameter. There are in the museum five thin drums of limestone measuring from $1'–7\frac{1}{4}''$ (0 m. 49) to $1'–7\frac{7}{8}''$ (0 m. 505) in diameter, with cavetto and astragal carved on them, which possibly came immediately under the capitals. One of these (now a misfit on shaft I) seems to have been painted to match the marble; the profiles correspond to those of the typical engaged columns of the church.

It is said that six of the shafts in the ambulatory were of marble, brought from Rome, and this is entirely probable. They were probably the *sumptuosas depolitiones* against which St Bernard inveighed in his Apology to Guillaume de St-Thierry [SPECULUM, V (1930), 88]. The marble shafts have lewis-holes in the top, with a double slope in the Greek manner or with a single slope in the Roman fashion. They are unfluted and far from perfect geometrically, which implies a Roman date. Several imperfections are or have been filled with lead and painted. Since the ambulatory columns at Cluny were about twenty diameters in height, twelve ancient columns may have been used. Shaft IV, which is of marble, has a

V-cut incised consecration cross $4\frac{3}{4}''$ (0 m. 12) high, resembling the painted one in the Chapel of St Gabriel. Two of the ambulatory columns were carried out in the local limestone. It is worth noting that the plan of the ambulatory chapels at Cluny naturally calls for ten columns in the apse; eight were used instead, probably to avoid putting as many as four limestone columns with the marble ones. Since the first ambulatory arch at each side was much larger than the others, it is reasonable to suppose that the stouter columns were toward the west, the slenderer ones toward the middle; but the study of the capitals is inconclusive on this point. The easternmost piers hid the westernmost columns in a ordinary view down the nave; perhaps, therefore, the limestone columns, which seem to have measured about $1'-7\frac{3}{16}''$ (0 m. 492) in diameter, were put at the ends of the series.

For the placing of the capitals we have no direct evidence. Since each capital may have been in any one of four positions on any one of the eight shafts, the number of possible arrangements is very large. The arrangement finally arrived at is plausible rather than certain, for it rests on a tissue of probabilities, but the study was made under the best possible conditions. In the summer of 1929 two sets of casts of the capitals were made by workmen from the Trocadéro Museum, and one of these was sent to Cambridge, the expenses being met by a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and certain private funds. The casts were set up in the beautifully lighted central court of the Fogg Museum with the original intervals and radius as recovered in the excavations of 1929. All of the promising sequences were tried out, and the fact that they could be studied at leisure under practically the original conditions of space and lighting was of immeasurable assistance.

The following indications were taken into account in establishing the sequence:

1. Owing to the plan of the apse, two of the capitals were set diagonally to the main axis of the church. Therefore it is natural to put Capital 1 (Corinthian) which has its abacus elaborately carved on two adjacent sides, and Capital 8 (the Last Tones) which has its inscriptions across the diagonals, at the ends of the series. The more

elaborately carved of the two adjacent sides of the abacus of Capital 1 faces toward the altar if the capital is placed at the north, and this puts the most broken side toward the apse, where it was most likely to be damaged by falling masonry. A volute of Capital 8 was found in the excavations of the south side of the sanctuary, and it is therefore natural to put this capital on the south side.

II. Related monuments suggest an alternation between Corinthianesque and freer forms in the sequence. It is therefore reasonable to put the capitals with mandorlas in the second, fourth, and sixth places. The scale and design of Capital 8 is such that it does not appear to advantage except at the end of the series. The handsomest arrangement of the other capitals places the one with the angular mandorla (the Theological Virtues) as number 4, midway between the capitals with almond-shaped mandorlas.

III. Since the Capital of the Last Tones (8) comes at the southern extremity, it is natural to expect the Capital of the First Tones (2) opposite, suggesting the responses of a monks' choir. The capital has been found to give a most satisfactory effect when placed second, where it is the first figured capital on the northern side. An excellent effect is obtained from all sides if the First Tone is set looking toward the sanctuary. The lines compose beautifully with the rest of the series. The Eight Tones were doubtless included in the iconographical scheme to express the love and high cultivation of music at Cluny, and to symbolize the richness of God's praise which was offered there.

IV. A plausible choice for third place is the Corinthianesque capital (3), with an unbroken figure variously identified as a 'Wind' or 'Harvester' on account of a bellows-shaped attribute of some wicker-like material. The subject of this capital may never be satisfactorily settled because the remaining figures are so badly broken. A crack across the lower part of the capital suggests that it was damaged by structural disorder in the apse. Capital 4 (the Theological Virtues) has a larger crack across the middle, and it is quite reasonable to put the two side by side. The most satisfactory arrangement of the figures places the most broken side toward the

altar, and the intact corner adjacent to an unbroken rear corner of Capital 4.

v. Capital 4, with its four angular mandorlas, is the smallest of all in lower diameter, and therefore, on account of the probable arrangement of the columns suggested above, it should be put in the middle part of the series. Its abacus is more elaborately worked on one side than on the other three, which would seem to indicate a capital looking almost directly toward the nave. A defect in the stone mars a volute on the opposite side. This evidence concurs with the impression gained on purely esthetic grounds and fortifies the reasoning which places the Corinthian Capital (1) at the beginning of the series.

The iconography of Capital 4, long enigmatic, has now received its solution. The first figure, which holds an open coffer, is carved under the elaborate side of the abacus, and thus doubtless faced the altar; its iconographic type is used in Gothic times for Largesse, and here doubtless stands for Charity. The succeeding face on the right has a kneeling figure facing east with the hands in the attitude for receiving a consecrated Host, and so represents Faith. The flowered staff and the heart held by the next figure are both used in later times to denote Hope. Thus the three Theological Virtues occur on this capital just north of the axis of the apse, with 'the greatest of these,' Charity, looking down into the sanctuary. The remaining figure is almost completely missing. It had a graceful balancing attitude, with a scale-pan or some very similar object suspended from each of the outstretched hands. Thus it is likely that Justice, one of the Cardinal Virtues, was chosen to fill out the series of Theological Virtues on Capital 4. The Abbot of Cluny had the right of justice in the town, which received its charter from St Hugh.

vi. Iconographically, esthetically, and theoretically, the Capital of the Four Rivers of Paradise is best placed fifth in line, beside the Capital of the Theological Virtues (4). First of all, it is a commonplace that the Four Rivers are the figures of the Four Cardinal Virtues. Thus the two types of virtue are brought together on opposite sides of the main axis. As with Capital 4, the abacus of Capital 5 is worked elaborately on only one side, and that is the most

damaged side, evidently the front of the capital. The back has defects in the stone, the sculpture is not undercut as elsewhere, and the figures are not completed — one of them lacks the eyes. On the contrary, the beautiful vine under the elaborately carved abacus-face is most appropriate for the side turned toward the altar. The type of the capital as a whole is sufficiently Corinthianesque to make it take its place gracefully in the alternation, but sufficiently free to avoid any suggestion of rigidity in the alternating scheme. It makes a very satisfying pendant to Capital 4 and takes its place in the sequence most beautifully.

M. Bréhier remarks that the subject of the capital was probably suggested by a letter of Pietro Damiani to St Hugh, of which the monks of Cluny were justly proud. It is given at column 374 of the *Patrologia Latina*, volume CXLIV. It refers to the monastery as to the Four Rivers of Paradise. As will be seen, this capital is the iconographic key of the middle group of capitals.

VII. By far the most satisfactory place for the remaining mandorla capital (6) is that adjoining the Capital of the Four Rivers (5). It thus forms a symmetry with Capital 2 (the First Tones) about the angular mandorla of Capital 4 (the Theological Virtues). This symmetry is perforce unrelated to the axis of the apse, which relieves it of an obviousness that is only too familiar in modern work. The effect is excellent. The capital has four beautiful female figures, three of them named by carved inscriptions on the respective mandorlas, Prudentia, Æstas, Ver. The fourth figure has been called Grammar and Justice. The fourth inscription was a painted one; it had escaped notice, but was discovered in 1928 and after deciphering copied at full size in 1929, by the present writer.

In fact we have a second manifestation of Prudence — the warner, besides the warrior Prudence already familiar. The figures are best arranged from all points of view when the warrior Prudence is set toward the altar; and this is the most broken side of the capital.

The importance of this capital is considerable. The painted inscription is not different epigraphically from the others. Perhaps all were painted to begin with. If so, this one may have been left un-

cut on account of haste to get the capitals into place. The unfinished back of Capital 4 suggests as much. As was shown in the preceding article, the apse was not constructed until the carven capitals were in their places. Again, the fact that there is a painted inscription points to a calligrapher as the author of the lettering. Since manuscript lettering is generally ahead of carved lettering, the advanced character of the epigraphy of the capitals is explained. Both of these observations strengthen the thesis of the early dating (1088–1095) of the capitals. A further observation is that the presence of

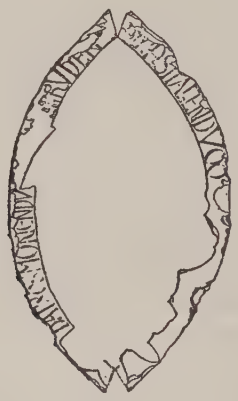


FIGURE 3

PAINTED INSCRIPTION ON PRUDENCE–SEASONS CAPITAL

Dat nos monendum Prudentia qid sit agendum.

two Prudences overthrows the too subtle ideologies of those who assume the basis of the iconography of the capitals to be mystical sequences of four, such as the Four Temperaments, the Four Winds, the Four Seasons, the Four Liberal Arts, the Four Elements, the Four Ages, the Four Hours, and so forth. The scheme is simpler than that: the four Cardinal Virtues are represented on one capital, the three Theological Virtues on another. One of the Cardinal Virtues is selected for further illustration to fill out the capital of the Theological Virtues (4). Another is selected for further illustration on Capital 6. The double illustration is not illogical, for there is, according to Professor Panofsky, a Prudence sequence. Here it is

represented by two subjects, just as two subjects are used to represent the sequence of the Seasons, or in a larger sense, Nature.

VIII. Thus the figures in the mandorlas and those with attributes or accompanied by inscriptions, fall into three groups: a central one devoted to the Virtues of man, and of the monastery in particular, filled out by a group devoted to Nature, set between two capitals symbolizing divine praises. It is to be noted that the arrangement here is not strictly symmetrical, and that the idea is a relatively simple one. Those who are inclined to date the capitals in the twelfth century naturally look for a subtler and more sophisticated iconography than that of the eleventh century. Here the early dating is once more fortified by the results of the new studies.

IX. It may very well be that Capital 7, which remains to be studied, and Capital 3 are simply genre. For Capital 3 ('Harvester' [?], 'Wind'[?]) this cannot be determined because only one figure remains complete. On Capital 7 considerable thought has led to very meagre results. The little man with a furry glove is called Winter, in spite of the fact that the right half of his body is naked, and other conjectures are no more plausible. Yet a good case can be made for the capital as devoted to the sports and diversions. The gloved man thus becomes a boxer or ball-player, robed to make him presentable in church, or to represent him as a cleric. The students of the American seminary in Rome play baseball in cassocks, but mediaeval athletes were almost unclad. The charming nude figure so gracefully twined with leaves becomes a bather or a swimmer; the contorted headless figure, a thrower, bowler, or tumbler; and the simple erect figure, a debater or one walking in meditation. The capital looks best with the first two figures mentioned turned toward the altar, but the figures are of minor importance. It is probably quite just to say that the designer of the group of capitals amused himself with a bit of antiquarianism in Capital 1 (Corinthian) and varied the Corinthian theme by the little figures among the leaves in Capitals 3 and 7, while preserving the type as a foil to his more solemn allegorical capitals.

X. The study proceeded to this result purely on the basis of internal evidence, without bringing the actual text of Pietro Damiani

into play. The passage is as follows, referring to what the great churchman had found on his visit to the Monastery of Cluny:

> Uidi siquidem paradisum quatuor Euangeliorum fluentis irriguum, imo totidem spiritualium riuis exuberare uirtutum: uidi hortum deliciarum diuersas rosarum ac liliorum gratias germinantem, et mellifluas aromatum ac pigmentorum fragiantias suauiter redolentem, ut de illo uero ualeat Deus omnipotens dicere: Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus. — Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLIV, col. 374.

It is evident at once that the middle group of capitals is an admirable translation into stone of the spirit, the symbolism, and the letter of this text. The rivers and the virtues are there. The flowers and sweet herbs are the beautiful fleurons and other leafage of the capitals; their fragrance is referred to in an inscription of Capital 6 — *Uer primos flores primos producit odores.* The choice of the seasons Spring and Summer comes naturally from the reference to growing things. The ensemble represents the Abbey itself and its spiritual beauties. One rarely finds so apt and lovely an expression in line and surface of such beautiful thoughts and words.

The letter was addressed to St Hugh of Semur and had a unique significance for him as a benediction on his life's work. It is more natural that he should have used it as the basis of an iconographical scheme than that a successor, a generation later, should have done so. The text therefore reinforces the idea that the iconography was of a free and early type, fortifies the interpretation arrived at independently from internal evidence, and strengthens the thesis of early dating for the capitals.

XI. Capital 8 (the Last Tones) seems to be placed by its inscriptions; at any rate it is sensible to have the first quarter of the inscription on the diagonal toward the nave, and this gives a very acceptable arrangement of the figures as seen from both apse and ambulatory.

This capital is a Cinderella. It is planned to restore and complete the designs of the series of capitals, using the Fogg Museum casts; and Capital 8 was chosen as the first. Copies of the single extant volute were attached to the broken corners, and the missing abacus was supplied by one studied from the back of Capital 5. These ad-

PLATE Ia — SEQUENCE OF THE AMBULATORY CAPITALS OF THE ABBEY OF CLUNY

The faces represented are those which probably looked toward the Altar. The scale of the reproduction is about 1:17, the same as that used for the transept capitals in SPECULUM, *IV, 302 ff.*

Loury phot.

Capital 1.	Capital 2.	Capital 3.	Capital 4.	Capital 5.	Capital 6.	Capital 7.	Capital 8.
Corinthian	The First Four Tones of Plainsong	The Winds (?) or genre	The Theological Virtues and Justice	The Four Rivers of Paradise	Prudence, Summer, Spring	Sports and Diversions (?) or genre	The Last Four Tones of Plainsong

PLATE Ib — CASTS OF THE CLUNY CAPITALS ARRANGED IN SEQUENCE IN THE COURT OF THE FOGG MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

The original intervals and radius were used in placing the casts.

Boecker phot.

ditions transformed the ineffective broken design into one of amazing force, originality, and beauty. The stems of the volutes, as seen from below, form behind the figures a clever variant of the mandorlas of Capitals 2, 4, and 6. This continues the alternation and serves also to distinguish Capital 8 from the genre capitals numbered 3 and 7.

It is worth noting, moreover, that the swing of the volutes is surprisingly like that on several figured capitals from Frómista, León, and Iguácel, published by Mr Porter in *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (Paris: Pegasus, 1928; plates 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31). Since these sculptures are older than, or contemporary with, the apse of Cluny, they may be studied with profit both by those who do, and those who do not believe that the Cluny capitals were sculptured before 1095. The style is not the same, but the idea that figures in high relief were not used on capitals before 1100 is contradicted by these examples. Mr Whitehill's important and still unpublished discoveries at Santo Domingo de Silos tend to clarify the relation of that important work to Cluny. The most acceptable precursor for the existing transept design at Cluny is to be found in the Castle Chapel at Loarre in Spain. Clearly the connection between Cluny and Spain was by no means a tenuous one. As a matter of fact Spain can no more be left out of account than the north, from which came Hézelon of Liège, architect of the church. Writers in general have failed to recognize the international and synthesizing character of the great monument at Cluny, and French writers in particular, by forcing the capitals into a regular system of French development, have mistaken both their date and their significance.

Harvard University

THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF MEDIAEVAL LATIN POETS

By WALTER BRADBURY SEDGWICK

IT seems a pity that the student of Mediaeval Latin should still be in the plight of the classical scholars of the Renaissance, and constantly have to make his own text as he reads. Much unnecessary expenditure of time (and temper) is caused by the endeavour to make sense of an obviously corrupt text. Editors are not altogether to blame — especially in the case of an *editio princeps:* they quite properly assume that it is their first duty to publish the results of their researches as early as possible. Moreover, there is always the risk of obliterating an important manuscript reading by a superficial and obvious 'correction,' while even the errors of manuscripts may of course be instructive.

But the fact remains that very often editors of mediaeval texts are little interested in textual questions, being palaeographers, historians, or anything rather than textual critics, while their readers are usually too occupied with their own studies to devote much time to textual questions. Hence it is that texts are too often printed and reprinted (sometimes with a fairly elaborate critical apparatus) with unintelligible, ungrammatical, and unmetrical readings by the score — and never an obelus to warn the reader. It really is too bad that Hart's two Pyramus poems, published in 1889, should have been twice reprinted by eminent scholars like Edmond Faral and Paul Lehmann (in 1913 and 1927) without any attempt to remove or even point out the grossest errors.

Scholars who are trained textual critics usually leave mediaeval texts severely alone, but there are exceptions. For instance, Haupt more than once exercised his critical skill on mediaeval poets (sometimes corrupting them by too rigid adherence to Classical usage), while Havet applied his acumen to the newly discovered poet Mahieu de Boulogne.

Pending the arrival of new Havets and Haupts much might be done for mediaeval texts, especially the poets, if scholars would print

without unnecessary padding such corrections as are bound to occur to them if they are bent on extracting sense out of the texts they read. The problem is somewhat different from that offered by Classical texts, as the manuscripts are usually not far removed from the autograph: on this see L. Havet, *Manuel de Critique Verbale* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), §§ 654 ff. As Havet says, '*fautes banales*' here acquire some importance for method: he quotes as examples the interchange in a manuscript of about 1300 on *n* and *u; im, mi, nu, un; c, r, t; e* and *o*. To these I may add a few examples from my own observation.

Confusion of letters: *s* < *f:* passim, e. g. Wright's *Anglo-Lat. Satirical Poets*, II, 251, l. 5 *Salerna* for *Falerna; satis* for *fontis*, Lehmann (cited below) p. 60, l. 344.

cl < *d: clarus* for *durus*, Henr. Sept. 482 (and *Poetria Noua* 802?); *clara* for *data*, Ps.-Hildebert, *Excid. Troi.*, l. 1.

h < *n: hominis* for *nominis*, Wright, II, 251, 8.

c < *t: conto* for *toto* (or *tanto*) *Architr.*, p. 244, l. 15, Wright; *sic* for *sit*, Wright II, 168, *6; et quis* for *ecquis*, Wright, II, 206, 4 up (i.e. from the bottom); *teli* for *celi*, Wright, II, 208, 3 up; *Orcus* for *(h)ortus*, Faral, *Arts Poét.*, p. 128, v. 54; *intus* for *incus*, *Laborintus* 917.

c < *r: esorem* for *esocem*, *Brunellus*, p. 108, l. 4, Wright.

t < *r: metet* for *meret*, Adolf. Vien. 306; *ferte* for *ferre*, Wright, II, 171; *censere* for *censete*, Wright, II, 214, 15; *secura* for *secuta*, *Anticl.* I, 419; *arcere* for *arcete*, Wright, II, 128, 23; *clara* for *data* above.

r < *v* (*u*): *uocaret* for *uocavit?* Wright, II, 167, 8; *reuiuescere* for *reuirescere*, *ibid.*, II, 216; *rerum* for *uerum*, *ibid.*, II, 299, 10 (cf. H. Sept. 670?)

t < *v* (*u*): *teste* for *ueste*, Lehmann, p. 61, l. 390.

n < *v* (*u*): *moueant* for *moneant*, *ibid.*, p. 63, l. 4.

a < *e: passim*, e. g. Wright, II, 167, 5 up, *qua* for *que* (*quae*); *Brunel.*, p. 39, 5 up (Wright) *amica* for *amice*.

u < *a: furius* for *furias*, Wright, II, 65, 2; *sociam* for *socium*, *ibid.*, p. 943.

Transposition of letters: *ampla* for *palma*, Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 156, 18, v.2; *moderat* for *mordeat*, *Anticlaud.* I, 339; *palmas* for *lampas* ? Adolf. Vien. 326; *uenerunt* for *neuerunt*, *Brunel.* 66. 3, 97.10 up (Wright): cf. *Laborintus* 608; *inueniat* for *ni ueniat*, Lehmann, p. 57, l. 214.

Pronunciation: soft *c* as *s: sensus* for *census*, Wright, II, 239, 5 up; *sensura* for *censura*, Wright, II, 231, ult.; *census* for *sensus*, *Anticl.* I, 144; *seu* for *ceu*, *Brunel.* 68, 8; *sit* for *scit*, Wright, II, 204, 8 up; *recipissent* for *resipiscent*, *ibid.*, II, 207, 3 up. Final *d* and *t* confused: e. g. *inquid* (*passim*); *quod* for *quot*, Wright, II, 238, 8.

Classical reminiscences sometimes help: e. g. in *Anticl.* ii, 304, l. 11, the imitation of Sidonius, *Ep.* iv, 3 shows we must read *Sollius* for *Soldius*. *Ibid.*, II, 288, l. 2 up, is a reminiscence of Ov., *Met.* ii. 14, hence we must read *diuersa* for *aduersa*. Lehmann, p. 57, l. 208; *ambrosiam* may be restored for *umbrosam* from Ov., *Met.* iv.215.

In attempting to emend a text of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, we must first decide on general grounds what to expect. On the whole poets of the twelfth century may be expected to be well trained in the mechanical part of their art, and to show the influence of the schools of Northern France, the teaching of which is represented by Faral's *Arts Poétiques:* of these Matthew of Vendôme, in theory and practice, is of fundamental importance. So thoroughly was he studied that many poems (e. g. the *Alda* of William of Blois) are in style indistinguishable from his own work. In this school of poetry, then, we may expect perfect fluency and mastery of versification, ingenuity of expression, sequence of thought and coherence of language. False quantities are extremely rare, though on the model of Christian poets some words have unclassical scansion, and in certain cases the prosody taught in the Middle Ages differs from that of classical times. A verse which is simply incorrect is almost, if not quite, unheard of.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a decadence set in, and much incompetent work was produced: teaching seems to have deteriorated, even largely to have ceased. We cannot always expect the smoothness and ingenuity of the twelfth century. German poets in particular, who now become active, seem to me often clumsy and

awkward. False quantities become commoner (though still rare), but a verse which absolutely will not scan is still almost inconceivable.

By about 1300 the collapse is complete, and we may look for almost any nonsense, though even now metrically faulty lines are very rare. In Lehmann's book we see specimens of all stages. I do not suppose Matthew and Baudri (first half of the twelfth century) were much better poets than the authors of the *De Somnio* and the poem (No. v) about Venus, but they knew their trade, which the later pair (*ca.* 1300?) emphatically did not. Between these extremes stand the remaining three Pyramus poems (XIII cent?): *a* and *b* have rhyme, *c* not; *c* is probably earlier — it stands nearer to the tradition of the schools (cf., for example, ll. 58, 69).

For the rest the ordinary rules of textual criticism must be applied, and in particular, causes of corruption carefully classified, as so many texts depend on a single untrustworthy manuscript; e.g. in the manuscript of Matthew's *Pyramus* (Lehmann, pp. 31ff.), we note the tendency to mechanical repetition of syllables (see the notes on ll. 93, 108, 132): this helps to correct l. 132, and denotes corruption in ll. 1, 2, 13, 74, 98, 102, 114; cf. *uultus* in ll. 138, 141, 142; *mortificare* in l. 148; *compaciente loco* in 172 may be an unconscious reminiscence of l. 34. The intelligence of the scribe of *H* in Lehmann, pp. 35ff. is shown by his writing *en* for *est* in ll. 31, 37, 50, 79.

Finally if editors would pay more attention to punctuation, the reader's task would be considerably lightened. Wright is a great sinner in this respect, but Lehmann is nearly as bad. I deal below with a few of the more difficult cases, but I pass over hundreds in silence.

Wright's *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*

(Rolls Series, 1872)

The following emendations are offered for what they are worth, with the object of saving the readers' time and contributing towards a more readable text. The texts vary greatly in purity: some few are hopeless, others require few corrections. I may perhaps be allowed

to say that the result of a somewhat minute reading of these authors has been to increase my respect for their intellectual powers, while extinguishing what little I had for their poetic inspiration. In almost every text we are justified in expecting good Mediaeval Latin, good sense, and logical sequence: it is unjust to our authors to think them capable of writing mere rubbish; with the exception of men like Serlo they were highly cultivated stylists.

I have not as a rule troubled to note all the obvious changes which the reader can make *currente calamo* (*amat* for *amet*, etc.), nor changes of punctuation where the sense was not seriously affected, nor indicated the very numerous cases where I prefer rejected readings: this effects a considerable saving of space; for the same purpose I simply print Wright's reading followed by my own conjecture, in cases of doubt followed by one or two marks of interrogation, without comment.

Volume I

Speculum Stultorum (or *Brunellus*)

The variants of manuscript *B* are very often right, perhaps nearly always, apart from *lapsus calami*, e.g. in the notes pp. 74. 10, 75. 1, 76. 1, 2, (6?), 77. 2, 5, 78. 4, 79. 2, 4, 6, 9, and especially p. 80. Page 11, l. 11 *māgis: nugis*. 16.3 *oculis: maculis*? 28.3 comma after *minus*, semicolon after *habemus*. 29. 10 note *uespes* = *vespae:* cf. l. 19; *B* twice spells it *uaspes* (an Anglicism?). 29.16 *quaeque tuta minus: quoque minus tuta*, or, better, *quae, quo tuta minus* [*est, eo*] *fortius* . . . 33. 11 up, *lucis: lut(e)ris*, with p. 33.6 up, *flamine: stamine*, with *B*, *P*.[1] 39.5 up, *amica: amice*. 40 ult. *num: sum*. 42.8 up, *haec est noua regula*. 44.5 up, *mercarum: marcarum*. Pp. 43–44. I cannot understand why *dĕdecus* is confined to these pages. Are they interpolated? Elsewhere the word is always rightly scanned. In 43.2 up we could read *dedecus ut breue sit:* 44.7 *dedecus hoc sit*, with P: 44.9 *dedecus est:* but 44.3 I cannot emend.[2] 56.15 *aue: auet*?? 57.3 *onerant* <*que*> *cibaria mensas*. 58.3 *potus* (*toti*)*: poti*? 60.12 *Iam*[*que*] *bobus* . . .

[1] In *Architrenius*, vi, viii (p. 332.6 up, in Wright), *stamen tamen Atropos aeui rumpit*, the editions vary between *flamen aeui* and *stamen alui* — a notable instance of mediaeval editing.

[2] Perhaps *in dominum nostrum* (*papam* is a gloss) *si dedecus usque redundat*.

uergit: uertit. 65.10 up, *petito: petitum.* 66.13 *longo mea stamina Parcae uenerunt: longe . . . neuerunt* (cf. 97. 10 up). 67.6 *et: ut.* 67.7 *cur: cum.* 67.9 *huic: hinc.* 68.8 up, *seu: ceu.* 74.1 *conduxere: condixere* (*P*). 75.14 up, *inde: unda*?? 87.11 *laxant: laxent.* 88, n.5: *B* right, if *venerunt* is changed to *neuerunt* (cf. 66.13). 99.4 *luat* (*luit, B*): *linit* (from *linire*), 'defiles.' 99.13 *auarum: auari*, subject of *delirant.* 103.12 *inarmatas.* 105.8. *B* right, with comma only after *mihi.* 108.6 *anipitrem: ancipitrem*, cf. p. 110, n.8. 108.4. *esorem: esocem* (Pliny). 108.14 *mox: hora; quod est: breuis*?? cf. *hora breuis*, l. 12. 108 ult. *haec: hic*? 113.3 up, *canem:* perhaps *cadum.* 117.9 *auidus: auibus.* (in 10, P is right). 118, 11 up, *proderĕs* ??. 120.11 *nolunt: nolint.* 123.7 *uerna*[*que*]. 126.8 *redderit: redderet.* 127.2 up, *uigent:* possibly *rident* (or *uernant*). 131.6 up, *omni: esse*, with *B.* 131.7 *omni: omine*? 132.10 *effractus: effetus*? 134.6 *aliis: aliter.* 137.14 up, *tu autem*, sign of farewell, cf. Voigt on *Ysengrim*, I, 927. 137.13 up, *Dryano: Dryane.*

Architrenius

The text is corrupt, and complicated by Wright's bad punctuation. P. 240 l. 9. read *uenativa morae, uix inceptura quod . . .* (in l. 7. del. comma after *nutricia*). 240.4 up, del. comma. 240.3 up, *fame = famae.* 240 ult., del. full stop. 241. 6ff. 'not tempted by glory which crowns toil, nor by rewards, by which toil learns to become pleasant' 241.11 *tristitiis: tristities.* 4 up, *uersum: uersu.* 242.11 *multum: mutum*? 243.11 up, *seruum: feruens*? 244.4 the full stop should be after *tulit.* 244.12 up: the second *hic* should be *haec*? 245.4 up, *floreri: florere.* 245.14 (down) *ueris: cineris.* 246. 6f. read '*et, quo uidet Anglia, reddi poscit inoccidui commissum luminis usum*': asks that the use of the unfailing light, by which England sees, be restored: *usus commissus*)(*mancipio datus.* 247.8 up, *momenta: monumenta*? ? 249f. The information is mostly from Pliny, *H. N.* vii, but whence the queer story about the mother of the Gracchi? 249.3. *coniectura: coniunctura* or *commixtura.* 250, 8 up, *irata Bythia* should be genitive. 250 ult. *miseris lethos: misero fletu.* 252.2 *eiicet: eiicit.* 252.6 *circumeat: circummeat.* 252.9 *planos: planis.* 252 ult. possibly *locum* for *loci*, and comma before *coruscat*, not after.

253.8 del. full stop. 253.13 *juncto: justo?* 255.13 up, del. full stop. 256 ult. *auarae: auare;* comma after *addit.* 258.7 comma before, not after *dulce.* (As I could only borrow these volumes for a limited period, I wasted no more time on this dull, turgid, and obscure poem).

VOLUME II

Godefredi Epigrammata

These are singularly feeble: several of them are beyond me, but I offer one or two suggestions. *Ep.* vi.1 *laus* must stand for the vocative of a proper name, e.g. *Lause.* 20.2 *ita uelis: I caue sis* follows the *ductus litterarum.* 21 *dum . . . uenor* all belongs to the protasis. 34.2 del. commas, and put one after *aliis.* 40 is unintelligible. Perhaps we should keep the reading of *C*, changing *haud* to *hoc*, 62.1 *nonius humor:* we expect *roscidus.* 65.2 *furius: furias.* 91.1 semicolon at end. 94.2 *sociam: socium.* 115.4 read *ludum defendis? uertere, liber eris* (pun on *liber*). 156.2 *et: ut.* 157 refers to Publilius Syrus 64 (see Skeat's note to Chaucer's *Melibeus, C.T.*, B 3049).

Henrici Epigrammata

P. 163. Pref. 1.7 *sistante: sis tantae.* verse 5 *refrigerent: refigerent.* verse 13, comma after *uersus*, not before. P. 164.12 *sit: fit.* 165.3 *pergamenta: purgamenta.* 165.13 up, *hi: hic.* 166, *ad Zetam* l. 4 *quaequae: quemquam.* 167.7 *testa: caenoque* or *turbaque? ?* 167.8 *uocaret: uocauit?* 167.11 up, *faustu: fastu?* 167.0 up, *somnia qua: somnia; quae.* 168.3 put the semicolon after *clerus* and continue the speech to l. 6. Penultimate line of poem *male* for *mala.* Last line *iustis: iustus et.* P. 168, Epitaph, 1.6 *sic: sit?* P. 171, *de Auaritia:* read *quisquis auare uixit*, without comma. *de Zoilo*, l. 1 *hominis: nominis.* L. 2 *ferte: ferre. de Cont. Visib* l. 3 *mecum: tecum.* 7 *quaeras: quaeris.* 9 one question mark only, after *miror.* p. 172.2 the comma should come after *rerum.* 13 punctuate, *quis uilia?* 19 del. *et* after *decet.* 27 *parate pingues, i.e.* 'make your owners fat'; del. comma. P. 173, 6–9 is the advice of the soul (in 9 del. comma after *nobilitas*), 11–16 of the body (in 15 semicolon before and after *duplicasti*). 10 up; the second *raperes* should be *rapis.*

ALEXANDER NECKAM: *de Vita Monachorum*

P. 177.9 up, *aestimat: aestuat* (*illa*). 179.13 *speculo: specula.* 180.7 up, *permanet: praeterit?* 182.2 *si: sed.* 182.13 *sic: dic.* 182.19 *est: esse.* 183.8 substitute comma for full stop. 183.11 *forma: fama.* 184.11 up, *possunt: possint.* 185.14 *ingenium: ingenuum.* 186.6 comma after *miror*, not *carnis.* 187.10 up, *namque: nam quae.* 188.7 *nec: non.* 188.9 *facie: facies.* 188.15 *intra: intrat.* 188.16 *nolo: uolo.* 188.18, add *et* after *monita.* 188.23 *arcere: arcete.* 189.3 a syllable is lacking, perhaps *sibi* after *quantum.* 189.7 up, *aeuum: foedum?* 189.5 up *lege: nece?* 189 ult. *et quis: ecquis.* 190.5 *est: erit.* 190.13f. add semicolon after *addere; quicquam: quicquid* (= 'everything'); *nouum: nouit.* 191.2, insert question mark after *ad quid.* 191.5, add *-que* after *agricolae.* 191.4 up *similis: simili.* 192.3 *si . . . . conspicis: sic . . . . conspicit ? ?* 192.13 up del. comma. 193.10 *sic: uix.* 193.13 *magnus: Magnus.* 194.2 up *tot arborum: arbustorum?* (*tot* from an interlinear correction of *arborum*). 195.17 up *haeret: hebet.* 196.10 up del. comma and put comma for full stop. 196.9 up *manent: manet.* 198.6 up, *afficiat: afficiet.* 198.4 up, *-que: quoque.* 199.2 *redonatae: retro natae? ?* 200.5 up, *tacitus: tectos.* 200.6 up, *si: sed. Gualonis Inuectio.* 202.4 for first *nomina*, read *crimina.* 203.6 up *acuunt, acuit.* 203.4 up *contigit: colligit.* 204.20 up *fit: sit.* 204.15 up *Odardus: tardus.* 204.11 up *dura: durae.* 204.8 up *sit: scit.* 205.12 *refutant: recusant?* 205.16 *colant: celant.* 205.17 semicolon after *minus.* In 205.11 up, as at 205.6 up and 207 *massa* seems to mean 'bulk.' 205.8 up *quis: quid.* 206.2 *qui propria:* transpose. 206.11 *offerri: offer ei.* 206.12 *satagat* = 'satisfy': (*sat agat?*), *triformae, triforme* 206.15 *provectus: profectus.* 206.22 *illum: illud.* 206.4 up *estis: escis.* 207.3 *sunt bona:* transpose. 207.12 up *nam: nunc.* 207.3 up *recipissent: resipiscent* (interesting for pronunciation).

Serlo

P. 208.1 *qui: quam.* 208.4 *iuvant; uiuunt.* 208.6 *omnis: omnes; comprimet: comprimat.* 208.11 up, *parens: patris.* 208.3 up *Teli: coeli.* 209.18 up *accendere: attendere.* 209.10 up *sancti: sacra?* 210.1 *tales . . . . monachales: talis . . . . monachalis.* 210.2 mark of

exclamation after *pestis:* insert *haec* after *facit.* 210.3–4 transpose *qui* and *quod.* 210.5 the reference is to the black habit of monks. 210.9 up *studuerunt: statuerunt* (the whole is irony). 211.5 up *et: ut.* 211 ult. *accipiunt: accipiant.* 212.2 put the comma after *suarum.* 212.4 comma after *erramus,* colon after *ipsi.* The last six lines are a different poem (epitaph).

P. 213. *Anon.* 10 up *tera talem: timeat tales*? 213.9 up *donetur: donet te.* 213.3 up, del. full stop. 214.15 *censere: censete.* 214.12 up *burburus immitis* = Marbod., pp. 86 and 92 (ed. Ropartz, Rennes, n. d). 214.3 up, add *fur* after *petiit* (or *meruit*?). The reference is to the crucifixion. 215.17 up, semicolon after *liceat:* comma after *inquinat,* 216.7 up *reuiuescere: reuirescere* (*ficos* = 'piles,' Mart. i. 66). 217.3 *mōlestia,* as Marbod., p. 92 (*ed. cit.*), J. Garl. *Syn.* 328 (ed. Leyser) — from *mōles.* 217.15 up possibly *at* should be inserted before *sine:* but *facit* seems corrupt (*sancit*?).

Hugo Sotovagensis: *Versus.*

P. 222.3 *unicuique: sua cuique* 224.10 up, *mentitur: metitur.* 226.5 *peruenіat: praeueniat.* 226.11 up, *cathedrans: cathedra,* or — *as*? 226.6 up, *mouens: monens. est* 228, 11, del. comma after *diues,* semicolon after *egenis.*

Anon. p. 231 ult. *sensura: censura.*

Serlo: p. 232.8 up, *mundi: mundus*? 234.17 *se: si* 234.9 up, *pura: cura.* 234.8 up, *de: et.* 235.12 *paxillum: pauxillum.* 236.8 *hoc: haec.* 236.21 *luditis: ludis.* 236.5 up, *cordi* (end of line): *sordi.* 237.10 *laxat: laxas;* del. comma. 237.16 *ditat* (at end): *uitat.* 237.2 up, *nolli: molli.* The missing portions may be *huic . . . inmiti . . . hunc.* 238.3 *quod: quot.* 238.8 *del.* comma. 238.4 up, *pedis: pede.* (comma before *regni,* not after. 239.7 *ne quis: nequis* 239.8 del. comma after *quantum* (*uoluens* is strange: *ualeas* would suit the sense). 239.14 up; *genitoris: genitor.* 12 and 9 up, del. full stops. 6 up, full stop at end. 5 up, *sensu: censu.* 240, 1–2 semic. after *egens,* query after *deteriores.* 240.10 *ne: et*? (del. comma after *ago.*) 240.12 *haec: has*? 241.4 up, *precatio: praedatio*? 243.6 *properauit: properant.* 243.11 *recessus: census*? ? ('wealth'). 244.9, del. *et.* 244.13 up,

postrema sonare: post rem resonare 245.4 up; *tam nova?* 246.13 *qua: quam.* 246.9 up, semic. after *sordida.* 246.5 up, *manserunt: remanserunt* (or *quae* for *qua*). 247.10 up, *non mihi: nam mea?* 248.11 *pugnat is: pugnans.* 249.12 *hac: hic.* 249.12 up, *O armis: carminis.* 250.14 *haec: hoc.* 250.3 up, *pecte: pectore.*

Inuectio in Gillebertum is about the most corrupt text I know: many lines (including the first) are beyond me altogether.

251.3 *suus: sitis.* 251.5 *Salerna: Falerna.* 251.7 *uernus: uacuus, eam: tam.* 251.8 *formam: sortem?* 251.11 del. full stop; for *conterat* read *concutit.* 251.13 *praestit: praefert?* 251.7 up, *iaculatori: ioculatori.* 251, 2–4 up, are beyond my powers (in 2 up, for *dicet* rhyme suggests *decem:* cf. *bis trina* above, and *bis senos* below). 252.7 *uero: Nero.* 252.10 *quam: qua.* 252.14 *qualis et nepisti: quae concepisti* (no stop at end), cf. J. Bridlington in Wright's *Pol. Poems and Songs* (Rolls Series, 1859) 1.47 '*stercora concepit, peperit quae ventre recepit.*' 252.15 *Musa te: te Musa.* 252.17 up, *muneri: moneri.* 252.16 up, *sero: scio.* 252.15 up, *opus crepis: os obstrepit.* 252.13 up, del. full stop. 252.12 up, *cogeris: cogens.* 252.11 up, *uer ima: uis iura.* 252.10 up, comma after *censura,* not *aequi:* read *sorbens nostra et tua?* 252.4 up, *offendo mando: offis donando??* 252, 3 up, *f . . . : faece? alternorum: alienorum.* 253.1 *tonitrua.* 253.8 *sperneres: spernere,* comma after *patrum.* 253.15 *potestatis: pietatis.* 253.16 *movet: iuvat??* 253.19 *mones sic enutriit: monet sic enutrire.* 253.11 up, semicolon after *uiduamque.* 253.6 up, *homicida: homicidia.* 253.4 up, *quies esset, mentem tibi: quaesisset messem mihi.* 253 ult. *inuasisset: nunc uixisset.*

Anticlaudianus

Bk I. P. 276, 8 up, *pingunt: fingunt.* p. 278, 11 up, *excepto: excepta??* (nom. sing.) 284, 4 f., transfer semicolon to *materiae;* for *neutri* read *neutra.* 285, ult. *monet: mouet.* 288. 2 up, *aduersa: diuersa* (= Ov., *Met.* ii.14).

Bk II. P. 296.5 *quis: quid.* 297.2 *quaeritur: queritur.* 299.13 *functus: fructus* 299.10 *rerum: uerum,* with full stop at end, not at l. 11. 302.12 and 14 *diuidat, ueniat.* 302.8 up, *fauorem: laborem* (question ends here?). 302 ult., del. semicolon. 303.6 up, sense seems to de-

mand *quam* for *quid.* 303.4 up, *Milo: Myro?* 304.11 *ut Sodius implicat*: read *Sollius* (Sid. Apollinaris, of whom it is an imitation, *Ep.* iv, 3). 305.14 *praescribit: proscribit.* 309.8 *Dindimus*, an interlocutor in Hugh of St Victor's dialogues (name from legendary history of Alexander?) 309.15 *ramor*, is of course *rumor: oberret, aberret?*

Bk III. P. 313.9 up, *hispide: hispida.* 315.6 up, *picturata: pictura.* 319.12 *cadit: cedit.* 319.15 *operosae: operose.* 322.11 *praefecta: praedicta?* as in parallel passage 308.14 *eleufuga:* see commentators on Chaucer's *Troilus*, iii. 933 (it is the *pons asinorum*, not Eucl., i. 47 as Chaucer implies). 320, 4 ff. *artifices* ('geometers') is antecedent of *qui, tractus . . . pondera* is object of *claudentes, aera . . . terras* of *tuentur.* 8 ff. comma after *orbem*, not *tractus.*

Bk IV. P. 1.4 del. comma after *degenerat.* 331.10 *illi: illis? facies* is queer: *series??* 332.3 *superum* should apparently be *superam.* 333.4 *Pyrous*, i.e. *Pyroeis* (Ov., *Met.* 2.153). 333.3 up, *uino: Iuno* (obviously the giver of the horse, as Jupiter of the first). 336.7 *praedicto iugali:* the genitive seems better. 336.8 *minus: nimis.* 338.6 *nubilia: nubila.*

Bk V. P. 349.10 up *instantia* should be fem. sing. hence read *refellit* with *B, M* (SPECULUM, vol. II (1927), p. 341, l. 5). 359.3 up, *nutu: uultu??*

Bk VI. P. 366.11 *elata:* the variants point to *clauata* ('striped'). 369.1 *medicinam: medicinae* (*posse* is a noun). 369.13 up, *uisu speculante* is abl. abs.; del. comma. 369.14 up, *fulgens: fugiens* (masc.)?? 370 ult., no pause between Ch. ii and iii. 371.12 up, *excepti: exceptum??* 375.10 *faciem* ⟨*que*⟩. 376.13 *regati: legali?* 379.13 *contempta*, i.e. *contenta.* 379.6 up, *exempta: exempla.* 379.2 up, *Iudith: Dauidae?* 381.2 up, *manus.*

Bk VII. P. 387.1 *desertum: deiectum?* 387.12 up, *nimii: nimio?* 387 ult. *nostrae* [*Diones*]: perhaps *taetrae* or the like. 396 ult. *alternat: alternant?* 396.2 *propinqua.* 397.5 *parit: perit?* 398.3 *unde: unda* (del. comma after *gignit*).

Bk VIII. P. 399.11 *ipsa illa:* read *ista.* 410.13 *dat: dant.*

Bk IX. P. 414. ult. semicolons after *fustes, rapit, siti.* 414.7 up, *argumenta:* hardly *armamenta*; cf. 420.14 up, 415.11 up, *coecus;* add: *coetus* (i.q. *omnis facultas* and *conciues* below). 417.2 *B* has right

reading. 417.14 *pro Natura: pro nata*? cf. Ch. v. 1.2; but *B*, *M* may well be right (*prona tamen*). 418.11 up, *uario: uano*. 419.11 up, *uulnus: uultus*. 420.9 *metitur: mentitur*.

In the following suggestions I do not claim to have dealt with every difficulty: in the case of Adolphus the text is so corrupt and the author so ignorant that many passages seem quite hopeless. Still it is time something was done towards removing the most flagrant corruptions in mediaeval Latin texts. It is to be hoped that future editors will follow Marigo's example in indexing the chief peculiarities of their authors.

Henrici Septimellensis Elegia [1]

ed. Marigo, Draghi: Padua, 1926.

Line 85 *cupidas:* read *rapidas*. 136 *ablato:* perhaps *alato*, taking *remige* as 'oarage' (after Virgil's *remigio alarum*), cf. l. 694; but see Speculum, iii (1928), 370. 189 *unquam:* read *inquam*. 314 *caluis*, edd. *calphos:* a chess term, usually *Alphilus* or *Alpinus*. Read *Alphilis*, omitting *et*? 398 *insere:* perhaps *ingere*, and *reticenda* of edd. 408 f. *nescĭs*, *ferĭs* are incredible: the other really false quantities, e.g. *ŭăgii* and *pĕra* are much more excusable (ll. 242, 838). Perhaps we should read *nescia* (elision in second half of pent., as at 502), and *tu furis atque feris* in 409, a very uncertain line (with *meque* for *meue*?). 482 *clarus:* read *durus*. 493 *abest:* perhaps *aues*. 498 *uetat:* perhaps *negat* (sc. *lex*). 502 *Fortuna:* read *Fortunae*. 531 *multaque:* perhaps *multane*, interrogatively. 654 Marigo glosses *tenui . . . omine* as *filo*, but is this possible? perhaps Henry wrote *stamine* (or *nemine*): or *omine* might = 'rumor,' '*leuis aura*.' 670 *uerus:* perhaps *rerum*. 681 hardly right. Perhaps *cum retulisti*, taking *retulisti* with both *unde* and *cum:* 'Why did you say (I remember well your saying)?' 683 *hec: hoc* 685 *ueniamus* is incredible and ill-attested: perhaps *puro deuenimus*, or *non puro v. auro* (the best MSS have *uenimus*). 724 *ius pia:* read *impia*. 870 *adoratus*: misprint for *odoratus*? 908 *seque crumenat amor:* a very strange

[1] See now Karl Strecker's important article in *Studi Medievali* 11 (1929) 110–133.

phrase; I don't know if *deque crumenat* is any better; tmesis is common in Henry, and compare *deremitat* (905). It is barely possible that *orbiculat* was derived by him from *orbus:* 'love blinds and robs you.'

The following changes of punctuation seem to me improvements: 166 '*pauper . . . iacet*' in inverted commas: 'If the adage (Ov., *Fast.* i.218) *pauper ubique iacet* is true.' (Henry puns on *iacet*). 197 put comma before *dira,* not after. 334 comma after *suscipiam.* 543 delete commas: (*ignare* = 'ignorantly'). 759 del. comma after *est.*

The following variants seem to me highly probable:
169 *ĭnitium* (usual mediaeval scansion). 299 *hoc.* 232 *meritis.* 478 *aspis* was perhaps Henry's own spelling. 504 *limen.* 522 *non, vel uix.* 583 *suffŏcat* (or *sustulit.*) 651 *Macedum.* 714 *ingenuam talem* (opposed to *uitiata*), 719 *nunc* (Leyser)restores metre and adds point. 759 *duplicat* (cf. l. 529): *dēcuplat* has no real parallel in H. 770 *aduersis* (Leyser). 780 *turpe* is a gloss: read *non* (cf. Hor. *Ep.* I, ii. 3). 797 *arcum* (hardly *hamum*). 950 read *insidie; sit.*

Adolfus Viennensis
reprinted (in part) from Leyser by Jakob Ulrich,
Lat. Novellistik des Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1906

Line 20 *hanc puram pure ne luat* ('defile' cf. l. 394) *hanc alius.* 29 ⟨*ex*⟩*clamat.* 35 *varia mulier mala.* 58 *nec:* read *nunc.* 86 omit *cum.* 90 ⟨*super*⟩*exaltando* 106 *eis hebeat.* 129 *inuenies: iuvenis.* 175 *est et.* 177 *mala:* read *male.* 192 *precanti: peccanti.* 209 *hic uetulaeque graui dicit.* 215 the semicolon should come after *securus.* 216 *uolo:* read *ualeo.* 219 delete comma after *est* ('eats'). 223 *uidit.* 236 comma after *poenarum.* 258 *uulpida.* 274 *diem:* read *die.* 277 perhaps *omne; dat huic illa:* pronouns as in l. 303 f. 297 *uel:* read *uelut.* 299 *reseraque.* 302 *ut patre a summo.* 306 *metet:* read *meret* (cf. l. 301). 307 *refert* (as l. 273). 309 *aspis.* 322 *haec: sponso.* 326 *palmis*: hardly *lampas* (*propius* in 325) 335 *scelus et.* 351 *Tunc uir eam nimium precibus orauit amicis* (for the lengthening at fourth ictus cf. H. Sept., 509, 511, etc.). 361 perhaps *feruere uagari lena ac turpia* (or *feruereque*; cf. l. 252: or *feruescere lena:* amidst A's erratic uses of *et* and *que* it is difficult to come to a decision). 367 ⟨*dum*⟩ *stultus.*

P. Lehmann, *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1927).

These notes were finished in December 1927. I now find that Karl Strecker in *Hermes*, LXII, ii (1927), 243 ff. deals minutely with the third Pyramus poem (pp. 52 ff.), and anticipates many of my conjectures. He also kindly communicates the readings in the other poems marked 'K. S.'

I. *Pyramus and Thisbe*, by Matthew of Vendôme, pp. 31 ff., l. 1, *amoris: erroris.* 2 *insanus: insanas?* (ll. 1, 2, being Leonines, are spurious, K. S.) 13 *dissimilis: discrimine.* 17 comma after *eget*, not *sensus* (*degenerare*, 'belie their nature,' as l. 23, etc., see Speculum, III (1928), 373. 25 *puerītia* is scarcely credible in Matthew: perhaps *puerili labitur aeuo* (*in Venerem pueris iam labitur annus, ius habet in iuuenes*, K. S.). 37 *cui: qua?* 40 comma after, not before, *murmura.* 62 *risus*, K. S. 64 f. Matthew's precept and practice demand stop at end of pentameter. 65 perhaps *ignis uterque furit: sic ledit, leditur, urit* . . . . but it is obscure to me. 69 *petit: petunt*; no comma after *solacia.* 73 *periussa, etc.*: perhaps *perit ipsa licencia uocis.* 74 *rimat: uacat?* 77 *male: mala.* 91 *nec: hac.* 97 f. del. comma after *fidelis*, and read *femineam* (but *fraudem* is suspicious). 99 *uitro: uitri* (*facundia*, K. S.). 101 *armatis* K. S. 102 *sanguinis: sanguine.* 103 *ferinos deuitat*, K. S. 114 *accelerare: anticipare.* 117 *Tisbesque.* 120 *solet propheta:* invert. 127 *una: im(m)o*, a favourite word with Matthew. 132 *rubor: cruor.* 133 f. *timore, iuuene: timorem, iuueni.* 138 *uultus: mentis*, rather than *mu(l)tus.* 140 *iŭrat* (!): *iuuat*, with MS. 141 *labellum: labello.* 142 *uultibus: fletibus.* 152 *numina: lumina.* 163 *ansa: ausa* (see Speculum, III (1928), 372). 172 *compaciente loco* = 1.34: perhaps *flebilibus compatiendo malis* (or *modis*, i.e. elegiac verse). In lines 37, 68, 77, 99 (*uitri*), 102, 117, 120, 134, 142, 152 Strecker's conjecture agrees with mine.

II *a.* Dietrich's *Pyramus*, pp. 36 ff. (E. Faral, *Sources Lat. des Contes. . . . du Moyen Age* (Paris: Champion, 1913), pp. 41 ff., who often offers the better text), e.g. ll. 6, 9 . . . 191, 208, 225, 248, 250, 253, 266, 283, 291, etc. 1.33; read *ut stultos ego subticeam* ('not to mention') *sunt qui sapientes.* 51 *annos per pueriles*, K. S. 53

unmetrical: read *qui dum transcendunt annos ambo pueriles.* 75 Faral right. 81 unmetrical: read *quod et unica?* 86 *meditansque: meditans quae* (i.e. *meditans quae uerbula reddat*). 96 read *te sequor assensum praebens spacii breuioris.* 114 Leyser's conjecture gives the Virgilian but unlikely *quĭ amore:* the MS. reading will do, with Faral's *tortantur* (*hii quod* or *quot*? K. S.) 124 *tur* is perhaps the end of an obliterated *sanguis:* other MSS have stopgaps. Faral's explanation will not hold water (see Ovid, *Met.* iv, 51 ff., and the other versions). 127 *uŏtiua* (!): *nociua* with MS. *H.* 147 *fauit discedere uisus,* K. S. 159 *fingerat: fingeret.* 167 Faral right. 174, the elision is suspicious: perhaps *huius ego mortis.* 197 *genitum,* K. S. 191, etc.: see above. 220 *mori: mortem?* 230 perhaps *nec sinis hunc uita, me neque morte frui: si non uis uita, me sine morte f.,* K. S. 235 *sicut spiramina* K. S. 263 *morte:* obviously *more.* 272 *peremptŏ* impossible: read *pereunte* with one MS. (omit *-que*). 273 MS. *H* right (*nece crudeli*). 277 omit *-que.* 278 *quod monstrans*: perhaps *quae demens.* 285 *rapit . . . frangit: rapuit . . . fregit.* 286 *subire* MS. *H* right, but *genus* seems wrong, as does *factus* in 288. 300 add comma after *ultima.* 301 read *penultima,* with one MS. The next 9 lines are hopeless, and probably spurious. In lines 86, 159, 272, 273, 285 Strecker's reading coincides with mine; in 167, 191, 208, 220, 225, 246, 248, 250, 269, 286 with Faral's.

II*b.* Anon. *Pyramus,* Lehmann, p. 46 ff.; Faral, p. 51 ff., l. 14; add *et* before *opes.* 18 *laxari,* K. S. 40 *premit infantum:* invert. 91 has no rhyme; perhaps it is two half lines: ll. 91, 92 are unintelligible. 102 MS. *H* is probably right. 107 *prauis* seems corrupt. 129 del. comma after *nunc.* 169 *modo fieri:* invert.

II *c.* Anon. *Pyramus.* (Lehmann offers a shocking text, pp. 52 ff.) l. 7 *sine te nulla potest: nulla potest sine te.* 8 *edifica moribus:* invert. 9 *ni: nisī* (so MSS). 28 *pōcius* (!): *parcius* (so MSS). 31, insert *tacendo* after *loquendo.* 42 read *dicit, Nasoque uerus erat.* 61 *neque eam uagem*: perhaps *neque uagans abeat* (or *erret*). 62 *apta: apte.* 76 put semicolon before *hiis nam,* not after. 77 *nimis: minus.* 86 *tales: cantus* is perhaps preferable to *talos.* 87 *certa: certe.* 91 *hoc: haec.* 92 *mouebat: fecit.* 102 *ignis: ignem.* 103 *color: calor.* 106 *-que: atque.* 116 *studiosa: studiosi.* 118 *-que: neque.* 119 *nec: hec.* 120

suppresserit: sumpserit. 128 read *rigor ille ⟨patrum⟩*. 133 read *paries* after *fieret.* 146 *ad quod: ad os.* 152 *rumpe: rumpere.* 159 perhaps we should read *non tamen indignamur: adest uerbum: uia uerbis.* 168 *exiguo: ex aequo*, cf. Ov., *Met.* iv. 62. 170 *respondit inquens: respondens inquit* (so *A*). 179 *rimam: rimae.* 184 *quae: quod.* 191 *cliuis fons*: possibly *elutus fons*, from Hor., *Sat.* ii, 4.16 misunderstood, or *illimis f.* 193 *rura: iunci?* 195 *est umbra: sc(ilicet) umbra.* 201: the right sense is got by putting a semicolon after *discedunt.* 208 *umbrosam: ambrosiam* (cf. Ov. *Met.* iv. 215). 209 *que: quid.* 211 *uero: uera.* 213 *qua: quae.* 214 *inueniat: ni ueniat.* 216 *Phebi tolle:* invert. 232 *leuiter ille minas: illi minas leuiter.* 245 *Babilonis: Babiloni.* 264 put comma before *umbram*, not after. 268 *fecit: fecerit.* 281 *rapido: rabido.* 283 *ut: et.* 284 *fuit: fuerit.* 296 *cernit: discernit* (?). 306 f., 'Your life was worthy to live long (*dudum*, as Dietrich, l. 231), mine to perish.' Cf. Ov., *Met.* iv, 109 f. 313 *effundit: effudit.* 314 *adeste: astate?* 321 *multo: multis.* 326 *contracta: cunctata.* 344 *satis: fontis.* 352 add *Pyrami* before *corpus.* 356 *et . . . morus: ac . . . mare.* 371 *actuum: attamen.* 379 *quae: mihi.* 397 *manus: manes.* 399 *reor, sum: sum rea: ero: ibo.* 404 *frenis: effrenis.* 412 *sit: sis.* 424 *superos: pariter??* 425 *e͡odem* (as in Propertius, etc.): perhaps *tandem.* 430 add *premit* before *intus.* 432 perhaps *emergunt curae*, answering to *discedit somnus.* 435 *Venus dat:* invert. 437 comma after *tela*, not *est.* 441 *milites: militet.* 448 *potentis: potenter?*

III. *De Somnio*, Lehmann, pp. 63 ff., l. 4, *que moueant: quod moneant.* 9 *uulnera: fulgida?* 19 *siccatus: fucatus* is here so urgently demanded by the sense, that I would read it, assuming a false quantity. 28 read *sordibus et squălidum pectus hebebat iners?* 32 *ferus: fĕtens?* 35, MS. *H* is right. 38 *intus: inter.* 39 *male: mihi.* 46 *hic . . . comperta: haec composita* (unless *comperta* be neut. plur.). 47 read *quod putăs ista monent, quae cernis uisa, futura?* For *quod putăs*, cf. Thurot, *Notices et Extraits*, XXII, ii (1868), 400 ff., Vulg., Matt., 24, 45, etc. 53 *adsurgere: adspergere.* 54 *diuitiis . . . tenent: diuitias . . . tenet.* 60 *hunc: hanc.* 67 *parvere: parvore.*

IV*a*. *Paris Helenae.* (pp. 65 ff.) 5 *inulta: inuicta.* 10 *disparet: despicit??* 21 *Tirio: Frigio.* 36 *prolongant: prŏrogant?* 55 *nisi:*

quam? *unguèn: unguem*? 89 readand punctuate *quid sit; ne deitas tibi constringatur, agendum* (*sc. est*). 100 *dii condita: diis c.* ('of heavenly descent'). 135 there should only be a comma at the end. 147 *damneque: nam neque.* 149 I do not understand. 151 transfer comma to *iugales.* 204 *scutatos: scrutantes* is perhaps better than *scrutatos.* 212 *numeretur* (*nomiretur*, MS.): *non miretur.* 216 *autumnis ut: autumno si*? 223 *alternantes: altercantes.* 224 del. comma.

Helena Paridi. l. 24 *fuitne, rogo*: possibly *rogo, fuerit.* 27 *maritat: molestet.* 38 *nam: namque.* 42 *quam dicit: quae vicit*? 60 *praecinis: praecinit.* 91 *desererem: deserere.* 117 lacks a syllable, e.g. ⟨*plus*⟩ *sollicent.* 181 *cinerata: temerata.* 339 *lentetur: laetatur.* 364 *mentem dii:* invert.

IV*d. Florus Ouidio*, etc. (pp. 81 ff.) l. 38 *nulla:* perhaps *nulli.* p. 84 l. 7 omit one *alter.* l. 38 *te: me.* 47 *monimenta recensa* (no comma), 'narrated memories.' 62 Where does this idea come from?

V. pp. 88 f., l. 3 read *hec facit ut placeant que plures querere certant* (or *placeat quod*) (*hoc . . . certant*, K. S.). 4 *quid erit quod quis amare uelit*, K. S.; *purpura pallet*, Heinze. 5 semicolon at end: no comma after *uir* in l. 6. 8 read *hec placet: e reliquis nulla suis meritis.* 12 *que decorauit, ea:* read *queque decora, dea*, or *que decoraret, ea.* 13 not clear: perhaps *celitus aduenit: media testudine* ('under the middle of the dome') *sedit alta* (*-e*?) *sub templi.* 16 *lentam: letam.* 19 *sicut: sic tum.* 27 *reuerentes: reuertentes.* 32 before 31; read *diua* for *diuina.* 35 *uenisti: uenistis.* 36 *comedere: comesse.* 37 *dedit: tradidit.* 39 f., perhaps ⟨*puellis*⟩ *quas dotem fecit.*

Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse

Since the above was written a book has apppeared which it is to be hoped will help to raise the standard of mediaeval editing: it is not without trepidation that I venture to make a few suggestions on Mr Stephen Gaselee's work.

1, 16 *nuntiatum: nuntiatur*, 'a rival of his power is announced.' 20, 122 *crebrat: cribrat.* 20, 127 *natantibus: manantibus*? 20, 131 *usquam*: possibly *usque.* 20, 232 add semicolon, 234 del. semicolon (*circuli* depends on *ambagibus*). 47, 41 *et dederunt: exuerunt*? (*Cant.* 5.7). 49, 260 *sua: tua*? 52, 293 *tutae: mutae*? 56: stanza vi should

come before v. 57.45 del. full stop (Is., 9.6). 60, 14 *super gressus: supergressus* (del. comma) 'transcending physical sense.' 65.1 *clara: data.* 65.26 *inhiat: nutricat?* 65, 97 *et* is suspicious, as is the change of persons: read *te*, and in 96 *Aenea.* 65, 99 *spoponderit: spoponderat.* 65, 107 *quam: quae.* 65, 109 *donatae: donata.* 69, 18 *suppeditas = calcas* (from *pes*)? 71, 20 *ornat: fuerat* (= *erat*), or *uernat?* 77, 53 *patent: parent* (= *apparent*)? 85.9 *rea: sed res?* 86, 4 *uia: uiae?* 88, 19 *haec: huic?* (reference to the immaculate conception of the Virgin). 88.43 *plenum: plenam* (from the *Aue Maria*), 89, 13 *nec: nunc.* 102.13 punctuate *comedis; si non*, (cf. *ergo* l. 14). 105.24 *baculum: baiulum?* (cf. l. 39). 108, 15 and 18 *iudices tu despicis . . . subiicis.*

Wyggeston Boys' School,
Leicester, England

THE GREGORIAN ANTIPHONARY OF SILOS AND THE SPANISH MELODY OF THE LAMENTATIONS[1]

R. P. CASIANO ROJO, O.S.B.

THE practical difficulty brought about in Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the substitution of the Roman for the Mozarabic liturgy was great and embarrassing; for, as it was necessary to shelve the manuscripts of the Spanish rite, the churches found themselves without the indispensable instruments for celebrating the various sacraments and offices of the new use. It is clear that the change was not brought about in a day, nor made simultaneously in all parts of Spain; for it could be accomplished only by the acquisition of new books, and this was difficult because of the comparative scarcity of manuscripts and the time and expense involved in the transcription of copies. Some churches acquired foreign texts; others had copies made with a rapidity remarkable for that time. In general these copies reproduced the script and musical notation of the original manuscript, but there were a few exceptions to the rule. The monks of Silos, although they adopted the Romano-Monastic rite, continued to use Visigothic script and notation for a time, as is proved by two eleventh-century *Breviaries*, now preserved in the British Museum, in which the whole of the Divine Office according to the new use is written in the old manner.[2] In certain Catalan manuscripts, among them an eleventh-century antiphonary now preserved in the ex-Colegiata of San Feliu in Gerona, although French minuscule is used for the text, the musical notation still conserves certain Visigothic elements.[3] All the other manuscripts

[1] Translated from Spanish by Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr.

[2] B. M. *Add. 30848, Breuiarium de toto (anni) circulo* and *Add. 30850, Breuiarium seu Antiphonale Silense. Add. 30850* contains the office of Santo Domingo de Silos, added in an appendix a few years after his death in 1073.

[3] Cf. reproduction in Miguel Rué y Rubió, *Canto Gregoriano. Cooperación á la Edición Vaticana de Libros de Canto Liturgico* (Gerona, 1905), pp. 70, 71.

of the period that I have seen are written in French minuscule with the Aquitanian notation that originated in the south of France and spread to Spain, where it soon took the place of the older Visigothic notation.

Ordinarily the new copies reproduced the text of the original, with the omission of feasts not celebrated in Spain, but without the addition of proper offices for Spanish saints. The reason is obvious: it was not an auspicious period for the composition of new offices and the new Roman rite was not easily accepted by the people. For Spanish feasts the *Commune Sanctorum* was used, with lessons read from the *Passiones* that had been used up to that time. In the administration of the sacraments and in other rites the Mozarabic tradition persisted with more or less stubbornness, as is witnessed by the presence of various older prayers and ceremonies in the manuscripts of that period.[1]

In the *Liber Ordinum* from San Millán de la Cogolla [2] the Visigothic notation of nearly the whole of the *Agenda mortuorum*, the burial office, has been erased and Aquitaniam neums substituted. There are two possible explanations for the change: either that a Cluniac cantor, obliged to use the manuscript when the Mozarabic liturgy was still current, wished to read the music in a notation better known to him; or that the Mozarabic office for the burial of the dead was used for some time after the general suppression of the liturgy, so that it was necessary to replace the Visigothic neums by the then general Aquitanian notation. The first hypothesis seems hardly probable; for a similar substitution is found neither in the other pages of the *Liber Ordinum* nor in any of the other manuscripts from San Millán. The second seems more likely, for the Roman musical formula '*saeculorum. Amen*' has been added at the end of the antiphons, which would be inexplicable had the change been made before the suppression of the Mozarabic liturgy.

[1] Even today in Toledo the burial office differs considerably from the Roman use.

[2] Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, *MS. 56.*

Contents and Origin of the Silos Manuscript

The Silos *Antiphonary* [1] is a manuscript of 396 leaves, measuring 268 x 197 mm., written in double columns of about 34 lines each averaging 175 x 50 mm. It is composed of fifty gatherings of eight leaves each, with the exception of the forty fourth which is of four leaves.

The scheme of the gatherings is as follows: I [8] (i-viii); II [8] (ix-xvi); III [8] (xvii-xxiv); IV [8] (xxv-xxxii); V [8] (xxxiii-xl); VI [8] (xli-xlviii); VII [8] (xlix-lvi); VIII [8] (lvii-lxiv); IX [8] (lxv-lxxii); X [8] (lxxiii-lxxx); XI [8] (lxxxi-lxxxviii); XII [8] (lxxxix-xcvi); XIII [8] (xcvii-civ); XIV [8] (cv-cxii); XV [8] (cxiii-cxx); XVI [8] (cxxi-cxxviii); XVII [8] (cxxix cxxx cxxxi [cxxxii] | [cxxxiii] cxxxiv cxxxv cxxxvi); XVIII [8] (cxxxvii-cxliv); XIX [8] (i-viii); XX [8] (ix-xvi); XXI [8] (xvii-xxiv); XXII [8] (xxv-xxxii); XXIII [8] (xxxiii-xl); XXIV [8] (xli-xlviii); XXV [8] (xlix-lvi); [XXVI [8] (lvii-lxiv)]; XXVII [8] (lxv-lxxii); XXVIII [8] (lxxiii-lxxx); XXIX [8] (lxxxi-lxxxviii); XXX [8] (lxxxix-xcvi); XXXI [8] (xcvii-civ); XXXII [8] (cv-cxii); XXXIII [8] (cxiii-cxx); XXXIV [8] (cxxi-cxxviii); XXXV [8] (cxxix-cxxxvi); XXXVI [8] (cxxxvii-cxliv); XXXVII [8] (cxlv-clii); XXXVIII [8] (cliii-clx); XXXIX [8] (clxi-clxviii); XL [8] (clxix-clxxvi); XLI [8] (clxxvii-clxxxiv); XLII [8] (clxxxv-cxcii); XLIII [8] (cxciii-cc); XLIV [8] (cci-ccviii); XLV [8] (ccix-ccxvi); XLVI [4] (217–220); XLVII [8] (221–228); XLVIII [8] (229–236); XLIX [8] (237–244); L [8] (245–252); LI [8] (253–260); LII [3] (261–262, 263 bound in on stubs).

The manuscript appears to have been bound originally in two volumes, as there is an accurate foliation in red Roman numerals, contemporary with the manuscript and in two series. Gatherings I — XVIII are numbered from i to cxliv; gatherings XIX — XLV are in a separate series from i to ccxvi, while gatherings XLVI — LII are unnumbered. A few leaves are wanting at the end.[2]

The manuscript contains the following books — in an earlier period written separately — necessary for the recitation of a complete office: the *Antiphonarium*, composed of the antiphons and responses; the *Lectionarium*, with the selections from the Bible and

[1] *MS. 9* in the Archives of Santo Domingo de Silos.

[2] There is no modern foliation, and accordingly, to distinguish the two series of numbers, those of the second foliation will be referred to in the following manner: *fol. xxiv°*.

other books that are read as lessons; the *Psalterium* containing the necessary Psalms and Canticles; and, at the end, the *Hymnarium*. The months of March and April of the *Proprium Sanctorum* [1] and the end of the *Hymnarium* are wanting.

There is no colophon or subscription that gives the precise date and place of composition, but the script seems to be of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.[2] The manuscript is written in a superbly regular French minuscule that gives almost the effect of a printed page: it seems likely that it was copied directly from a French original, in so much as the punctuation and the abbreviations are entirely French and show no influence of Visigothic usage. This is confirmed by the presence in the text of a number of homilies ascribed to Dom Herico or Heyricus, a ninth century monk of St Germain d' Auxerre,[3] and the offices of French saints such as St Radegonde and St Brice, Bishop of Tours.

The manuscript is of Spanish origin, or at least written for use in Spain, as may be seen from an examination of the Calendar, which contains two feasts for St James the Great, that of July 25, celebrated with an octave, and the Translation, observed on December 30. The *Proprium Sanctorum* contains a great number of Spanish saints, many of whom were not honored in other countries, such as SS. Fructuoso, Augurio, and Eulogio, St Ildefonso of Toledo, St Eulalia de Barcelona, St Leandro, St Rosendo, St Prudencio, St Torcuato and companions, St Pelagio, St Zoilo, St Marina, St Justa and St Rufina, St Cucufato, SS. Verisimo, Máxima, and Julia, SS. Vincente, Sabina, and Cristeta, SS. Lupercio, Claudio, and Victorino, St Millán, SS. Acisclo and Victoria, SS. Facundo and Primitivo, St Leocadia, St Eulalia de Mérida, the *Commemoratio Sanctae Mariae* of December 18, and the translation of St Isidore. The sung portions of these offices are, in general, taken from the Common of Saints,

[1] Contained in the missing gathering, foll. lvii°–lxiv°.

[2] The manuscript cannot be anterior to 1170, as it contains a commemoration of the translation of S. Rosendo, which took place in that year. Cf. Antonio de Yepes, *Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito* (Valladolid, 1615), fol. 14.

[3] This Heyricus wrote some 64 homilies, the introduction to which is published in the *Patrologia Latina*, CXXIV, 1129–1132. He was later honored as a saint, but in the manuscript he is referred to only as *Dom*.

but the manuscript contains two new antiphons in honor of St James in which he is invoked with the title of *patrone singularis*. The lessons and homilies are taken from the *Passiones* that were read in Spanish churches during the Mozarabic period.[1]

The offices are arranged according to the monastic use, but there is no indication that the manuscript was originally intended for use at Silos. It is true that an office is provided for St Sebastian, patron of the Silos church, but it is joined to the commemoration of St Fabian, as is the universal custom: there is no mention of Santo Domingo de Silos, the patron of the monastery, for whom an office is always provided in Silos manuscripts.[2] On the contrary, there are strong arguments for the monastery of San Salvador de Celanova in Galicia. The first of these is that the manuscript contains a proper office for the feast of the Transfiguration, the patronal feast of Celanova. This observance, which is of eastern origin, did not become general in the western church until 1456, and, although it was celebrated from the twelfth century on in monasteries dependent on Cluny, from which it might have spread to an independent house like Celanova, it seems that the importance given to it in this manuscript, where an octave is provided with a great number of pices for the days *infra octauam*, must be the result of a local observance. The second argument in favour of Celanova is the presence not only of the feast of St Rosendo, the founder and patron of the monastery, but also an office commemorating his translation, an observance clearly of local origin which, according to Yepes [3] was celebrated in Celanova. Finally this attribution explains the presence of an office for St Giraldo, a native of southern France, at one time Precentor of Toledo, who later became Archbishop of Braga, the ecclesiastical province to which Celanova belonged.

Musically the manuscript is of considerable importance. It was one of the principal sources consulted by Dom Pothier in preparing

[1] The authors of some of these lessons are known; that of St Ildefonso was composed by Cixila, an eighth-century Archbishop of Toledo, and that of St Pelayo is the work of a Galician priest, Raguel.

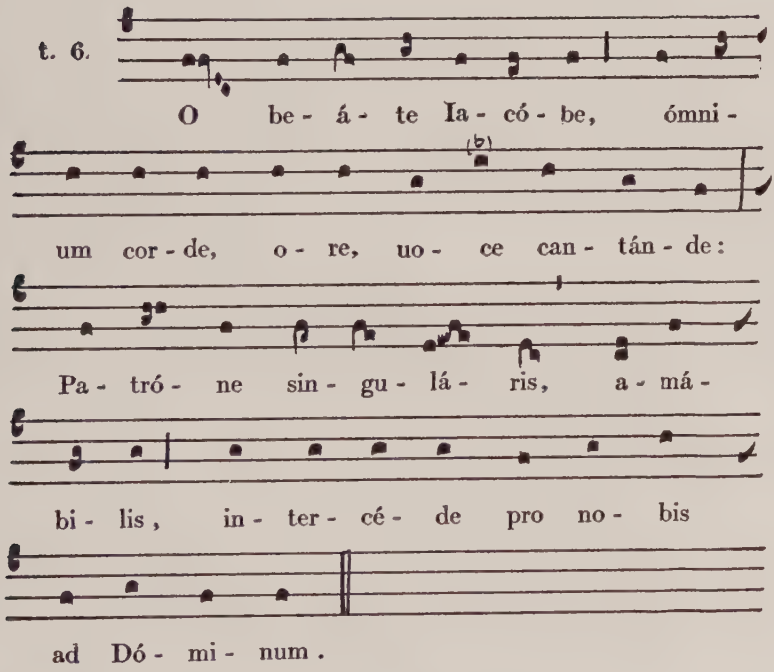
[2] Cf. Brit. Mus., *Add. 30850*, foll. 219–221, which is of the eleventh century.

[3] Antonio de Yepes, *Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito*, v, fol. 15.

the 1891 edition of the Solesmes *Antiphonary*,[1] that has more recently become the basis of the present official Vatican edition. The notation is of the Aquitanian superposed point system, written with a single red line, but with the diastematic intervals so carefully calculated that it can be read with the same rapidity as a modern musical text with a complete staff. The Gregorian tradition represented is good and lawful, although like all the manuscripts of this period there is a certain tendency toward the embellishment and elaboration of the melody and the notes.

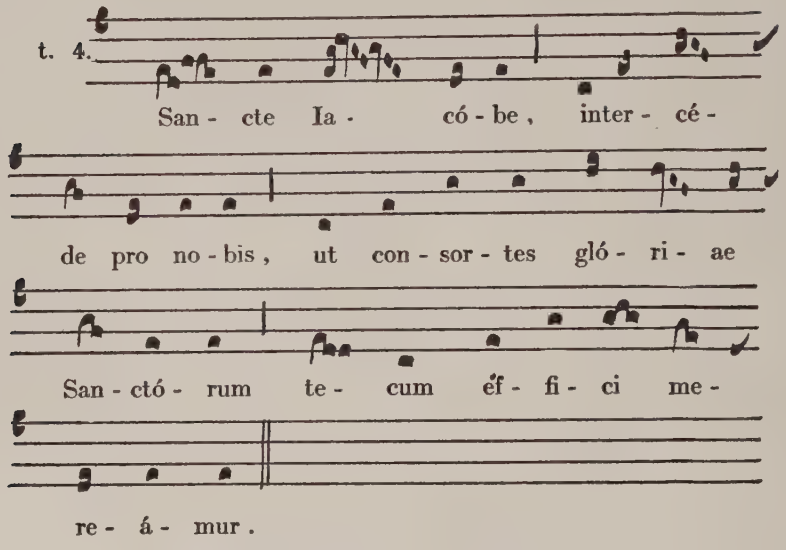
Among the music which it contains are several unpublished pieces, worthy of being better known; not the least interesting of these are two antiphons in honor of the patron of Spain, St James, which probably date from the suppression of the Mozarabic liturgy. It is unfortunate that they have not been included in the office of St James that is at present in use.

IN NATALE S. IACOBI
I. VESP. AD MAGNIFICAT. (1).



[1] *Liber Antiphonarius pro diurnis horis juxta ritum monasticum kalendario Ordinis Sancti Benedicti accomodatus* (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1891).

II. VESP. AD MAGNIFICAT (2).



(1) cf. fol. XCVIv.* (2) fol. XCVIIv.*

The Lamentations

The manuscript contains four special tones for the Lamentations of Holy Week and one for the *Oratio Ieremiae*, which I have already published with three of the tones of the Lamentations; [1] the fourth is unpublished, and appears for the first time at the end of this article. For convenience of reference the beginning of the three other tones and the *Oratio* are also given at the end.

Various Spanish manuscripts anterior and posterior to the Silos *Antiphonary* contain similar melodies of the Lamentations. Only the first and simplest formula — from which the other three and many other melodies of unequal value found in Spanish manuscripts developed — is found in the earliest manuscripts. The Visigothic Bible of San Pedro de Cardeña,[2] dating from the tenth or eleventh century, which is now preserved in the Universidad Pontificia in

[1] *Cantus Lamentationum apud Hispanos usurpatus quem ex codice Silensi saeculo XIII conscripto nunc primum iuris publice fecit* (Bilbao, 1917). Copies may still be had from "Orfeo Tracio" (n. d.), Génova, 19, Madrid.

[2] Cf. A. Andrés, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* LX (1912), 101–146.

Burgos, contains in foll. 236 and 237 with the first two chapters of the Lamentations of Jeremiah a simple melody in Mozarabic neums that, to all appearances, is that of the first melody of the Silos manuscript. This is also found in a *Lectionary*, now preserved in the collection of D. Narciso Sambola in Gerona, written in the eleventh-century with the superposed point notation.[1] A thirteenth-century *Antiphonary* in the Archives of the Cathedral of Huesca contains two tones, still simple although slightly more elaborate than those of the Cardeña and Gerona manuscripts: one, appointed for Maundy Thursday, is similar to No. I, without the formula of the third phrase; the other, used for the Lamentations of Holy Saturday and for the *Oratio Ieremiae*, is similar to No. III, but in both the cadences are shorter and a little monotonous.

In the Archives of the Cathedral of Toledo there is a fourteenth-century *Breviary*[2] that contains the tones of the Lamentations. The first (Maundy Thursday) resembles No. II, but with the order of the first and second cadences interchanged: the final phrase is entirely different, and resembles the melody of the *Exultet* found in many Spanish missals. The first and second tones of Maundy Thursday somewhat resemble No. I in the general theme, but are quite different in the greater part of the cadences. The other tones of this manuscript have no resemblance to the Silos manuscript, nor are they found in older documents: their character is that of a much more modern period.

Since the sixteenth century all the Spanish cathedrals and collegiate churches have possessed beautiful, and sometimes richly decorated, *Pasionarios*[3] that contained various tones for the Lamentations, the greater part of which reproduced more or less faithfully those of the previously mentioned Toledo manuscript: however, nearly all of these added some new tones, some of which, being little more than old formulas put to new uses, are of slight interest, while others are actually new and of greater importance.

[1] Three columns of this manuscript are reproduced by Rué y Rubió, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67

[2] *MS. 35.9.*

[3] So called because, among the other things, the account of the Passion according to the four Gospels occupied the principal place.

A fifteenth-century *Troper*, No. 23 of the Cathedral Archives of León, written in a heavy superposed point notation with a single line, concludes with a series of Lamentations, the richest in variants of any that I have seen, though many of them bear little relation to the traditional tones and date from the period in which the manuscript was written.

However, none of the other manuscripts containing the Lamentations mentioned in this study can be compared to the Silos *Antiphonary* for the combination of truly classical restraint and all the variety possible in this type of music: these melodies possess the unity and the natural flowing quality of the best Gregorian compositions. The general tone is one of serenity and resignation.

Origin of the Silos Lamentations

In their general nature and scale these melodies resemble fundamentally many Roman recitatives, such as the oldest melody of the Collects (*ad libitum*, No. 1 in the Vatican edition),[1] and those of the Prefaces and the *Pater Noster*: the details in which the Lamentations differ from these Roman melodies are all found in the Gregorian antiphonary.

Unfortunately it is impossible to trace a satisfactory relationship with authentic Mozarabic melodies, as so few have been deciphered, but, notwithstanding, in those that are known some of the motives of the Lamentations are found. The first part of the *Oratio Ieremiae*, *Recordare Domine quid acciderit nobis* is identical, note for note, with the beginning of the two antiphons *Si ascendero in caelum* and *Manus tua Deus deducet me* of the Mozarabic *Agenda mortuorum*.[2]

The *Oferencio* (Ordo Missae) given by Cisneros to the Mozarabic Chapel of Corpus Christi in Toledo Cathedral in the parts relating to music is inspired by the same fundamental themes as the Lamentations and the oldest recitatives of the Roman rite, and more

[1] *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae de Tempore et de Sanctis* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1908), pp. 96*–97.*

[2] Cf. R. P. Casiano Rojo and R. P. Germán Prado, *El Canto Mozárabe, Estudio histórico-crítico de su Antigüedad y Estado actual* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1929), also R. P. Germán Prado, "Mozarabic Melodics," Speculum, III (1928), 236, 237 and IV (1929), 145. The theme of *Recordare* is also found on p. 230 applied to the text *Per gloriam nominis tui*.

particularly contains many of the formulas and cadences of the tones that we are studying. The prayer *Per gloriam nominis tui* that was solemnly sung by the celebrant on feast days at the beginning of the Mozarabic mass follows the same melodic lines as No. II, but differs from it in the final cadence and includes various formulas of No. III and No. IV. However, we are not standing on particularly firm ground with the books of Cisneros, for the Mozarabic origin of all their contents is doubtful. When he undertook his liturgical restoration at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Mozarabic tradition was already completely lost. The two great *Cantorales* of the Chapel of Corpus Christi probably contain few authentic Mozarabic melodies: the *Laudes* contain some, but in a sufficiently adulterated form. It is, in consequence, difficult to determine the exact value of the *Oferencio*, especially as we have no manuscript containing the Common melodies of the Mozarabic rite. It may be that, in spite of the decadence of the rite in the years that preceded the restoration of Cisneros, some memory of these melodies or some document, now lost, was preserved,[1] by means of which the *Oferencio* may contain, in substance at least, some of the tones used in the best period of Mozarabic music: on the other hand, it is equally possible that, wanting authentic Mozarabic melodies, Cisneros adapted various chants of the Hispano-Roman rite then in use for his new books. In any event, before his time, we find in the books of this Hispano-Roman rite some of the melodies which he included in his Mozarabic revision, for the tone of the *Per gloriam nominis tui* is exactly the same as that of the Holy Saturday *Praeconium Paschale* which is found in Spanish missals and *Pasionarios* both before and after Cisneros.

Nevertheless, in spite of this deficiency of authentic Mozarabic melodies for comparison, the question of the origin of these tones is capable of solution, for the melodies, at least in part, are found in various non-Spanish manuscripts. In reality these formulas, at least in their fundamental motives, form part of the common property of all the western liturgies. In other countries, if these tones

[1] The preservation of the melodies of the *Agenda mortuorum* in the San Millán *Liber Ordinum* makes such a notion seem possible.

were applied to the Lamentations at any early date, they were abandoned in favour of that which has recently been adopted in the Vatican edition [1] for use in the universal church, which is said to be the same tone used by the Jews in their synagogues. In Spain, to the contrary, they have been used to the almost complete exclusion of the other, and are not only found in the Gregorian manuscripts but are reproduced in modern books as well.

The following illustrations give the beginning and the end of the melodies as found in the Silos manuscript with the defects found in the original. The first defect is that quite without necessity the notes of the melody are frequently doubled in the vocalizations and in the syllabic parts.[2] The second defect is the use of the liquescent note in circumstances in which it has neither reason nor effect. The copyist of the manuscript seems to have regarded the liquescent as a device for tying together, an ascending note, by means of which in the syllabic chants the voice passes from one note to the following, giving a sort of anticipation of the following note before actually reaching it. This is not the function of the liquescent, which is properly employed only with two consecutive consonants or two vowels forming a dipthong, when, to pronounce the second properly, it is necessary to pass to the note of the syllable following: by this means sonority and clear articulation are lost, but the time value is preserved.[3] The copyist has used the small note that expresses the liquescent in places in which it is unnecessary, as there are neither two consonants nor dipthongs. In No. IV, with the word *candidiores* the liquescent is well placed; in *rubicundiores* and *denigrata* and in the *Ierusalem* of the other pieces it has no object.

The reader will note that in the word *manuum*, toward the end of No. III, the notes are arranged as if it were a word of two syllables only, *ma-num*. This procedure is correct, and was used in all

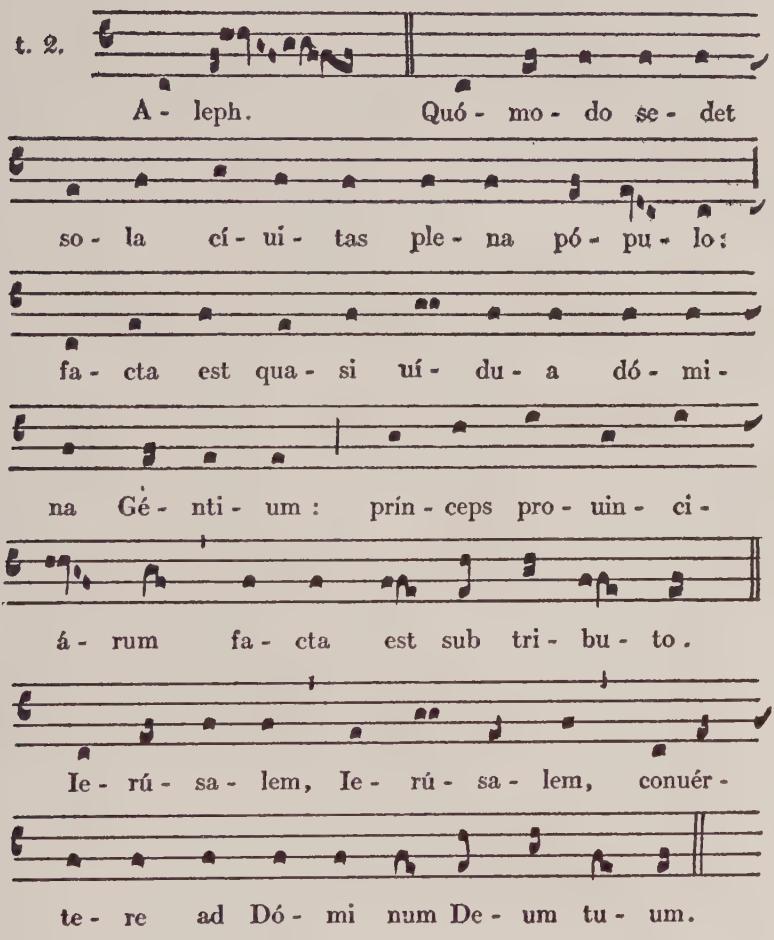
[1] *Officium Maioris Hebdomadae et Octauae Paschae a Dominicis in Palmis usque ad Sabbatum in Albis cum cantu. Editio Typica Vaticana* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1922), pp. 283–289, 366–372, 437–443.

[2] Cf. the formula that accompanies the letter *Jod* in No. II and the final words of each strophe: cf. also the words *ingressus, praecepetas, Ierusalem.* In the other melodies there are unnecessary notes that hinder the presentation of the text.

[3] For a more complete explanation of this vocal effect see my *Metódo de Canto Gregoriano* (Santo Domingo de Silos, 1906), pp. 66, 67.

manuscripts. When a vowel is repeated, and the first accompanies a group of notes, the second repeated vowel is not pronounced separately, but is considered to have been dealt with sufficiently in the vocalization of the first.

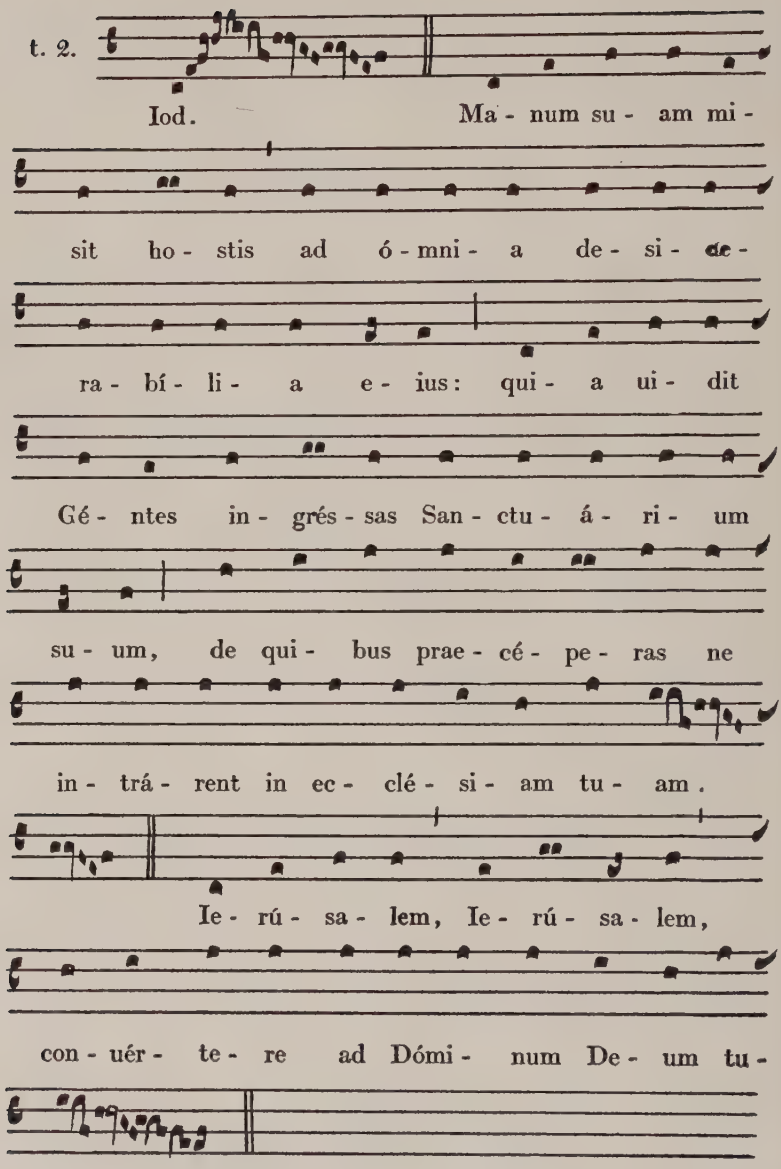
CANTUS LAMENTATIONUM
CANTUS I
Feria v. in Caena Domini. (1)


t. 2.
A - leph. Quó - mo - do se - det
so - la cí - ui - tas ple - na pó - pu - lo:
fa - cta est qua - si uí - du - a dó - mi -
na Gé - nti - um : prín - ceps pro - uin - ci -
á - rum fa - cta est sub tri - bu - to.
Ie - rú - sa - lem, Ie - rú - sa - lem, conuér -
te - re ad Dó - mi num De - um tu - um.

(1) cf. fol. LXIIIr and v.

CANTUS II

Feria vi. in Parasceue. (1).

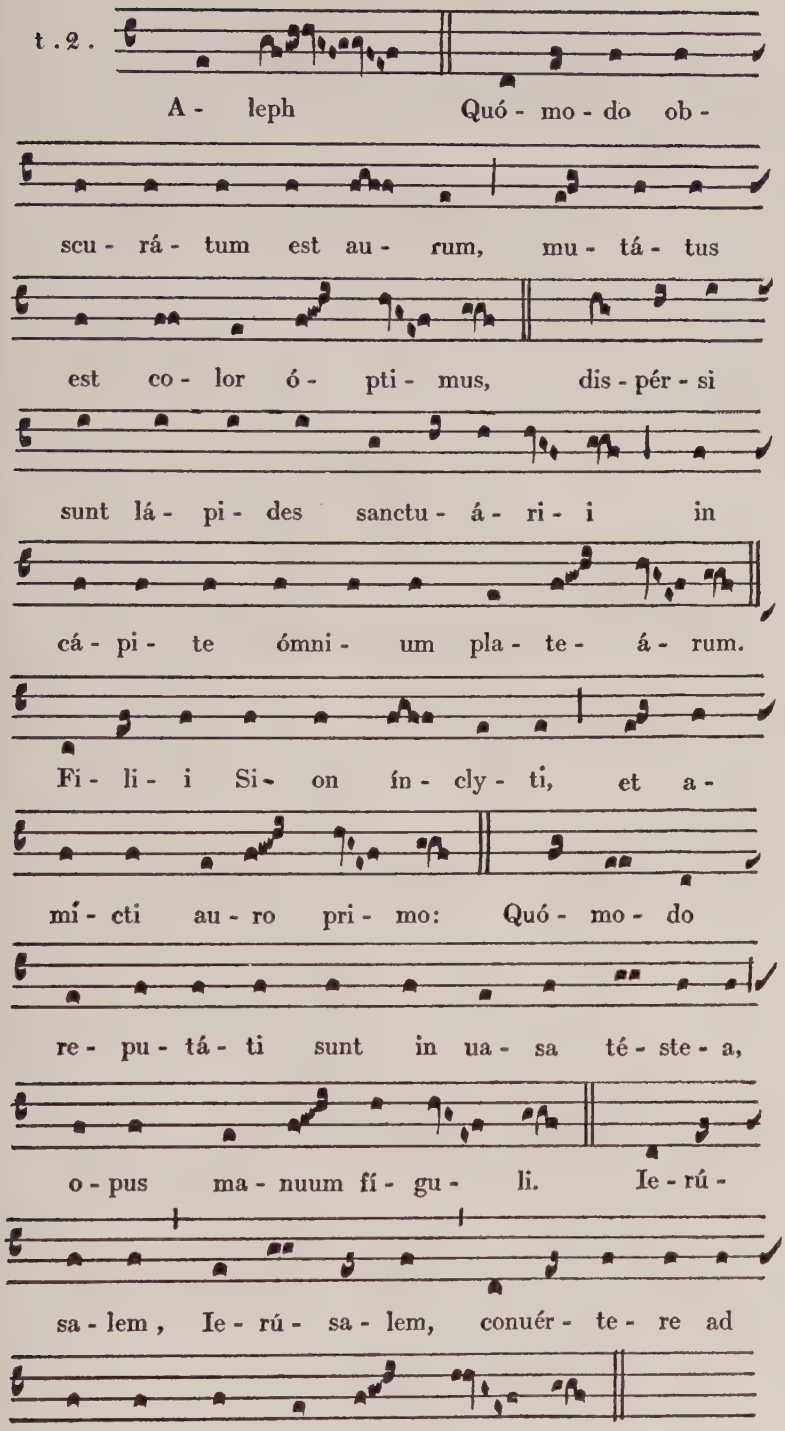

t. 2.
Iod. Ma - num su - am mi -
sit ho - stis ad ó - mni - a de - si - de -
ra - bí - li - a e - ius: qui - a ui - dit
Gé - ntes in - grés - sas San - ctu - á - ri - um
su - um, de qui - bus prae - cé - pe - ras ne
in - trá - rent in ec - clé - si - am tu - am.
Ie - rú - sa - lem, Ie - rú - sa - lem,
con - uér - te - re ad Dómi - num De - um tu -
um.

(1) cf. fol. LXVv.

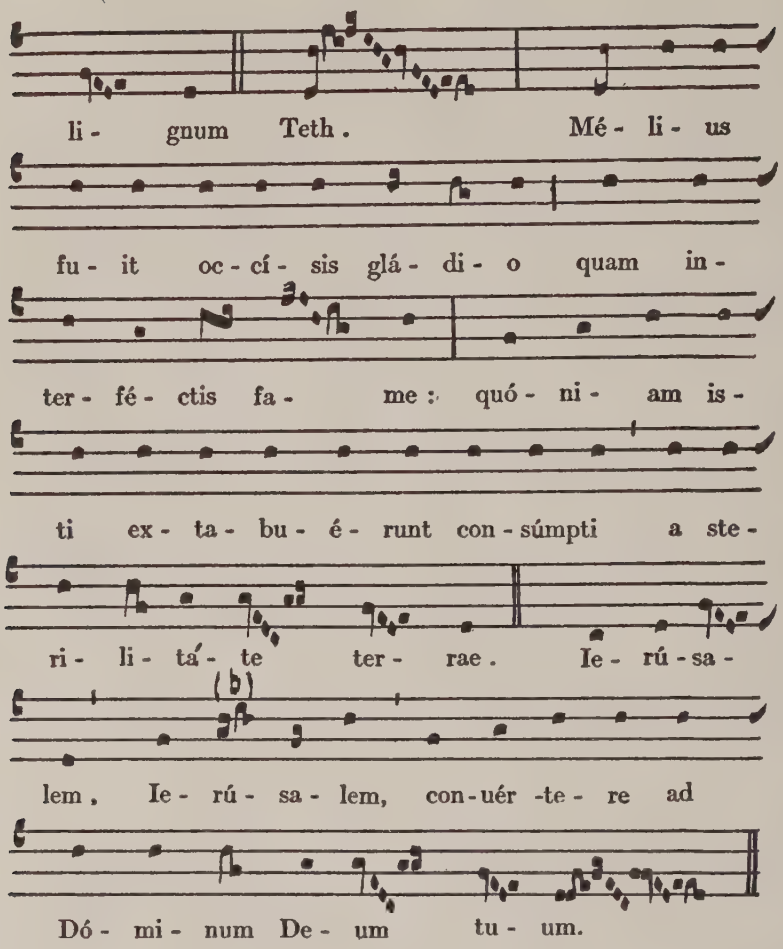
CANTUS III

Sabbato Sancto. (1).

t . 2 .


A - leph Quó - mo - do ob -
scu - rá - tum est au - rum, mu - tá - tus
est co - lor ó - pti - mus, dis - pér - si
sunt lá - pi - des sanctu - á - ri - i in
cá - pi - te ómni - um pla - te - á - rum.
Fi - li - i Si - on ín - cly - ti, et a -
mí - cti au - ro pri - mo: Quó - mo - do
re - pu - tá - ti sunt in ua - sa té - ste - a,
o - pus ma - nuum fí - gu - li. Ie - rú -
sa - lem, Ie - rú - sa - lem, conuér - te - re ad
Dó - mi - num De - um tu - un.

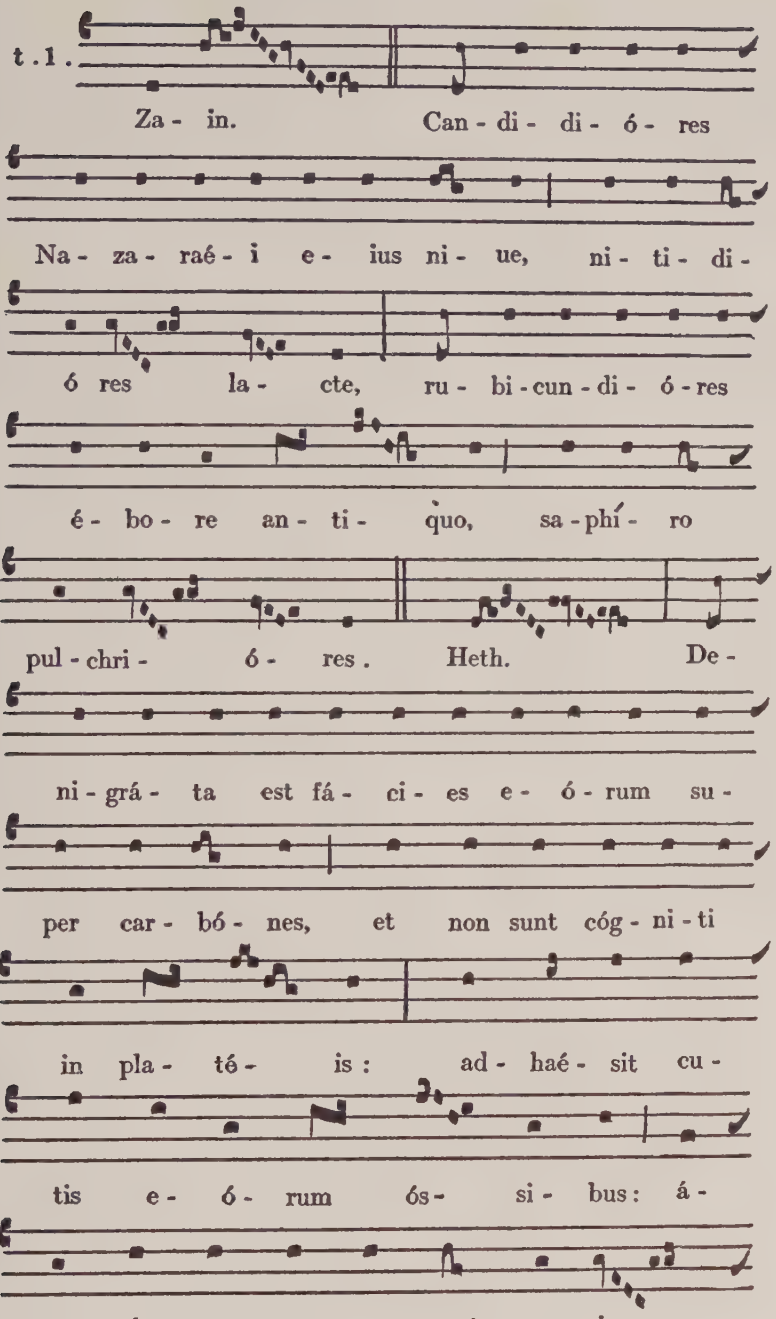
(1) cf. fol. LXVII.


li - gnum Teth . Mé - li - us
fu - it oc - cí - sis glá - di - o quam in -
ter - fé - ctis fa - me : quó - ni - am is -
ti ex - ta - bu - é - runt con - súmpti a ste -
ri - li - tá - te ter - rae . Ie - rú - sa -
lem , Ie - rú - sa - lem, con - uér - te - re ad
Dó - mi - num De - um tu - um.

An Unpublished Melody of the Lamentations

In the Silos manuscript in the office for Holy Saturday, after the *Oratio Ieremiae* and with no other title than *Alia*,[1] is a lesson, the text of which is not found in the modern Breviary, apparently intended to be used *ad libitum* as the third lesson of the first nocturn in place of the *Oratio Ieremiae*. It is taken from the fourth chapter of the Lamentations, and is composed of the verses that follow those of the second lesson of this nocturn.

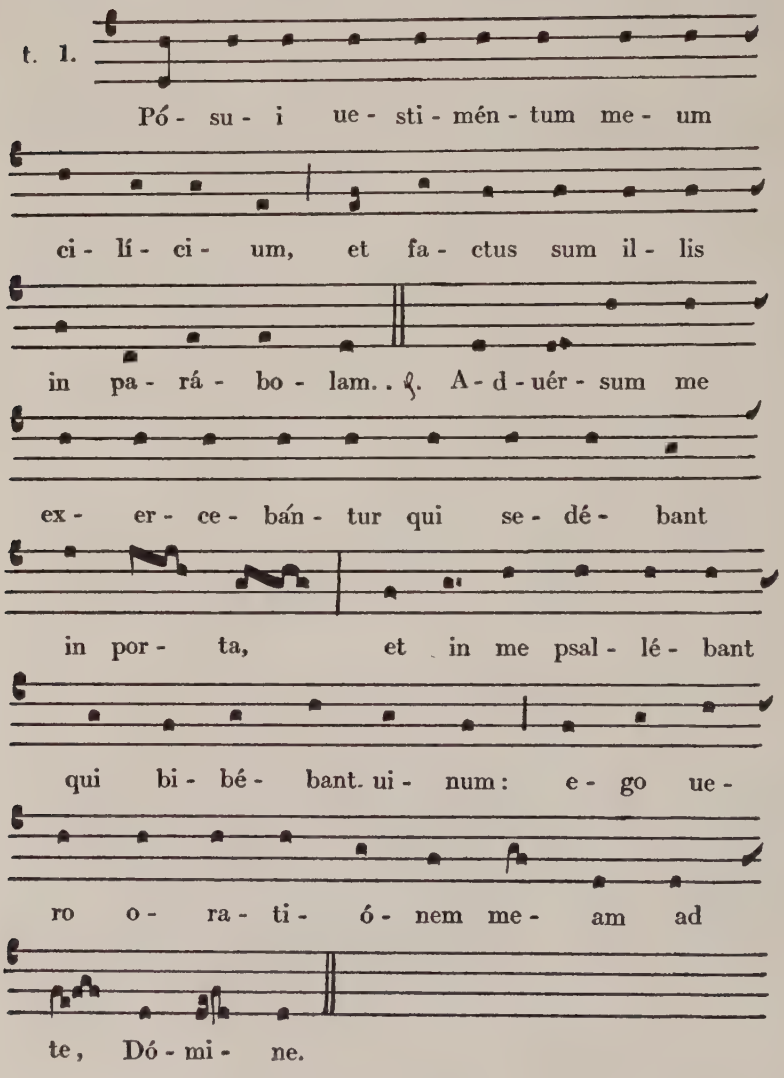
ALIUS CANTUS LAMENTATIONIS SABBATO SANCTO. (1).


t . 1 .
Za - in. Can - di - di - ó - res
Na - za - raé - i e - ius ni - ue, ni - ti - di -
ó res la - cte, ru - bi - cun - di - ó - res
é - bo - re an - ti - quo, sa - phí - ro
pul - chri - ó - res . Heth. De -
ni - grá - ta est fá - ci - es e - ó - rum su -
per car - bó - nes, et non sunt cóg - ni - ti
in pla - té - is : ad - haé - sit cu -
tis e - ó - rum ós - si - bus : á -
ru - it, et fa - cta est qua - si

(1) cf. fol. LVIIv.

The melody in no way resembles the preceding tones, neither is it similar to anything in the Mozarabic or Gregorian repertories. Its closest relationship seems to be with the following antiphon for *Sabbato in Parasceve* in the Ambrosian Antiphonary.[2] The fact that both pieces are destined for use in Mattins of the same day, the one as a lesson, the other as an antiphon, is a coincidence worth noting.

SABBATO IN PARASCEVE
AD MATUTINUM. ANT. (1)


t. 1.
Pó - su - i ue - sti - mén - tum me - um
ci - lí - ci - um, et fa - ctus sum il - lis
in pa - rá - bo - lam. ℣. A - d - uér - sum me
ex - er - ce - bán - tur qui se - dé - bant
in por - ta, et in me psal - lé - bant
qui bi - bé - bant. ui - num: e - go ue -
ro o - ra - ti - ó - nem me - am ad
te, Dó - mi - ne.

(1) cf. *Paléographie musicale*, VI, 302.

The melody is in the first mode, and is of an expansive character that is in sharp contrast to the other tones in the manuscript: it appears to have been inspired by the first strophe of the text, *Candidiores Nazaraei eius niue, nitidiores lacte, rubicundiores ebore antiquo, saphiro pulchriores.* It is probably of the period of the manuscript, although it may possibly be a little older: the use of the first mode scale with the constant introduction of *si*-natural, and the elaborate vocalizations at the ends of the strophes are characteristic of this period. Although this text is not contained in the present day Breviary, the melody could easily be applied to the second lesson of Holy Saturday, *Quomodo obscuratum est aurum,* as the strophes of both texts are of similar character.

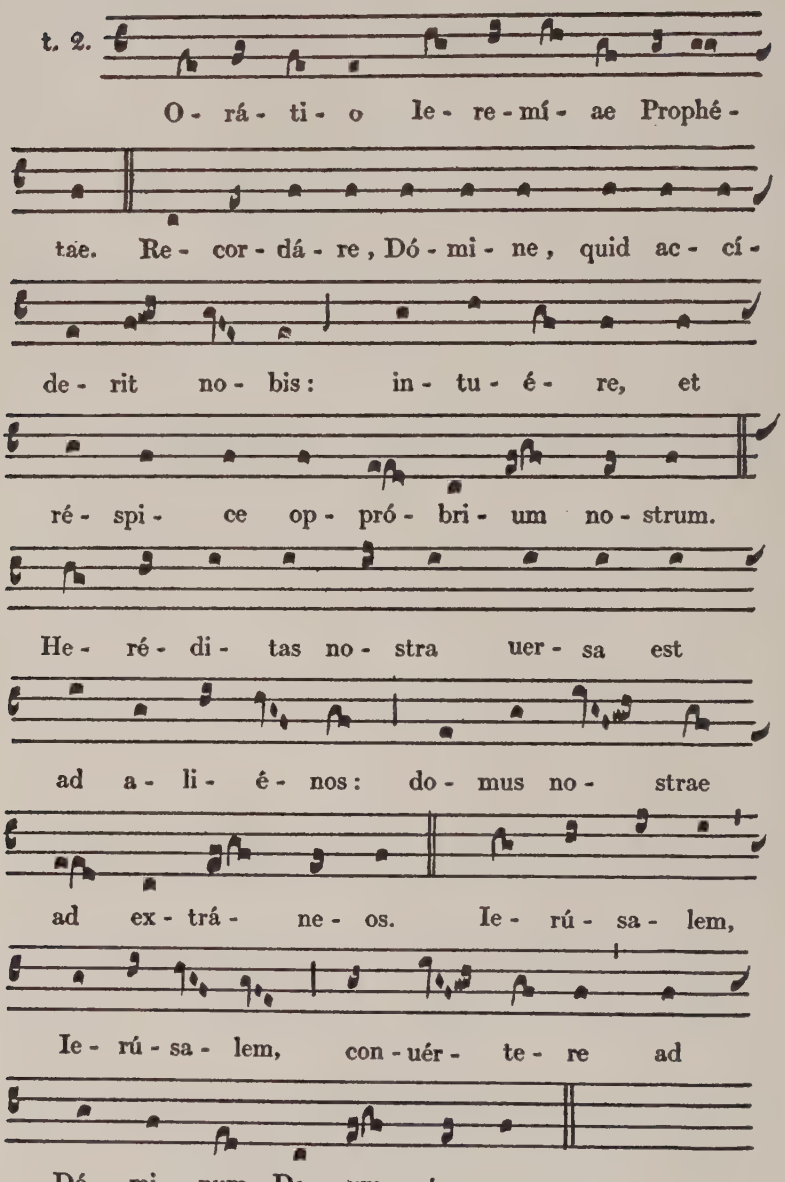
[1] F. lvii[5].

[2] British Museum, *Add. 34209,* reproduced in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale* (Solesmes, 1), v, 253, 254. Cf. the text, vi, 302.

Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos,
Burgos, Spain

CANTUS IV

Sabbato Sancto. (1).


t. 2.
O - rá - ti - o le - re - mí - ae Prophé -
tae. Re - cor - dá - re, Dó - mi - ne, quid ac - cí -
de - rit no - bis: in - tu - é - re, et
ré - spi - ce op - pró - bri - um no - strum.
He - ré - di - tas no - stra uer - sa est
ad a - li - é - nos: do - mus no - strae
ad ex - trá - ne - os. Ie - rú - sa - lem,
Ie - rú - sa - lem, con - uér - te - re ad
Dó - mi - num De - um tu - um.

(1) cf. fol. LVIIr and v.

REVIEWS

Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins presented on His Completion of Forty Years of Teaching. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Cloth. Pp. x + 417. $5.00.

Among American *Festschriften* which have appeared, this is a notable volume distinguished both by the eminence of the scholar to whom it is dedicated and the quality of the contributions. If not by reason of years, certainly by distinction of scholarship, Professor Haskins is the *doyen* of American mediaevalists, doubly remarkable as a creative and productive scholar and as a maker of students and teachers to follow in his footsteps. There are eighteen contributions to this volume, one of them by a former Radcliffe College student. An analysis of the nature of these eighteen subjects is interesting, for thereby one sees how the dominant interests of Professor Haskins as an historian are reflected in the work of his students. The intellectual history of mediaeval Europe and mediaeval institutional history are almost evenly divided, there being six of the former and seven of the latter. When one remembers the *Norman Institutions* and *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, one perceives how true to the master's ideals his students are. It is odd, though, not to find any study on the history of mediaeval science in this list. The rest of the subjects comprise three of a political nature and two on law. As to geographical distribution the authors are interestingly distributed: Massachusetts five, Pennsylvania three, New York three, and New Jersey, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and New Mexico each one. Evidently the New England and Middle Atlantic states may be regarded as Professor Haskins' domain. But as a scholar every mediaevalist knows that his line is drawn out to the ends of the earth and his words to the end of the world. Europe claims him as do we of America.

Not every one of these essays is as deep as a well or as wide as a church door. But as a whole the quality of them all is very high. Some of the contributors are more seasoned scholars than others, so that one naturally discovers some degree of unevennness among the essays. If the reviewer may express a preference, he would especially designate Mr Howard L. Gray's 'Greek Visitors to England in 1455–56'; Mr William E. Lunt's 'Clerical Tenths Levied in England by Papal Authority during the Reign of Edward II'; Mr Sidney R. Packard's 'Norman Communes under Richard and John'; Mr Carl Stephenson's 'Taxation and Representation in the Middle Ages';

and Mr C. H. Taylor's '*Census de rebus* in the Capitularies.' With one exception, this selection puts the contributions pertaining to institutional history upon the preferred list. But no invidious distinction is implied. It may be that the intellectual history of the Middle Ages is harder to understand than its institutional history; yet it would seem also that the writers of the essays which have to deal with the former subject are less experienced scholars than some of the other contributors.

The volume has been edited by Mr C. H. Taylor, Assistant Professor of history in Harvard. A portrait of Professor Haskins which every possessor of the volume will cherish is in the front of the volume, which is terminated with a bibliography of Professor Haskins' writings which fortunately includes even his book reviews.

James Westfall Thompson,
University of Chicago

1. Bianu and N. Cartojan, *Album de Paleografie Românească* (*Scrierea Chirilică*). Bucharest: Socec and Co., 1929. Boards. 35 plates. Lei 170.

It has been observed that the use of the Cyrillic alphabet among the Rumanians is one of the most interesting moments in the history of Graeco-Slavic civilization. The adoption of this alphabet is initially traceable to Bulgarian influence. Even in the fourteenth century, after the foundation of the independent principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Rumanians continued to maintain their intimate contact with Slavic culture, the dominance of which did not begin to decline until some 150 years later. It is thus in the early sixteenth century that Rumanian literary monuments begin to appear, composed in the vernacular, but written in the Cyrillic script. The habit of introducing formal documents with a Church Slavic formula persisted, as a matter of fact, in Moldavia as late as the second half of the eighteenth century, and the number of Rumanian texts written or printed in the Latin alphabet prior to 1780 is extremely slight. It is also undeniable that, from the phonetic standpoint, the Cyrillic alphabet was better adapted to the representation of Rumanian sounds than the Latin. It thus favored the evolution of an exact and constant orthography. As Tiktin has remarked (Gröber's *Grundriss*, I (2d ed.), 571):

> Der rein phonetische Charakter der cyrillisch-rumänischen Schrift begünstigte die allmähliche Ausbildung einer auf klaren und festen wenn auch in keiner Grammatik kodificierten Regeln beruhenden Orthographie, welche etwa um den Beginn des vorigen [18ten] Jahrhunderts sich so allgemeine Geltung verschafft hatte, dass die Urkunden dieses und der ersten Hälfte des gegenwärtigen [19ten] Jahrhunderts insgemein kaum nennenswerte orthographische Divergenzen aufweisen.

The attachment of the Rumanians to the Cyrillic alphabet was indeed so great that despite the multiplication of Greek schools and influence under

the Phanariote régime, they continued to use this alphabet not only in vernacular documents but also for instruments composed in Greek. The initial impulse toward the adoption of the Latin alphabet proceeded from the Uniate clergy in Siebenbürgen, in connection with their Catholic propaganda and a related desire to emphasize the Romanic character of the Rumanian nation. A natural resistance by the Orthodox elements of the population delayed the realization of this reform, so that only in 1860 did the Latin alphabet become the sole script for school and official use. It was adopted considerably later by the ecclesiastical authorities, and even shortly before the World War, calendars and various works of popular nature were still being printed in the *Tsirillitsa*, which was especially prevalent in Bessarabia.

In the light of these circumstances, it is clear that Cyrillic palaeography is an important auxiliary to the study of Rumanian philology. The *Album* of Professors Bianu and Cartojan (though the specimens in general offer little novelty to the student of Slavic palaeography) provides a convenient instrument for this branch of investigation. Beginning with the *Psaltirea Scheiană* and the Voroneţul Codex, the compilers offer a representative series of facsimiles extending from semi-uncials of the sixteenth century to cursives of the nineteenth, together with several interesting plates of ligatures, initials, and tail-pieces. It would perhaps have been worth while to include one or two specimens of contemporary South-Slavic Cyrillic texts to parallel the script of the *Psaltirea Scheiană*. One might profitably compare the *Prophets* written at Athos in 1542–1543 (cf. Lavrov: *Палеографическое Обозрѣніе*, no. 303, p. 275), now in the National Library at Belgrade (*No. 26*), or the Lomnica *Tipik* of 1578 (Lavrov, *op. cit.*, no. 305, p. 277; Belgrade Academy of Sciences, *No. 120*). In any case, the present collection will doubtless form a valuable adjunct to seminary studies in this comparatively neglected subdivision of Romance Philology, which will be still further promoted by the publication of the manual of Rumanian Cyrillic palaeography which these eminent scholars have in preparation.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

F. Holthausen, ed., *Beowulf nebst den kleineren Denkmälern der Heldensage*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929. I. Teil: Texte und Namenverzeichnis, 6. verbesserte Auflage, pp. x + 123; II. Teil: Einleitung, Glossar und Anmerkungen, 5. verbesserte Auflage, pp. xl + 214. Paper. Mk. 5.

The texts which Holthausen prints in the present edition are *Beowulf*, the *Finnsburg* fragment, the two *Waldere* fragments, *Deor* and *Widsith*. Prefixed are four plates, which give us an idea of the handwriting of as many

scribes (including, of course, the two hands of *Beowulf*). Texts and *Namenverzeichnis* alike seem to be a *Manuldruck* based on the plates of the edition of 1921, though there is no mention of the point in the *Vorwort*. It must be added that a few changes were apparently made on the plates, so that the sixth edition is not identical with the fifth. As regards Part II, the *Einleitung* is reprinted from the edition of 1919, but seven pages of *Nachträge* are annexed. The glossary and the index are described as reprints '*mit Plattenkorrekturen*.' The notes, however, were '*vollständig neu gesetzt*.'

The editor tells us (I, vi) that his texts differ from those of the previous edition in two ways. On the one hand, he has restored defensible manuscript readings; on the other, he has tried to correct, by emendation, some corrupt passages. The result of his editorial work cannot be described as an edition that holds fast to the *überlieferung*. I have gone through the first 500 lines of *Beowulf* as Holthausen prints it, and find no less than 98 instances of what I consider needless emendation, to which other students of the poem might well add a few further instances. And yet it would be unjust to say that Holthausen is an erratic or irresponsible editor of Old-English texts. He may take more liberties with the manuscripts than do some others, but he belongs to the authentic tradition of Old-English philology, which has never shown much reverence for the monuments as they are. The so-called conservatism of certain Old-English philologists exhibits itself not so much in a reluctance to emend as in a reluctance to give up old emendations in favor of the manuscript reading! Holthausen's edition is full of this kind of 'conservatism.' Indeed, most of the emendations that true conservatives, like myself, object to are old conjectures, handed down piously from generation to generation and long since become so sacred that any mention of the actual reading of the manuscript shocks and alarms the faithful. I note that Holthausen keeps his *punctum delens* under the ð of *doð* in l. 1231, and I am not surprised, for fidelity to the text, in the face of earlier emendation, is not yet reckoned a virtue in Old-English scholarship.

Kemp Malone,
Johns Hopkins University

Ch. Petit Dutaillis and Georges Lefebvre, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, translated by M. I. E. Robertson and R. F. Treharne. Manchester: University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. ix, 303–517.

Although these studies are associated in publication with the third volume of Stubbs, they relate almost entirely to subjects covered in his first two volumes. In the introductory chapter, M. Petit Dutaillis attempts to disabuse the reader of the belief held by Stubbs, that 'Edward I . . . definitely founded the parliamentary monarchy' (p. 308). It is a drastic criticism.

Indeed, some of his arguments are more emphatic than his conclusion demands. Scholars who would agree that 'the Parliament of 1305 . . . owes its new features to the perfecting of monarchical centralisation [*sic*]' (p. 346) — possibly reserving the privilege of slight modification — might not accept as proved either that, during the whole of the Middle Ages, the commons contributed nothing to the foundation of the constitutional monarchy (p. 325), or that all the English kings of the last centuries of the Middle Ages sought to follow a policy of megalomania (p. 313).

M. Lefebvre traces the development of the administration and the origins of the House of Commons as they are depicted in the literature published approximately before 1928. He correlates and interprets the new evidence and opinions, reducing them to a brief summary of remarkable clarity. He also illumines the subject with analogies and contrasts drawn from French institutions. His treatment results in a series of judgments with which the reader of the literature on which they are based is likely to find himself sometimes in agreement and sometimes not. Beyond such matters of opinion there is a modicum of inaccuracies, such as are nearly inevitable in a brief generalization of so large a mass of complicated materials. The chancery, for example, hardly became a court of common law (pp. 380, 406). Richardson and Sayles, in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (VI, 76) demonstrate the error of the statement that 'under Edward II men began to reserve the name "Council in Parliament" for the assemblies in which the barons summoned to the Council sat conjointly with the Commons' (p. 434), if there was doubt previously. Surely it is too categorical to assert, without qualification and without adequate consideration of interpretations to the contrary, that Edward I 'did not think of conceding to the Commons the right of consenting to taxation' (p. 484).

There are several typographical errors and apparently one mistake in translation. On page 332, line 13, the sense seems to require the substitution of 'any' for 'no.'

For one who is beginning the study of the English Constitution this book provides a valuable outline of recent discoveries and a guide to the literature. Even seasoned students may find it useful. In a field where the literature is increasing and will increase so rapidly, an estimate made by two such competent and impartial scholars of the stage which our knowledge had reached at a definite time can hardly fail to be enlightening.

W. E. Lunt,
Haverford College

EDWARD KENNARD RAND, *Studies in the Script of Tours, I; A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 3, 1929. Vol. I, Text. Pp. xxi + 245; vol. II, Plates CC. $50.00.

THIS is not only an important work in the new material and conclusions it brings to the student of palaeography, but it is still more a milestone in the progress of the study of mediaeval manuscripts, and an incentive to other scholars to carry on and enrich the study of this and allied fields. The pioneer work of Delisle and Traube, together with Rand's earlier studies and the contributions of Köhler and others, are all utilized to make this picture of the manuscripts of Tours as complete and accurate as possible. I remember that Traube, in his lectures in 1896, pictured works like this as the next great task for Latin palaeographers. He then hoped to see not one but many mediaeval schools of writing studied and illustrated with adequate facsimiles. Most of this work is still to be done, but the need at least is now generally recognized.

In Rand's work the chief weight has been laid on the styles of writing in the eighth and ninth centuries, but the entire activity of these three monastic schools from the sixth to the twelfth century has been included.

The first two chapters treat of the libraries and the general characteristics of the script. Chapter III is an especially important contribution covering the size, ruling, quires, signatures, abbreviations, punctuation, and text of the manuscripts studied. Much of this comprehensive survey is derived from Rand's earlier studies, and the section on the systems of ruling is of the greatest value for the whole investigation.

Chapter IV gives the stages in the development of the Script of Tours. Only suggestions are given on what style of writing prevailed in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Ashburnham *Pentateuch* is claimed for the end of this period, whether rightly or not is still a question, but the manuscript was certainly at Tours later. With the eighth century, the study becomes more exact. The different styles of writing are classified under the headings: the Irish at Tours, the Pre-Alcuinian Style, and the Reforms of Alcuin. The last of these is of special interest, for against Traube's dictum, Rand maintains definite and extensive influence of Alcuin. The manuscripts described as the Embellished Merovingian Style are assigned to the time of Alcuin, or immediately thereafter, while the so-called Regular Style seems to follow Alcuin.

The ninth century shows a far greater number of manuscripts definitely recognized and dated. Six types of writing are distinguished and assigned to their proper succession in the century, though these sub-periods naturally overlapped somewhat. Also in this period enough books are preserved so that the three schools of Tours, St Martin, St Gatian, and Marmoutier, can be distinguished in their styles of writing.

The survey is carried on through the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centurries, but is more general in character as the number of manuscripts thus far recognized and assigned to definite dates and monasteries is limited. Furthermore, no such intensive study of the manuscripts listed for these centuries has as yet been attempted.

After these historical chapters there follows a full, systematic description of each manuscript studied, a model for workers in palaeography. Very rarely is any essential item omitted or any point treated left without a definite statement, or at least an expression of opinion. When neither is given, there is regularly the acknowledgment that the manuscript has not been examined recently or adequately. Rarely the very condensed form of description is not easily intelligible; cf. page 148, line 27: 'Abbreviations. Few but extended.' Also page 161, line 24 and elsewhere: 'Abbreviations. Extended. Many.' I assume 'extended' to mean that the regular list of abbreviations was somewhat enlarged in the manuscript being described.

Excellent indices of manuscripts, plates, authors and works, and a general index complete the volume. These serve also to make the companion volume of facsimiles more usable. For such a work these are matchless in number and excellence and enable the student to follow every step in the development of the Script of Tours.

In the narrow compass of a review only a few of the many matters treated can be even mentioned. In every chapter there are sections that elicit immediate approval, or cause one to question views previously held. Of considerable importance to scholars are the frequent indications of parts of the field of study that would prove fruitful subjects of investigation. Acquaintance with this book will be quite as helpful to the student as to the trained palaeographer.

The discussion of Alcuin's influence on the Script of Tours (pp. 38 ff.) may be singled out as an example of Rand's method of work and of the intimate knowledge of the subject given by years of study. Perhaps one could assume that Alcuin would have headed a reaction against the cursive hand, but even more characteristic of Tours is the careful individual development of the different script forms, capitals, uncials, half-uncials, and minuscules, and the complete avoidance of the mixed types, so common elsewhere in France at the time. On pages 23 and 24 there is a most interesting explanation of Q VII R as 'q[uaternio] VII r[equisitum est].' This custom of having an abler scholar recollate the manuscript is traced back, as far as concerns Tours, to Alcuin. On page 20, he notes that No. 140 alone has *reclamantes*; cf. page 166, where this manuscript is dated eighth or ninth century, following Wordsworth and White. The presence of *reclamantes* in this manuscript alone at Tours is strange and deserves further consideration. Thompson (*Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 54) says that '*rec-*

lamantes to connect the quires first appear, but rarely, in the eleventh; from the twelfth century on they become common.' Thompson's acquaintance with Irish and English manuscripts is probably sufficient to make his statement authoritative for those styles of writing. Therefore it does not seem that the presence of *reclamantes* in No. 140 is explained by referring the manuscript to an Irish scribe. I may add that I have frequently found *reclamantes* in manuscripts of the works of Beatus from the tenth to the twelfth century. Of these *Madrid, Bibl. Nac. H. 58* seems to be not later than early tenth century. There can be little question that the system was known in Spain from the ninth century on, and it may have been used in one of the original manuscripts of Beatus, 776 to 786. It would be interesting to have information on this question from early manuscripts of other parts of Europe, but an examination of early Visigothic manuscripts would, I think, prove most fruitful. The resemblance of the Ashburnham *Pentateuch* miniatures to early Spanish art perhaps indicates an early connection between Spain and Tours. The *reclamantes* may be another hint of this connection.

Misprints or infelicitous forms of expression are most rare. I have noted only the following: page 72, line 5, 'as examples as'; page 74, line 29, 'St Maurice's'; the Cathedral of St Maurice is the earlier name (see pp. 3 to 58), but thereafter St Gatian is the name used; page 106, line 33, 'No. 28'; as MS. 28 is being described, the comparison should be to another of the group, Nos. 24 to 34; page 204, line 17, probably an asterisk was omitted before 'Fragment,' for Rand was allowed to inspect this fragment.

Henry A. Sanders,
American Academy in Rome

Edgar Finley Shannon, *Chaucer and the Roman Poets*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, vol. vii. Pp. xxii + 401.

The gain in our knowledge of Chaucer's indebtedness to the Classics of Rome may be indicated by a comparison of some forty pages in Professor Lounsbury's *Studies* and the extent of the present work. The cautionary note sounded by Lounsbury still has value for the hunter of parallels: 'Whether [Chaucer] was actually familiar with the writings of all of these [poets], or with all the writings of any one of these, is a question that cannot be answered positively, in the present state of our knowledge.' [1] But Professor Shannon has shown, on the whole, a salutary fear of pressing too hard the arguments for some particular source. As we should expect, the book is thorough, sensible, and steady. Lounsbury's further remark, that 'it is not necessarily [Chaucer's] tastes that are represented, but his op-

[1] T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, etc. (New York, 1892), ii, 249.

portunities,'[1] leads us to speculate on the validity of making any inferences regarding the nature of the poet's reading. But looking over carefully what Shannon presents compels us anew to wonder at the range and variety of what the busy fourteenth-century Englishman was able to assimilate. We are almost tempted to suppose that in beginning to write Chaucer surrounded himself with useful books like a modern investigator. Whatever his learning, he must have read with taste and insight; and a comparison in this respect with other men of the Middle Ages, like Chrétien de Troyes or Jean de Meun, would be interesting.

Mr Shannon does not attempt to offer a broad background for his study. He goes simply and directly through the poet's works, one after another, and lists and summarizes the points of significance for his subject. In the second part he deals with the influence of certain Roman authors for whom there was no place earlier for adequate discussion. 'The one dominant idea that emerges from the consideration' is Chaucer's 'intimate knowledge of even the details of Ovid's poetry.'[2] 'The points of similarity in taste and poetic gifts between Chaucer and Ovid are so many that we cannot wonder at the extent of the Roman's influence upon the Englishman.'[3] The congeniality of spirit and temperament of the two writers is discussed at length, and the conclusion of the book is reached in the theory that it was the Italian Renaissance, chiefly Latin in its inspiration, which led to Chaucer's freedom and mastery in his art,[4] — a conclusion of first-rate importance if it is justified, and in the light of the present book certainly one worth examination.

The difficulty, however, of weighing such arguments is that necessarily in such a field all the evidence is not yet at hand. Since the book first appeared, Mr S. B. Meech has made it clear that, where Shannon supposed that Chaucer was using a Latin version of the *Heroides*, his source was really an Italian translation; and Mr Meech promises to show that the poet also relied on the *Ovide Moralisé* more extensively than has been realized hitherto.[5] It is impossible to be quite sure that in every case where a Latin reference appears in the Middle English the borrowing has not come at second hand through a French intermediary. Thus doubtful cases play a large part in the estimate of Ovid's influence, and we can rarely be certain whether Chaucer has taken his allusion directly from the Classics or from Boccaccio, Benoit, or the *Roman de la Rose*. The total impression gained from the treatment of certain poems, like the *Troilus*, may be seriously misleading, so far as Chaucer's own acquaintance with the Latin poets is concerned; the analysis of Criseyde, for example, remains unconvincing as

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Page 371.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Pages xiv, 376 ff.
[5] *PMLA.*, XLV (1930), 110 ff. and 117, n. 28.

it now stands.[1] Furthermore, the question of emphasis, always essential, raises some doubts in one's mind, as in the discussion of the *House of Fame*, where, in the opinion of the reviewer, Mr Shannon does far less than justice to French influence in his zeal to explain the material otherwise. He writes: 'Chaucer, I believe, was carried so far away from his love-vision idea by his classical material that when he attempted to return to it, he found the spirit of the poem so changed that he gave it up.'[2] Not many readers, I am afraid, will agree with this view. The neglect of proper consideration of the *Panthère d'Amours* and certain other works[3] leads one to a false idea of the whole poem and its general nature.

One returns dubiously, therefore, to Mr Shannon's main point regarding the influence of the Renaissance. After all, if the House of Fame shows 'imaginative freedom,' we are not inclined to attribute that quality to the effect of the classics. If Boccaccio represents influence of the kind, he derived his stories from what must be considered a largely unadulterated mediaeval tradition. Furthermore, poets like Ovid and Virgil were well known long before the Italian Renaissance, unless we date that movement so early that it loses significance. Chaucer's humane and realistic attitude toward his fellow creatures derived much from works like the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Miroir de Mariage* and considerable from his own temperament. He employed a schematic presentation of his material until late in his career, and his free use of such a plan at its best (in comparison with the manner of a poet like Jean de Meun or the author of *Piers Plowman*) springs from his genius. Many writers in the Middle Ages could tell a story well. In fact Shannon seems to incline somewhat to an obsolete conception of the period. Thus he writes: Chaucer's 'spirit no doubt kindled in sympathy with the Latin poet's spirit of fun, which so completely escaped the Middle Ages generally';[4] 'When the Renaissance came, and men began again to read the classics for themselves in a critical way instead of *Scholia* upon them, they noticed,' etc.[5] But the value of the book is not affected by contentions of this kind. Rather it lies in the rich and varied detail[6] offered to demonstrate the influence of the Roman poets in Chaucer's reading, among

[1] Shannon, pp. 160 ff. Cf. p. 167, n. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 117. Cf. the discussion of the *Compleynt of Anelida*, pp. 28ff., and Miss Fabin's note, *MLN.*, XXXIV (1919), 266 ff.

[3] In addition to Sypherd's material, cf. my note, *MLN.*, XXXIV (1919), 323 ff.

[4] Page xvi. [5] Page 27.

[6] Cf., for a doubtful instance of borrowing, p. 178, on *Cant. Tales*, A. 1761, and see Griffin and Myrick, *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio* (Philadelphia, 1929), pp. 64 f., n. 2. A few other details may receive brief comment: The discussion of the *Troilus* (Shannon, pp. 169 ff.) exaggerates, I think, the 'dismay' with which it may have been received. The question is one of proportion, like the poet's 'quarrel' with Gower. Cf. the note on Chaucer as a student at the Inner Temple (p. 174) with Tout, SPECULUM, IV (1929), 382 ff.

which it is of special interest to find that Catullus seems to occupy a place. For generalizations, such as might tell us how far the English poet used the original Latin and how far he relied on the assistance of French or Italian translations, or what works Chaucer knew thoroughly as a student and what he picked up later, we must be patient enough to wait for other studies. Meanwhile here is sufficient material to provoke thought as well as gratitude, and to encourage further research.

HOWARD R. PATCH,
Smith College

MARGARET R. TOYNBEE, *St Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century*. Manchester: University Press, 1929. Cloth, 8o. Pp. ix + 266.

THIS is no mere experiment in hagiography. The writer has deep and sympathetic interest in the career of the saint with whom she deals and makes clear all the available facts of his life and not simply those justifying the canonisation accorded finally to him by his friend, Pope John XXII. Transcending this initial purpose, she succeeds in giving a good understanding of the way in which, up to the fourteenth century, the Church managed the processes of canonisation in general. Competent theologians and students of ecclesiastical administration must pass judgment upon the details of her statements; to the lay mind they furnish a clear and unbiased account of the processes in general and of the especial procedure in the case of St Louis of Toulouse.

For about a hundred and fifty years, as Dr Toynbee shows, St Louis of Toulouse had extraordinary popularity as a Franciscan saint, and was revered in Provence, Italy, Aragon, and, to a less degree, in France and Germany, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Since then his fame has paled, and to-day devotion to him is largely confined to the members of his own order, the Franciscans. Why the vogue of the short-lived Bishop, Franciscan, and Saint (1274–97) thus diminished may not be an unsolved secret for those who peruse the elaborate examination of the case now provided by Dr Toynbee.

The work contains no little that should attract the attention of all concerned with the history of the thirteenth century, for many of the facts mentioned throw side lights on the career and character of various notable personages of the time. St Louis of Toulouse was the grandnephew of St Louis IX of France and the brother of the Charles Martel, Titular King of Hungary, and the King Robert of Naples who engage Dante's attention in Canto VIII of the *Paradiso*. Some scholars think, but possibly without warrant, that the reference in verses 145–146 of that Canto is to our saint.

If we may be pardoned for taking up a very minor point raised on pages 6 and 7 of the book, we register our caution with respect to the validity of

any argument resting solely on the assumption that *Aloise* is the Venetian form of *Lodovico*. Whatever is back of *Aluisi*, *Aloise*, *Luigi*, and the Latin form *Aloysius*, the relation to *Lodovico* is not too obvious.

In her Preface, Dr Toynbee makes specific acknowledgment of her indebtedness to the guidance of the late Professor Tout, a valued friend of SPECULUM and a contributor to its pages.

J. D. M. FORD,
Harvard University

A. DE BOÜARD, *Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale.* I. *Diplomatique Générale.* Avec un album de 54 planches en phototypie. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1929. pp. 397.

THIS handbook of diplomatics promises to be a welcome addition to the general treatises already available in the field. It at once invites comparison with the excellent works of Giry and Bresslau and the briefer, but substantial, treatments of the subject in the *Grundriss* of Meister and the *Handbuch* of von Below-Meinecke. Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatique*, ever since its appearance in 1894, has proved an invaluable work of reference, but much of its utility for the student lies in the chronological and other portions outside the domain of diplomatics proper, and a new edition of the whole is much needed. Bresslau's more ample *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* is admirable within its limits, but neither the first edition (1889) nor the enlarged second edition (1912–15) was completed by the author, who died in 1926. Whatever their regional emphasis, all such works have in common the diplomatics of the papal chancery and a considerable body of general material, yet they supplement one another without an unreasonable amount of duplication.

The work of which Professor de Boüard now publishes the first instalment is planned to occupy three volumes, each accompanied by a fascicle of plates. The second and the third volumes will deal respectively with public and private documents, the first treats of general diplomatics, with emphasis on France and the Papacy, comprising an historical and theoretical introduction, an account of the genesis of charters, their general form and contents, and seals and other modes of giving them legal validity. Unlike Giry, the author omits any special discussion of chronology, linguistics, and place names, while he treats with greater fulness many questions of diplomatics proper. The perspective is more in line with the recent German manuals than with the French tradition. The style is concise, but the footnotes are abundant and show acquaintance with the most recent special literature of the subject, while at the same time they cite many fresh examples. In general, both text and notes seem to be sound and accurate.

The facsimiles stand in close relation to the text, which they illuminate by illustrations from the Archives Nationales and various of the French de-

partmental archives. These are well chosen and well executed for the purpose of making clear the various stages in drawing up, witnessing, and sealing charters. They all relate to the Middle Ages, except for examples from the Committee of Public Safety, the Convention, and imperial decrees of 1811 and 1812. A curious instance appears in no. xxxi, an extract from the cartulary of Brioude forged in the late seventeenth century so successfully as to deceive its earlier critics.

For purposes of comparison with parallel treatises, let us take the discussion of formularies and the *ars dictaminis* (pp. 122–158), which is about half as long as the corresponding chapter in Bresslau. The space is saved by briefer treatment at most points and by the omission of material relating particularly to Germany and Italy. Except in the case of Marculf, the Frankish formularies are dismissed very briefly with references to Giry and Brunner. The new material consists chiefly of references to unpublished modern formularies of the French royal chancery (page 154) and a citation of the author's special study of notarial documents. We miss any account of the formularies of the bishop's official in France (e. g., Bry, 'Notice sur un formulaire du XIVe Siècle à l'Usage de l'officialité d'Orléans,' in *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit*, XXXVIII, 417–460 (1914)), and, as likewise in Bresslau, any mention of the formularies of the papal penitentiary. In the bibliographies, to take only relevant titles anterior to 1928, we do not find Bütow, *Die Entwicklung der Mittelalterlichen Briefsteller bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Greifswald diss., 1908), Haskins, 'An Italian Master Bernard,' in *Essays Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (1927), or Wahrmund, *Die* Ars Notariae *des Rainerius Perusinus* (1917). Some account of the Capuan school of *dictamen* would be a desirable, though not an indispensable, addition. Taken as a whole, the treatment of the subject, which is much fuller than Giry's, is good so far as it goes.

The work is fittingly dedicated to that admirable editor of diplomatic texts, M. Maurice Prou, Director of the École des Chartes.

Charles H. Haskins,
Harvard University

JOSEPH OF EXETER: A NOTE AND A CORRECTION

With reference to my article 'The *Bellum Troianum* of Joseph of Exeter,' Speculum v (1930), 70, Mr. J. H. Mozley kindly sends me a collation of the Westminster MS. (small folio, 13th century), for Bk. i. It almost always agrees with MS. *P* against the Vulgate, except that it seems more carefully written. In ll. 32f–g it agrees with the version in the Delphin edition, p. 640. The following are the only new readings: l. 239, *mitescit*; l. 380, *cinxere* (my conjecture — see *art. cit.*, p. 71).

In *art. cit.*, p. 50, l. 9 from the bottom, for 'always' read 'sometimes.'

W. B. Sedgwick,
Wyggeston Boys' School,
Leicester, England

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

Charles Bémont, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester 1208–1265.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. viii + 303. $4.50.

I. Bianu and N. Cartojan, *Album de Paleografie Românească* (Scrierea Chirilică). Bucharest: Socec, 1929. Boards. 21 plates. Lei 170.

R. B. Burke, trans., *Gabriel Biel's Treatise on the Power and Utility of Moneys.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1930. Boards. Pp. 39. $2.50.

W. M. Calder, ed., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I.* London: Longmans Green, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xxviii + 239. 40 shillings.

S. H. Cross, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. XII). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Paper. Introduction, pp. 76–135; text pp. 136–320.

A. Foulet, ed., *Le Couronnement de Renard* (Elliott Monographs, Vol. XXIV). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. lxxix + 125.

S. Guyer and E. Herzfeld, ed., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua II, Meriamlik und Korykos.* London: Longmans Green, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 207. 40 shillings.

H. Grundmann, ed., *Alexander von Roes* De Translatione Imperii *und Johannes von Osnabrück* De Prerogativa Romani Imperii. Leipzig: Teubner, 1930. Paper. Pp. 38. RM 2.

H. Hauser, *La Modernité du XVIe Siècle.* Paris: Alcan, 1930. Paper. Pp. 107. Frs. 10.

H. Hermansson, ed. and trans., *Ari Thorgilsson's Book of the Icelanders* (*Islendingabók*). Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 1930. Paper. Pp. 89. $2.00.

F. Holthausen, ed., *Beowulf nebst den Kleineren Denkmälern der Heldensage.* vol. I, Texte und Namenverzeichnis; II, Einleitung, Glossar, und Anmerkungen. Heidelberg: Winter, 1929. Paper. Vol. I, 6te Aufl., pp. x+123. RM 2.80. Vol. II, 5te Aufl., pp. iv + 214. RM 4.20.

G. Leigh, *New Light on the Youth of Dante.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930. Cloth. Pp. viii + 278. $5.00.

H. Leibeschütz, *Das allegorische Weltbild der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen.* Leipzig: Teubner, 1930. Paper. Pp. viii + 179. RM 15.

W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* 3te neu bearbeitete Auflage, Lieferung 1 (Bogen 1–4). Heidelberg: Winter, 1930. Paper. Pp. 64.

E. de Moreau, *Saint Anschaire.* Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1930. Paper. Pp. vii + 153.

G. Müller, *Aus Mittelenglischen Medizintexten* (*die Prosarezepte des Stockholmer Miszellankodex* x 90). Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1929. Paper. Pp. 215. RM 15.

B. Nardi, *Saggi di Filosofia Dantesca.* Milan: Soc. Anon. Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii + 380. Lire 16.

Schools of Illumination: Reproductions from MSS in the British Museum, Vol. VI, French, Middle Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries. London: British Museum, 1930. Boards. 15 Plates. £1/5.

J. E. Shaw, *Essays on the Vita Nuova* (Elliott Monographs, Vol. XXIII). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. 236.

J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton *et al.*, ed., *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. VI, *The Victory of the Papacy.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvii + 1047. $14.00.

S. H. Thomson, ed., *Johannis Wyclif Summa de Ente Libri Primi Tractatus Primus et Secundus.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxvi + 119. $3.50.

L. Thorndike, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xiv + 387.

A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Vol. II, *From the Crusades to the Fall of the Empire.* Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 502.

E. Walberg, *La Tradition de Saint Thomas Becket avant la Fin du XIIe Siècle.* Paris: Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 187.

B. Woledge, *L'Atre Perilleux, Etudes sur les Manuscrits, la Langue et l'Importance Littéraire du Poème, avec un Spécimen du Texte.* Paris: Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 12 + 134.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE GREAT EUROPEAN FAMINE OF 1315, 1316, AND 1317

By HENRY S. LUCAS

FAMINE and pestilence swept over Europe so often during the Middle Ages and exacted so frightful a toll of human life that the phenomenon has come to be regarded as one of the most impressive features of the period. Of these catastrophes, the one in 1315, 1316, and 1317 which smote all lands from the Pyrenees to the plains of Russia and from Scotland to Italy is perhaps the most interesting simply because more references to it can be found than to any other mediaeval famine. It received but little extended treatment at the hand of Fritz Curschmann in his study[1] of famines of the Middle Ages. While mentioning some of the phenomena attending this calamity in the lands of the Empire, he did not make a careful survey of all that happened in other parts of Europe, nor did he seek to relate the data which he discovered to social, political, economic, and geographical factors, which would have enabled him to present a more vivid picture of this terrible misfortune.

Other writers have indeed referred to the unusual pestilence and mortality of these years without, however, attempting a thorough study of all the sources. For England the famine and the pestilence which followed hard upon it have been described by that admired medical authority, Professor C. Creighton; his account rests mainly on the vivacious and exceedingly valuable story by the monk Trokelowe, but does not endeavor to link these phenomena with similar

[1] F. Curschmann, 'Hungersnöte im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, VI (1900), 53–54, 61–62.

events on the continent.[1] A number of other historians, including Thorold Rogers,[2] Sir James Ramsay,[3] T. F. Tout,[4] Kenneth Vickers,[5] N. S. B. Gras,[6] and J. Conway Davies,[7] have referred briefly to the severe crisis. Léopold Delisle alluded to it in his catalogue of famines in mediaeval France,[8] while Paul Lehugeur discussed it at some length.[9] I. L. A. Diegerick published some statistical data on the pestilence which accompanied the famine at Ypres.[10] Professor Pirenne also discussed this phase in a few sentences.[11] Its appearance in Brussels has been briefly described by Dr L. Reypens.[12] A. Schultz drew up a long list of famines in Germany,[13] and A. Schaube referred to it as exercising much influence in stimulating the volume of sea-borne commerce between Genoa and Venice and the ports of the Low Countries.[14] The absence of any formal treatment has led me to attempt to put together every bit of discoverable evidence in such manner as to give a more living picture of this most extraordinary catastrophe.

[1] C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain, A. D. 664–1866*, I (Cambridge, 1891), 47–49.

[2] J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I (Oxford, 1866), 197–199.

[3] J. H. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster, or the Three Reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II, 1307–1399*, I (Oxford, 1913), 76, 82–83.

[4] T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216–1377* (New York, 1905), pp. 266–267.

[5] K. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1926), pp. 111–112.

[6] N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (*Harvard Economic Studies*, Vol. XIII, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 60–61.

[7] J. Conway Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II, Its Character and Policy. A Study in Administrative History* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 408–409.

[8] L. Delisle, *Études sur la Condition de la Classe Agricole et l'État de l'Agriculture en Normandie au Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1903), p. 639.

[9] P. Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, Roi de France, 1316–1322*, I (Paris, 1897), 412–414.

[10] I. L. A. Diegerick, 'Les Désolations, Ruines, et Calamités, Arrivées à la Ville d'Ypres, Annexes. A. La Peste à Ypres (1316 et 1317),' *Annales de la Société Historique, Archéologique, et Littéraire de la Ville d'Ypres et de l'Ancienne West-Flandre*, I (1861), 310–326.

[11] H. Pirenne, 'Les Dénombrements de la Population d'Ypres au XVe Siècle (1412–1506). Contribution à la Statistique Sociale du Moyen-Âge,' *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I (1903), 3.

[12] L. Reypens, S. J., *Ruusbroec* (Brussel en Amsterdam, 1926), pp. 25–26.

[13] A. Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert*, II (Wien, 1892), 639–651.

[14] A. Schaube, 'Die Anfänge der Venezianischen Galeerenfahrten nach der Nordsee,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, CI (1908), 46.

Mediaeval Society was essentially agrarian, being based chiefly upon a manorial economy which has been fittingly characterized as a régime of subsistence agriculture.[1] Although the revival of commerce and industry and the consequent growth of towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries inaugurated one of the most remarkable revolutions in social, economic, political, and cultural life in the whole history of the occident, Europe still remained dependent for its sustenance upon what its husbandmen could wrest from the soil. By the opening of the fourteenth century there had indeed come into being a surprising volume of traffic in articles of food; but commerce had not yet reached that point of development whereby vast quantities of life's daily necessaries could be imported into northern Europe from Africa or even from southern Italy. Furthermore, the population tended to develop in numbers beyond the maximum ability of the soil to sustain it. Throughout the Middle Ages there was a pauper class on the manors and a proletariat in the towns which even under the most favorable conditions of agriculture and industry often found it very difficult to keep body and soul together.[2] The vast number of urban centers that sprang up during the past three centuries had not yet learned to store quantities of foodstuffs against a possible famine, which made them at all times peculiarly dependent upon the rural communities, and in days of want liable to incur serious disaster. It was therefore inevitable that meteorological conditions should play a great rôle; when a series of very bad years occurred in which harvests failed, there was certain to be widespread calamity. Then would come hunger, followed by pestilence and death. The chronicles repeatedly speak of the dread spectres of *Caristia*, *Fames*, *Pestilentia*, and *Mortalitas*.

It appears that in England for at least several years before 1315 the harvests were not very good and there was a general rise in the price of corn and other victuals.[3] There was much rain in 1314; and

[1] See H. Pirenne, 'The Stages in the Social History of Capitalism,' *American Historical Review*, XIX (1913–1914), 494–515; *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1922), pp. 1–156; and also his *Les Villes du Moyen-Âge. Essai d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (Bruxelles, 1927).

[2] G. G. Coulton, *The Medieval Village* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 115, 311.

[3] See J. H. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster, or the Three Reigns of Edward II, Edward III,*

it was only with great difficulty that corn could be properly garnered.[1] The mounting prices led the clergy and barons of the realm to request the king in Parliament held at Westminster after the octave of St Hilary (January 21) to draw up a schedule of prices for all domestic animals and fowl, to which the king assented on March 14. The sheriffs were instructed to proclaim the maximum prices and see to it that the schedule should be duly observed.[2]

It is possible that a similar condition obtained on the continent, but no definite information is to be found. In any case, the rain of the summer of 1314 was as nothing compared with the torrential floods which came in the summer of 1315. The downpour began about Pentecost (May 11) and continued almost unceasingly throughout the summer and autumn.[3] So unusual was the quantity of water that the author of the chronicle of Malmesbury thought that the prophecies in the fifth chapter of Isaias were being fulfilled.[4] Floods were common; for example, the royal manor of Milton near Kingston-upon-Hull was covered with water, and the king when at Lambeth on August 28 and again on the 30th issued commissions to inquire into the extent of the damage inflicted upon the crops and determine who was responsible for the disaster.[5] Fish stews at Fosse in Yorkshire were seriously impaired.[6] Dykes were washed away and lowlands in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire were flooded.[7] There also was much rain in Ireland.[8]

---

and Richard II, 1307–1399, I, 76; J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I, 196–197; and the graph in N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market*, p. 60.

[1] *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Vol. II, *Rolls series*, London, 1883), p. 214.

[2] *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parliamento Tempore Edwardi*, I, 295.

[3] *Annales Paulini* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Vol. I, *Rolls Series*, London, 1882), p. 278; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II (*Rolls Series*, London, 1867), 332; *Annals of Loch Cé*, I (*Rolls Series*, London, 1871), 579; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III* (ed. by G. J. Aungier, *Camden Society*, London, 1844), p. 38.

[4] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214.

[5] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, pp. 412–417.

[6] *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1318*, pp. 262–263.

A similar condition prevailed on the continent. In France, according to the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis' chronicle, the rain began to fall in the middle of April, about three weeks before it began in England.[1] Little information about the weather in Germany can be found; but it is certain that there too the rainfall was especially severe. When in September Lewis the Bavarian took a position south of Augsburg facing Frederick the Fair of Austria whose troops had bivouacked on the banks of a stream, there was so great a deluge that Frederick's horses stood in the water up to their saddle girths.[2] At Grimma, southeast of Leipzig, the river Mulde turned into a raging torrent so that the church of the Austin Canons was swept away and many men lost their lives.[3] If there are not many statements about the weather in Germany[4] and none in adjacent Slavic lands,[5] we may nevertheless be certain that the conditions existing in France and England also obtained there, for the consequences—famine, pestilence, and death, of which there is abundant and eloquent testimony, as will be shown below—were exceptionally severe in those parts.

Especially plentiful is the information given by the contemporary

---

[7] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, pp. 429–430.

[8] *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (ed. by D. Murphy, *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Dublin, 1896), p. 275; *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579.

[1] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I (*Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1843), 431; *Fragment d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCXXVIII* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 151; *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis* (E. Baluze, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, ed. by G. Mollat, Vol. I, Paris, 1914), pp. 112–113.

[2] *Monachi Furstenfeldensis Chronicon de Gestis Principum* (*Fontes Rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1843), p. 52. According to Florenz von Wevelinkhoven, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster* (*Die Geschichtsquellen des Bistums Münster*, Vol. I, *Die Münsterschen Chroniken des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1851), p. 48, states that the rains began on St James' Day (July 25) and lasted until All Saints'. See also, *ibid.*, p. 130.

[3] *Chronica Sancti Petri Erfordensis Moderna* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XXX), p. 446: " . . . factum est diluvium in Grimmis, ubi multi homines perierunt, sed et ecclesia Augustinensis inibi per inundacionem aquarum est abducta."

[4] See, however, Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors*, VI (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1880), 218–219.

[5] *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471* (tr. from the Russian by R. Michell and N. Forbes, *Camden Society*, 3d Ser., Vol. XXV, 1914), pp. 119–121, *sub* 1315, 1316, 1317, and 1318, says nothing about the rainfall or the famine in those parts.

writers in the Low Countries where the rainfall appears to have been greater than anywhere else. Boendale, the poet chronicler of Antwerp, states that severely inclement weather began about the first of May.[1] Molanus, professor of theology at Louvain in the next century, drawing upon sources not contained in the chronicles of Boendale and Van Velthem makes a similar statement and adds that there were particularly severe electrical storms.[2] These facts are further substantiated by Lodewijk van Velthem,[3] the anonymous *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium*,[4] and the later compilation of Jean d'Outremeuse.[5]

The attempt of the French king to invade Flanders in the summer of 1315 gives eloquent evidence of the enormous volume of rain. Count Robert of Flanders (1305–1322) had been very successful in evading the responsibilities incurred by the Treaty of Athis-sur-Orge, made in 1305 between his father, Count Guy, and Philip IV of France. Finally, in 1314, the king determined to put an end to the count's dilatory tactics, and planned an invasion in conjunction with Count William of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, who had married Jeanne, daughter of Charles of Valois, and who therefore was his nephew by marriage. Zeeland, situated at the northeast of Flanders, would cut off the Flemings from all access to the North Sea by way of the Honte, the west arm of the Schelde and at present its main channel. To the southwest the county of Hainault would cut them off from contact with neutral lands, while the French king was to invade Flanders from the south. The Flemings would therefore be completely isolated from their landward neighbors save the duchy of Brabant to the east. Count William, apparently on September 6,

[1] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1839), 442.

[2] Johannes Molanus, *Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV*, II (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1861), 865.

[3] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael* (Amsterdam, 1727), pp. 375–376. The text of this edition is very defective. A new edition is in preparation, *Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiael (1248–1316), opnieuw uitgegeven door H. vander Linden en W. de Vreese*, Vol. I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1906). The second volume containing the references to the famine is in press.

[4] *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium* (*Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, Vol. I, *Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1837), p. 179.

[5] Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Mireur des Histors*, VI, 218–219.

began to invade and, sailing up the Schelde past Antwerp, destroyed and burned villages and farmsteads on the left bank in Flanders.[1] The French king, Louis X,—Philip IV had died on November 29 of the preceding year—had brought together his army, and at the opening of August, the *oriflamme* stood ready at Bondue between Lille and Courtrai to invade the county.[2]

Torrential rains now prevented all progress. There was an incessant downpour, day and night, in most miraculous fashion such as no mortal then living had ever seen. The low lands of Flanders that stretched out before the invading army were converted into a bog. Stationed on the right bank of the Lys and with the Flemings encamped before them, the enemy could proceed no further. So wet was the ground that the horses sank into it up to their saddle girths. The men stood knee-deep in the mud, and the wagons could be drawn only with the greatest difficulty.[3] The poet chronicler Van Velthem, who was then living in Antwerp, heard how seven horses could not draw out of the mud a wagon loaded with a vat of wine.[4] So bitterly cold was it in this boggy land that the troops were thoroughly benumbed and had little inclination to advance.[5] The rain poured into the tents and provisioning the host became well-nigh impossible.[6] Progress was out of the question, and the army was threatened with hunger. On September 13 the king decided to withdraw.[7] The tents and military stores were set afire, the food and equipment were destroyed, and Louis withdrew southward to Tournai.[8]

[1] S. A. Waller Zeper, *Jan van Henegouwen, Heer van Beaumont. Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de Eerste Helft der Veertiende Eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage, 1914), pp. 46–47.

[2] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 423; Gerard de Fracheto, *Chronicon* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 44.

[3] *Istore et Croniques de Flandre*, I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1879), 305; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, I (*Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1891), 226. The *Chronographia* for this period is a Latin translation of the French *Istore et Croniques de Flandre*.

[4] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 387.

[5] Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales* (*Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1905), p. 87: '. . . quando tempus est pluviale, talis est conditionis, et in hyeme etiam, quod extra domos ibi nullus potest durare'

[6] *Istore et Croniques de Flandre*, I, 305; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, I, 226; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V (ed. by Paulin Paris, 1838), 225.

Great was the deliverance for the sorely pressed Flemings, as Louis had even sought the coöperation of the duke of Brabant and the English king, Edward II. To some it seemed like a miracle; to Willelmus Procurator of Egmond it recalled Hannibal's enforced withdrawal from Rome.[1] The terrific downpour reminded the anonymous author of the *Flores Historiarum* of the description of the flood in the seventh chapter of Genesis.[2] Van Velthem, however, preferred to believe that the French fled because of some strange fear rather than from the hostility of the elements, of which he gave a very good description.[3]

These facts reveal that during the summer of 1315 intemperate weather was the rule in most of Europe north of the Alps. The constant rains implied two things, low temperature and cloudy, lowering skies. In France it was uncommonly cold,[4] and also in Flanders, from which the invading king was forced to retreat.[5] The dark skies and the abundance of rain had an unfortunate effect upon the production of wine. The chroniclers complain that it was bad in quality and slight in quantity.[6] The importation of wine from French and German lands nearly ceased at Antwerp according to Van Velthem.[7] Nor was any brought to Tournai where the people were forced to rely upon such as was produced from the nearby vineyards of St Jean des Chaufours.[8] The inclemency of the weather, the low temperature,

---

[7] *Récits d'un Bourgeois de Valenciennes, XIVe Siècle* (ed. by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Louvain, 1877), p. 135.

[8] Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 87; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 423; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 225; Gerard de Fracheto, *Chronicon*, p. 44; Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine* (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. XIII, 1728), col. 475–476; *Excerpta e Memoriali Historiarum Johannis a Sancto Victore* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 662.

[1] *Willemi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmondensis Chronicon* (ed. by C. Pijnacker Hordijk, *Werken Uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap Gevestigd te Urecht*, 3d Serie, no. 20, Amsterdam, 1904), p. 89.

[2] *Flores Historiarum*, III (*Rolls Series*, London, 1890), 171.

[3] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, pp. 387-388.

[4] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation) I, 421-422.

[5] Gilles le Muisit, *Cronique et Annales*, p. 87.

[6] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 421-422, 424; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 222.

[7] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 376

[8] Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89.

and the dark skies prevented the usual production of salt by evaporation in western France and elsewhere so that a real dearth of this important article was everywhere felt.[1]

Particularly disastrous was the result for the grain crop of the summer. The cold weather and torrential rains during June, July, and August prevented the growing grains from coming to full maturity and hardening. Thus the autumn seeding of wheat and rye proved a total failure. The spring rains prevented proper sowing of oats, barley, and spelt, and when the time came for these to ripen they fared no better. So great was the rainfall in England during time of harvest that in many places the hay could not be cured.[2] The corn that was harvested was not ripe, and the soft grains, dampened by the unceasing rains, had to be dried in vessels before being ground into flour, according to Trokelowe.[3] This condition was quite general throughout England,[4] Ireland,[5] France,[6] and undoubtedly Germany[7] also. During the whole summer Van Velthem from his point of vantage at Antwerp could see the swollen waters covering the low-lying lands along the Flemish and Brabançon banks of the Schelde. He must have heard a great deal about how the lands of Zeeland and Holland, which were still lower than those around Antwerp, stood under water. Everywhere in those parts the spring sow-

[1] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales* (*Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, Rolls Series*, London, 1866), pp. 92–94; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332–333; *Annales Paulini*, p. 279; *Annales Londonienses* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Vol. I, *Rolls Series*, London, 1882), p. 238; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Vol. II, *Rolls Series*, London, 1883), p. 48; Gilles le Muisit. *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89; *Fragment d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCXXVIII*, p. 151; *Anonymum Sancti Martialis Chronicon ad Annum MCCCXV Continuatum* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXI, Paris, 1855), p. 806.

[2] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214.

[3] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Sed vix ad dictam diem Nativitatis pro pane coquendo colligi poterant, nisi prius ad desiccandum in clibanos mitterentur.'

[4] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Annales Londonienses*, p. 236; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332; *Annales Paulini*, p. 278; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 38; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke* (ed. by E. M. Thompson, Oxford, 1899), p. 9; Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae* (*Rolls Series*, London, 1876), p. 248.

[5] *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 275; *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579.

[6] Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 421–422; *Fragment d'une Chronique Finissant en MCCCXXVIII*, p. 151.

[7] Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors*, VI, 219.

ing was a complete failure.[1] The briefer testimony of Boendale fully substantiates these statements.[2] Throughout Flanders there were floods.[3] Although no specific references to the failure of vegetables can be found, there can be no doubt that these too must have suffered severely.

A good index of the appalling calamity in England is provided by the prices paid for grains during 1315 and the first half of 1316. Trokelowe states that the acuteness of the famine declined somewhat during the autumn months, but it became increasingly severe as Christmas drew near. When spring approached and the old stocks became completely exhausted, prices rose rapidly. In 1315 wheat had sold at twenty shillings per quarter but soon rose to thirty and by the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 24) commanded forty shillings.[4] This is also the testimony of the *Annals of London*,[5] and, with slight variations, of the other English chroniclers. Proportionately high prices were naturally demanded for beans, peas, oats, barley, and malt.[6] Salt, which had sold for thirty shillings per quarter in 1315, rose to forty shillings in the following year.[7] When it is borne in mind that the average price of wheat in all areas of England in 1313 was about five shillings,[8] the gravity of the situation is apparent.

Statistics of what happened in France, where the famine was perhaps as severe as in England, are much less satisfactory. There

[1] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, pp. 375–376.

[2] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 442.

[3] *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium*, p. 179.

[4] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, pp. 93–94. For obvious reasons no effort has been made to reduce to common terms either the prices paid or the measures employed.

[5] *Annales Londonienses*, p. 236.

[6] *Annales Paulini*, p. 279; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332–333; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke*, p. 9; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 39; *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI–MCCCXLVI*, p. 233; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48; Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* (*Rolls Series*, London, 1889), p. 24; *Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia* (*Annales Monastici*, Vol. III, *Rolls Series*, London, 1866), p. 470.

[7] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, pp. 92, 94; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 39; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332–333; *Annales Londonienses*, p. 238; *Annales Paulini*, p. 279.

[8] J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I, 228. See also the graph in N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, p. 60.

also the dearth and consequent hunger became worse as the spring and summer advanced, and prices rose to unprecedented levels. By Easter of 1316 a *septier* (*sextarium*) of wheat sold for as much as fifty-five and sixty Parisian *solidi*. Oats and barley brought thirty and eighteen *solidi* respectively.[1] Salt likewise became costly; it sold for ten *solidi* a measure (*boissel*) at Paris,[2] and forty-five a measure (*emina*) at Limoges, where an egg sold for as much as a *denarius*.[3] The chroniclers of Germany wrote plaintive statements of the dearth and the resulting famine. At Strassburg in 1316 a quarter of corn cost thirty shillings, and in the neighboring country two pounds and five shillings.[4] At Lübeck a measure (*schepel*) of rye in 1315 cost ten *solidi* of the coinage of Brandenburg,[5] and in Bremen in 1316 twenty-four old *groten*.[6] High prices were asked for rye in southern Germany.[7] Although these measures and coinages are difficult if not impossible to reduce to a common term, the fact that all the chroniclers emphasize the dearth and mention the prices of these commodities proves the universality and asperity of the crisis.

Some particularly accurate and valuable data about prices in the Low Countries have been preserved in the chronicle of Lodewijk van Velthem. This writer was living in Antwerp, a town which, built on the estuary of the Schelde, was more and more becoming a central point in the trade of western Europe.[8] The prices paid for grain in that town may therefore be taken to be quite representative of the situation in most of western Europe, its economic hinterland. A measure (*modius*) according to the standard of Louvain cost at All

[1] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 426; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 227; *Annales Dervenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVI), p. 490.

[2] *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 226.

[3] *Anonymum Sancti Martialis Chronicon ad Annum DCCCXV Continuatum*, p. 806.

[4] *Fritsche Closener's Chronik* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. VIII, 1870), p. 175.

[5] *Detmar Chronik von 1105–1386* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XIX, 1884), p. 427.

[6] *Die Bremische Chronik des Gerhard Rynesberch und des Herbord Schene* (*Geschichtsquellen des Erzstiftes und der Stadt Bremen. Herausgegeben von Johann M. Lappenburg*, Bremen, 1841), p. 86.

[7] *Annales Windbergenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVII), p. 565.

[8] H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, II (2d ed., Bruxelles, 1908), 47–54; H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326–1347* (*University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science*, Vol. VIII, Ann Arbor, 1929), pp. 11–12.

Saints' Day five pounds, at St Andrew's (November 30) seven, at Christmas Eve ten, at Easter, 1316, twelve, and at the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 24) sixteen.[1] Thus in the space of only seven months after the first of November, 1315, the price of wheat, which was already very high, rose three hundred and twenty per cent. The chronicler of the abbey of Parc situated near Louvain in a fertile corn-growing region states that a *modius* of rye or salt sold for as much as twenty-four pounds, and that five years later it declined to twenty shillings.[2] The chronicler of the abbey of Saint Trond south of Louvain declares that rye cost eleven florins per *modius* of the standard of Saint Trond.[3] Boendale, who accurately reports conditions in Brabant, states that a quarter of rye at Antwerp cost sixty *solidi* Tournois.[4] Gilles le Muisit, abbot of Saint Martin's in Tournai, relates that at the close of May, 1316, salt sold for six pounds a measure (*raseria*) and that a similar measure of wheat cost forty *solidi*, oats twenty-seven, and peas forty-five, at which prices they could scarcely be procured.[5] At Fosses in the county of Namur a measure of spelt in 1315 cost six *solidi*, in 1316 forty *grossi*.[6] Levold de Northof, a canon of the church of Liège, whose observations are especially valuable for the duchy of Limburg and the parts around Liège, states that a measure of spelt cost four *solidi* and often more.[7] In the county of Holland[8] and adjacent inland parts a similar condition prevailed.[9]

From these facts it is evident that there was universal failure of crops in 1315 in most if not all the lands of Europe from the Pyrenees to Slavic regions, from Scotland to Italy. This is the testimony of Van Velthem[10] and of the Florentine Giovanni Villani.[11] Everywhere it

[1] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, pp. 392–393.

[2] *Annales Parchenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVI), p. 608.

[3] *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Trudonis* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. X), p. 416.

[4] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 442.

[5] Gilles le Muisit, *Chroniques et Annales*, p. 89.

[6] *Annales Fossenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. IV), p. 34.

[7] Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanae, sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Altena* (*Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, ed. by H. Meibomius, Tomus I, Helmstadii, 1688), p. 398.

[8] *Willelmi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmondensis Chronicon*, pp. 90–91.

[9] *Annales Tielenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XXIV), p. 26: ' . . . tanta fuit caristia, qualis ante non est visa; maldrum enim tritici emebatur pro sex libris, maldrum siliginis pro quinque libris, maldrum ordei pro tribus libris et sex solidis, et maldrum havene pro duabus libris.'

was the same melancholy story. In England when the famine came over the land the nobles and wealthy folk as well as the religious often ceased such eleemosynary activities as they were usually engaged in and sought to save themselves from the impending catastrophe by reducing their households.[1] Domestic animals and fowls became very scarce; eggs were not to be obtained.[2] The murrain carried off great numbers of sheep and other cattle.[3] Meats thus became extremely scarce. And such grain as had been garnered proved to have but little nourishing power. No matter how much one ate of food prepared from such corn, he could obtain no nourishment.[4] Trokelowe declares that a large loaf costing four pence was not enough for the daily needs of one man.[5]

Especially severe were the trials of the poor and lowly. They were forced to feed themselves as best they might; they ate dogs, cats, the dung of doves, and even their own children.[6] Cannabalism certainly was common.[7] Trokelowe relates how thieves who had been impri-

---

[10] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 393.

[11] Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482: 'Nel detto anno 1316 grande pestilentia di mortalità e di fame avvenne nelle parti di Germania, cioè nella Magna sopra verso Tramontana, e stesesi in Olanda, Frisia, e in Silanda, e per Brabante, Fiandra, e Analdo infino in Borgogna e parte di Francia, e fu sì periculosa che più che 'l terzo delle genti morirono, e da l'uno giorno a l'altro quelli, che più pareva sano, era morto.'

[1] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Hujusmodi igitur fame praevalente, tam magnates quam religiosi curias suas restringebant, solitas eleemosynas subtrahebant, familias suas minuebant.' See also Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 249.

[2] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 92.

[3] The king's subjects at Morganoc in Wales petitioned for relief from the burdens of the ransom which they were required to pay, 'because they assented to the folly of Llewelen Bren against the peace, because they sold most of their chattels at a loss last year to raise, and because of the great murrain of beasts and the great dearness since in all the country they have nothing now to live on, that he will pardon them a part of that moiety of the ransom which remains and grant them instalment of three years of the remainder.' See *Calendar of Chancery Warrants Preserved in the Record Office*, I (*1244–1326*), 473–474. See also John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England* (*Rolls Series*, London, 1858), p. 185.

[4] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Nec habebat panis robur nutritivum, seu virtutem substantialem more solito in se, pro eo quod grana a calore solis aestivi nutrimentum non habebant.'

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 95: 'Quatuor autem denariatus de grosso pane non sufficiebant uni simplici homini in die.'

[6] *Annales be Bermundeseia*, p. 470: 'Pauperes enim pueros suos manducabant, canes, murelegos, stercus columbarum. . . .'

[7] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 95: 'Carnes quidem cummunes, et ad vescendum licitae, strictae erant nimis; sed carnes equinae pretiosae eis fuerant, qui canes pingues fura-

soned, but who were neglected and given no food, ferociously attacked new prisoners and devoured them half alive.[1] He also tells how he saw the emaciated forms of starving men and women in the streets of London; dirty dead bodies were everywhere to be seen in the wards and lanes.[2] Robert of Brunne's description of the famine in Cadwallader's time, which according to C. Creighton probably is really based upon his own observations at the time of this famine,[3] admirably supports Trokelowe's statements. There was no corn, and hunger was universal; one might travel for three days without being able to buy any food. It was the same story in the towns; people tried to relieve the pangs of hunger by eating leaves and roots or an occasional fish caught in the streams.[4] Even the king found it difficult to get food. When Edward II with his household stopped at St Albans at the Feast of St Laurence (August 10), it was practically impossible to procure bread for his court.[5] Suffering was especially severe in Ireland. In May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed on the Antrim coast with about six thousand fighting men. In civil dissensions which followed thereupon the country was laid waste, and the disorder vastly increased the misery already acute from the failure of crops.[6]

Conditions in France were everywhere practically the same.[7] In

---

bantur, et, ut multi asserebant, tam viri quam mulieres parvulos suos, et etiam alienos, in multis locis comedebant.' See also W. Adams, *Chronicle of Bristol* (Bristol, 1910), p. 95.

[1] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 95: 'Sed, quod horrible est ad futurorum notitiam perducere, incarcerati etiam fures inter eos recenter venientes in momento semivivos devorabant.'

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 94: 'Attenuatos autem fame perpendimus civitatem introeuntes, cum pauperes et egenos, ipsa fame oppressos, per vicos et itinera squalentes et mortuos jacere conspicimus.'

[3] C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain, A. D. 664–1866*, I, 48–49.

[4] Robert Manning of Brunne, *The Story of England*, I (*Rolls Series*, London, 1887), 569.

[5] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 92: 'Unde terra tanta penuria premebatur, quod, cum rex apud Sanctum Albanum in festo Sancti Laurentii proximo sequente declinaret, vix poterat panis venalis pro suae specialis familiae sustentatione, inveniri.'

[6] O. Armstrong, *Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland* (London, 1923), pp. 88–89.

[7] *Anonymum Sancti Martialis Chronicon ad Annum MCCCXX Continuatum*, p. 813; *Fragment d'une Chronique Finissant en MCCCXXVIII*, p. 151; *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 222, 226–227; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 421–422, 424, 426, 428; *Annales Dervenses*, p. 490; *Chronique Parisienne Anonyme de 1316 à 1339* (*Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, Vol. XI, 1884), p. 28; *Chronique Rimée Attribuée* à *Geffroi de Paris* (Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXII, Paris, 1894), pp. 161–162.

1315 the surplus stores of corn and wine in Gascony did somewhat relieve the suffering population of northern France, but in 1316 all such supplies were exhausted.[1] Large numbers of laborers, men and women, died in the streets and open places of Paris.[2]

Pestilence accompanied the famine. Such medical skill as the age possessed of course proved completely futile in relieving the malady.[3] Death often came very suddenly,[4] and the number of the dead was so great in many places that there were not enough persons sufficiently well to bury them.[5] Dysentery, high fever, and a fetid infection of the throat were very common.[6] So repulsive was the effluvium that the bodies had to be buried almost immediately after death.[7] These conditions were prevalent in England,[8] Scotland,[9] Ireland,[10] and also in Germany.[11] While no information can be found about

[1] *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, pp. 112–113.

[2] *Grandes Chroniques de France*, V, 227: 'Et après ce ensuivant, pour ce que la très grant famine ensuivoit si croissant et angoisseaux, pluseurs hommes et femmes povres créatures, traveilians et laborans de fain, par rues et par places à Paris muroient.'

[3] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 94: 'Nec potuit in hac pestilentia contra praedictos morbos prudentia physicorum, prout antiquitus solebat, aliquod congruum in arte sua reperire remedium.'

[4] *Annales de Bermundeseia*, p. 470: '. . . et ita crebro moriebantur, ut deesset morituris cura et mortuis sepultura'; *Récits d'un Bourgeois de Valenciennes*, p. 136.

[5] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 94: 'Tot enim moriuntur egeni, quod vix sufficiunt vivi ad sepulturam mortuorum.'

[6] *Ibid.*: 'Morbus enim dysentericus, ex corruptis cibis conceptus, fere omnes maculavit; quem sequebatur acuta febris, vel pestis gutturuosa.'

[7] *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48: 'Nec poterant mortuorum corpora propter foetorum diutius reservari quin ante prandium et post cotidie sunt humata.'

[8] *Annales Londonienses*, pp. 236, 238; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Annales Paulini*, pp. 278, 279; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henri jusqu'à l'an 17 Édouard III*, p. 39; Adam de Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 24; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swinbroke*, p. 9; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 332–333; *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI–MCCCXLVI*, p. 233.

[9] *Chroni on de Lanercost MCCI–MCCCXLVI*, p. 233; *Liber Pluscardensis*, I (*Historians of Scotland*, E dinburgh, 1877), 240-241; Johannes de Fordun, *Chronicon Gentis Scotorum*, I (*Historians of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1871), 345, where the statement about the famine in 1310 should no doubt refer to 1315 or 1316.

[10] *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 275; *Annals of Ireland* (*Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, Vol. II, *Rolls Series*, London, 1884), pp. 349-350, 354.

[11] *Chronik des Dietrich Westhoff von 750–1500* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XX, 1887), p. 199; *Fritsche Closener's Chronik*, p. 135. See also Florenz von Wevelinkhoven, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster*, pp. 48, 130.

what happened in Scandinavia, it appears that Sweden also was visited by pestilence.[1]

The generally emaciated condition of their bodies rendered people peculiarly susceptible to all manner of disease. Van Velthem states that the pestilence began among the poorer folk in Antwerp but soon spread among the better classes.[2] According to Boendale no class was immune.[3] Whether ergotism was very prevalent is difficult to determine because of the vague description of the disease. It was common in the Middle Ages, but apparently was never accurately diagnosed. It also afflicted animals.[4] St Anthony's fire was very common. It is an unscientific name for erysipelas, a dangerous disease of the skin induced by a micro-organism. Epidemics of this disease were frequent during very cold winters and rainy summers. In an age lamentably ignorant of even the simplest rudiments of sanitary living the disease must have spread widely among the populace housed in damp and noisome places. High fever and hunger undoubtedly greatly lowered the vitality of all. Many people may have died of anthrax. The chroniclers, especially those of England,[5] speak of the great murrain.[6] The famishing populace probably contracted it by eating the flesh of animals that died from the disease, or by eating the roots, grass, or herbs infected with the germ. Other infectious maladies were no doubt common. They would explain why death came so suddenly and the bodies began to decompose at once.

[1] *Märkvärdiga Händelser i Sverige ifrån 1220 till 1552* (*Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, Vol. I, Upsala, 1818), p. 90: '1316 rägnade blod vid Ringstadholm. Samma ar var pestilentia här i Sverige.' See E. Hildebrand, *Sveriges Historia intill tjugonde Seklet*, II (Stokholm, [1905]), 174.

[2] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 394.

[3] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 443.

[4] See M. R. Trumbower, 'Ergotism among Cattle in Kansas,' *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1884* (Washington, 1885), pp. 212–252; 'Enzootics of Ergotism,' *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1884* (Washington, 1884), pp. 310–320; C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain from A. D. 664 to 1866*, I, 52–64.

[5] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 92; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, II, 333; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 214; *Gesta Edwardi di Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, p. 48; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, p. 185; William Gregory, *Chronicle of London* (ed. by J. Gairdner, *Camden Society*, new Series, Vol. XVII, 1876), p. 75.

[6] Lodewijk van Velthem. *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 390; J. Molanus, *Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV*, II, 865; *Willelmi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmon-*

The public had a presentiment of what was coming. When the rain continued unabated during June, July, and August, and it became certain that food would be scarce, processions became common. In this hour of need the guilds and religious bodies in Paris often went forth barefooted, led by the clergy.[1] The statement by the continuator of the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis is especially interesting: "We saw a large number of both sexes, not only from nearby places but from places as much as five leagues away, barefooted, and many even, excepting the women, in a completely nude condition, with their priests, coming together in procession at the church of the holy martyr, and they devoutly carried bodies of the saints and other relics to be adored." He also states that this was quite common in the dioceses of Chartres and Rouen, and in many other places in France.[2] The archbishop of Canterbury ordered that all the religious of London should go barefoot in procession on every Friday to the church of the Holy Trinity bearing the Blessed Sacrament and sacred relics.[3] Such spectacles must have been very common in every part of Europe where the famine raged.

Because of these conditions there was a great increase in crime. Persons who ordinarily led a decent and respectable life were forced into irregularities of conduct which made them criminals. Robbers and vagabonds appear to have infested the countryside of England, and they were guilty of all manner of violence.[4] Murder became very

---

densis Chronicon, p. 91; *Königsaaler Geschichts-Quellen* (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Scriptores*, Abtheilung I, Vol. VIII, 1875), p. 379.

[1] *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, pp. 112–113.

[2] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 422; *Chronique Rimée attribuée à Geffroi de Paris*, p. 160:

'En cel temps, les processions,
Chanoinnes et collégions
Alèrent de toute partie,
A grant doulor, à grand hachie
Et trestouz nus piez et en langes,
Aus festes et aux diemanches,
Roy, duc, et conte, tes estas:
Et autel firent les prélaz.
Partout aloient Dieu requerre
Que Dieu biau temps donnast en terre;
Mès longuement fu atendu.'

[3] *Annales Paulini*, p. 278: 'Qua de causa dominus archiepiscopus ordinavit quod omnes religiosi et viri ecclesiastici civitatis, qualibet die Veneris, processiones facerent nudis pedibus usque ad ecclesiam Sanctae Trinitatis eundo, corpus Domini et alias reliquias secum portantes.'

[4] Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, p. 93: 'Unde illi a curiis sic amoti, vitam delicatam ducere consueti, fodere nesciebant, mendicare erubescebant, penuria tamen cibi et potus devicti

frequent in Ireland.[1] Robbery with assault was common; in fact all manner of articles that could be used for food were stolen, such as cattle, sheep, horses, hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, deer, and corn. Household and personal possessions, hay, timber, stones, lead, in fact all things of value were readily taken. The *Calendars of Patent Rolls* contain numerous commissions of oyer and terminer issued to determine who were the parties guilty of these deeds.[2] It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that all these commissions issued in 1315 and 1316 were aimed at criminals who were driven to violence by starvation, for King Edward's government was quite lax and inspired scant respect; but it is certain that a large proportion of the crimes complained of were caused by hunger.

There also were robberies on the high seas. On April 4, 1316, Edward ordered his officials to proceed to the ports between Lynn and Falmouth to urge their officials to prepare ships which were to stay in his service as long as possible for 'the repulse of certain malefactors who have committed manslaughter and other enormities on the sea upon the men of this realm and upon men from foreign parts coming to this realm with victuals and other goods.'[3] On August 12 the king complained that some of his subjects of Kent, Sussex, and Southampton were committing thefts and homicide on the sea which so terrified merchants and fishermen that they were not coming into the realm with their goods.[4] In Paris bakers were found guilty of putting the most revolting things in the bread such as the dregs of wine and the dung of hogs. A salutary punishment was imposed: sixteen offenders were placed on wheels in the public places of the town and were forced to hold in their raised hands fragments of the rotten bread. They were thereupon banished from the country.[5]

---

bona aliena sitiebant, caedibus et rapinis intendentes. Tot autem effecti sunt infideles, quod in pace vivere non permiserunt fideles.'

[1] *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, pp. 402, 405, 412–414, 416–424, 426–428, 431, 492–500, 503–504, 506, 579–601. While the commissions are usually dated, the date of the crime is unfortunately never given.

[3] *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1318*, p. 332.

[4] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, p. 585.

Of the famine and dearth in German and adjacent Slavic and Magyar lands the chroniclers have given much scattered information.[1] The universal agreement among them emphasizes the unvarying seriousness of the disaster. Throughout the winter of 1315 and 1316 there was much rain, and the unusually cold weather entailed vast suffering. The Moldau in Bohemia was so frozen from St Andrew's Day (November 30) until March 28 that people freely passed over it as on dry land.[2] The rains that fell in Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Meissen in the spring and summer of 1316 appear to have been especially disastrous, for they destroyed the hay and ruined much of the seeding.[3] There were great rainstorms at Salzburg at the close of June, which to the chronicler seemed like a deluge.[4] In Saxony the turbid waters of the swollen Elbe carried a large number of villages with human beings and cattle to destruction.[5] Food failed everywhere, and men and animals perished in great numbers.[6] It was common to see the almost lifeless forms of famishing men and women stretched on the ground of the streets and open places in the villages and towns of Saxony. At Erfurt a great trench was dug

[5] *Prima Vita Joannis XXII Auctore Joanne Canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, p. 115: 'Cum autem illo anno esset maxime caristia, inventum est quod pistores panis in pane multas immunditias posuerunt, faeces vini, stercora porcorum: que et alia plura famelici homines comedebant; et sic panefici pauperum pecunias emungebant. Cognita ergo veritate, posite sunt rote in campellis Parisius sexdecim super palos, et super eas singuli tales panefici constituti, tenentes manibus elevatis panum frustra taliter corruptorum. Postea sunt de Francia banniti.'

[1] For a reference to what happened in the Danube valley, see *Annales Windergenses*, p. 565.

[2] *Königsaaler Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 379: 'In hac hieme a festo beati Andreae apostoli usque ad diem Palmarum, qui videlicet quinto Kalendas Aprilis fuerat, Multavia fluvius in tantum congelatus permanserat, quod in ipsius glaciali superficie sive omni interpolatione cotidie quasi super aridam populus transiens ambulabat.'

[3] *Ibid.*: 'In Austria, Polonia, Ungaria, et Misna de hoc diluvio omnium hominum quaerimonia nuntiabat infinita pericula esse facta. Haec acquarum inundatio campos et valles cooperuit, fenum et segestes distruxit, secumque plura, quae rapuit, deduxit.'

[4] *Continuatio Canonicorum Sancti Rubberti Salisburgensis* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. IX), p. 822: 'Item eodem anno ante festum Johannis baptiste, et in vigilia ejusdem, et in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, triplex inundatio tanta aquarum facta fuit, quod quasi particulare diluvium videretur.'

[5] *Königsaaler Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 379: 'In partibus Saxoniae tantum Albea fluvius excrevit, quod quadringentas et quinquaginta villas aquae vicinas cum hominibus et pecoribus pariter delevit.'

[6] *Ibid.*: 'Bladum, fenum deficit, deficiunt et pascua, ut esurire et interire incipiant homines et iumenta.'

before the town wall into which day by day the bodies of the victims were cast.[1] It appears that memory of this dismal event long survived. In 1341 Benedict XII offered an indulgence of forty days to all those who would participate in the memorial services. According to the bull, eight thousand one hundred people had been buried in the nearby cemetery at Schmidtstädt (Smetestete); but it is not absolutely certain that these are the ones who died in 1316 since the document merely states that they had died in a particularly severe famine.[2] Archbishop Peter of Mainz told the author of the household chronicle of the kings of Bohemia that in the diocese of Metz five hundred thousand men, women, and children had perished during a period of six months. Of the number of horses, cattle, and sheep that died he would not hazard a guess. More than a thousand sheep died in the barns of the king of Bohemia alone.[3] The starving populace ate the flesh of animals that had died of the pest.[4] In Magdeburg, before whose gates numbers of persons lay, the bakers had to guard their wares with sticks to prevent the famishing from snatching them.[5] The Cistercian monks at Riddagshausen near Brunswick fed four thousand persons daily from Lent to harvest time.[6] At Bremen it was the same story.[7]

[1] *Chronica Reinhardbrunnensis* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XXX), p. 651: 'Anno Domini MCCCXVI fames valida, que iam per tres annos invaluerat, tam magna facta est, ut multi fame perirent. Nam in strata publica, in civitatibus, in opidis, in villis inumerabiles iacere exanimes videbantur. Unde cives Erfordenses misericordia moti magnam foveam ante civitatem fecerunt, ubi cottidie proiecta sunt corpora mortuorum.'

[2] C. Beyer, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Erfurt*, II (*Historische Commission der Provinz Sachsen*, Halle, 1897), 170.

[3] *Königsaaler Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 379: 'Retulit nobis dominus Petrus Maguntinus archiepiscopus, quod infra dimidii anni tempus in civitate solum Metensi quinquies centum millia hominum mortua sunt, nichilominus equos, oves, et boves, et universa pecora campi necuit pestilentia huius anni, oves enim plures quam mille exceptis aliis animalibus praemortuis, quae ad aulam regiam pertinuerunt, in grangiis perierunt.' This figure should be regarded merely as a guess. Others by later writers such as Friedrich Zorn, *Wormser Chronik* (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Vol. XLIII, Stuttgart, 1857), p. 137, are of course wholly untrustworthy.

[4] *Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik* (*Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. VII, Leipzig, 1869), p. 185: 'In dem 1316 jare wart grot duer tid, dat vele lude van hunger mosten sterven, und ok stark vele vehes, und van den doden koien reddeden sik vele armer lude, de anders gestorven weren van hungere.'

[5] *Ibid.*: 'De becker de brot veil hadden in oren husen, de mosten mit stocken dar bi stan und weren vor den armen, boven dat se on dat nicht nemen.'

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 186: 'In disser duren tid spiseden de grawen monnike to Riddershusen bi Bruns-

These conditions also prevailed in the western parts of the Empire where towns were most numerous and urban economy was quite prevalent.[1] At Strassburg the old hospital apparently proved too small and a new one was prepared outside the walls to take care of those afflicted by famine and pestilence.[2] At Trier and throughout the lands of the See of Trier the price of rye rose to unprecedented levels during the summer of 1315 and the following winter. Pestilence and starvation were of course especially severe in the towns. Bodies of the poor were found in the streets and public places. The authorities ordered them to be buried in huge trenches in the cemeteries at public expense.[3] Several trenches were dug outside the walls at Colmar, into two of which were cast respectively two thousand and seventeen hundred bodies of the townsfolk. Induced by the universal hunger, many people left their homes and wandered far and wide in search of something to eat. Some of those who had come from the borders of France and from Lorraine to Alsace, which by common repute was very fertile, died at Colmar where a large number were buried in trenches.[4] Throughout the lower Rhine Valley

---

wik alle dage mer denn veirhundert volkes mit brode van der vasten wente to der erne, dat men dat koren sniden scholde. Do geven sie islikem armen minschen ein sekelen und ein brod und heiten se gan arbeiden und sniden.'

[7] *Die Bremische Chronik des Gerhard Rynesberch und des Herbord Schene*, pp. 86–87. The dean of the church of Bremen charitably distributed corn to the starving poor. He was rebuked for doing this in the face of starvation, but according to the chronicler he was rewarded for his reliance upon the Lord and St Peter, and his stores were miraculously replenished.

[1] *Annales Sancti Vitoni Virdunensis* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. X), p. 529.

[2] *Fritsche Closener's Chronik*, p. 135: 'Do man zalt 1316 jor, do galt ein vierteil kornes 30 sol. zu Strosburg, und in dem lande 2 lib. oder 2 lib. und 5 sol. Von dem gebresten kam ein grosse sterbote. Von dem sterbende wart der spital us der stad gezogen, der vormols was in Kremergasse gelegen, daz nu heisset 'zu dem alten spital'. '

[3] *Gesta Trevirorum*, II (ed. by H. Wyttenbach and M. F. Müller, Trier, 1838), 235: 'Etiam pestilentia universalis erat adeo magna, quod multorum pauperum corpora exanima, fame et pestilentia infecta, in stratis publicis inveniebantur, et a pluribus civitatibus magnae generales foveae in cimiterium consecratae parabantur, et pretia statuebantur, ut ipsa cadevera sepulturae traderentur.' See also *Annales Marbacenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVII), p. 179.

[4] Johannes Vitoduranus, *Chronicon a Friderico II Imperatore ad Annum MCCCXLVIII Procedens* (*Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte herausgegeben auf Veranstaltung der allgemeinen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz*, Vol. XI, 1856), p. 69: 'Circiter ista tempora propter karistiam que invaluerat in pluribus mundi partibus perierunt nimia pre fame in civitate Alsacie dicta Calmur tot homines, quod in duabus foveis extra muros ad hoc paratis sepulti fuerant XX et XVII centena et in aliis tribus LXXX. XIX centena hominum qui pro

large numbers died,[1] and in Cologne and other places the poor, it was said, were not prosecuted for snatching loaves of bread from the windows of the bakers.[2]

Along the whole coast of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea famine and pestilence were rife.[3] In Livonia and Esthonia in the dioceses of Riga, Ösel, Dorpat, and Reval, starving mothers ate their children.[4] One chronicler emphasizes the truth of the story of cannibalism and declares that famishing men often died on the graves while digging up bodies for food.[5] The Teutonic Knights in those parts did what they could to alleviate their suffering dependents by liberally distributing food from their immense granaries.[6]

While the famine and pestilence in France, Germany, and England were more serious than any living person in these lands had yet seen, they appear to have been especially disastrous in the Low Countries.[7] The county of Flanders was an industrial community,

---

majori parte de Westerrich et de Lotharingia ut fertur extiterunt. Nam illic fames crudelius inhorruerat et ut eam homines ibidem habitantes effugerent, ad civitatem prenominatam, terre fructibus tunc magis exuberantem, turmatim confluxerunt.' Westerrich apparently is *Westreich*, or France, a characteristically old Lotharingian survival. The passage bears no date, but undoubtedly refers to the trials of 1315 and 1316.

[1] *Annales Agrippinenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVI), p. 737; *Cölner Jahrbücher des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XIII, Leipzig, 1876), p. 21.

[2] *Koelhoffsche Chronik* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1877), pp. 663–664: 'In den jaeren uns heren 1315 was ein grois duir zit in duitschen ind welschen landen, dat men den armen zolies dat si moichten broit nemen van den fensteren dae men broit verkochte, ind sturven vil lude hungers.' The *Chronik des Dietrich Westhoff von 750–1500* (*Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Vol. XX, Leipzig, 1887), p. 119, repeats practically verbatim the *Koelhoffsche Chronik*. See also *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XIII (1888), 598, and Florenz von Wevelinkhoven, *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster*, p. 48.

[3] *Detmar Chronik von 1101–1395*, p. 427: 'In deme sulven jare was bi der zee unde in der Marke so dure tiid, dat de schepel rocghe gholt 10 schillinghe Brandenburghes.'

[4] *Canonici Sambiensis Annales* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XIX), p. 704: 'Anno Domini 1315 tanta fames in Lyvonia et Esconia orta est, quod matres filiis vescebantur.'

[5] *Annales Lubicenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVI), p. 424: 'Et pro certo dicitur, quod quidam in hiis terminis propter famem nimiam devoraverunt proprios suos pueros, et quidam famelici vivi intraverunt sepulcra, in quibusdam locis multitudini fame decedentium facta, ut in hiis morerentur (morirentur?) et darent finem poenis suis.'

[6] *Ibid.*: 'Fratres vero domus Teutonicorum multos suos homines salvarunt per amministrationem annonae habundantis reservatae in loculis castrorum suorum.'

[7] See report according to Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482: 'Nel detto anno 1316 grande pestilentia di mortalità e di fame avvenne nelle parti di Germania cioè nelle Magna

which, under the stimulus of the great renaissance in trade and industry and the subsequent growth of such towns as Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres since the tenth century, had become entirely dependent upon other lands for its daily necessaries.[1] The duchy of Brabant with its thriving towns of Antwerp, Brussels, and Louvain was in this respect rapidly following the example of Flanders.[2] When crops failed in the summer of 1315 it was therefore inevitable that there should be great distress in these centers. Hocsemius, the chronicler and scholasticus of the chapter of Liège, wrote that when the famine began the surplus stocks of grain stored in the barns of the Hesbagne, the fertile uplands north of Liège, were sent to the towns of the coast where the dearth was greater.[3]

The low lands of Flanders, Brabant, Zeeland, Holland, Friesland, and Guelders would naturally suffer more than most others when great freshets overflowed the dykes and put vast stretches of pasture and arable land under water. Agricultural products in these parts therefore failed completely. Van Velthem relates that in traveling through some parts of Brabant in September of 1315 he saw farm lands submerged and shocks of oats standing rotting in the water.[4] According to Hocsemius the crops in these sections failed completely because of the floods.[5]

The historian is fortunate in having many accounts by chroniclers of what happened in Brabant. The rain began to fall in May, 1315, and continued for a year. The local harvest was wholly insufficient

---

sopra verso Tramontana, e stesesi in Olanda, Frisia, e in Silanda, e per Brabante, Fiandra, e Analdo infino in Borgogna e parte di Francia. . . . '

[1] For the corn supply of Flanders see the instructive account by G. Bigwood, 'Gand et la Circulation des Grains en Flandre, du XIVe au XVIIIe Siècle,' *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV (1906), 397–460.

[2] H. Pirenne, 'The Place of the Netherlands in the Economic History of Mediaeval Europe,' *Economic History Review*, January, 1929, pp. 20–40; H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326–1347*, pp. 1–14.

[3] Johannes Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Adolphi et Engelberti a Marka* (Chapeaville, *Qui Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Scripserunt Auctores*, Vol. II, Leodii, 1613), p. 373: ' . . . et tamen bladis granaria erant plena, sed ad loca maritima, ubi maior erat caristia, portabantur.'

[4] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 376.

[5] Johannes Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Adolphi et Engelberti a Marka*, p. 373: ' . . . et circa mare propter indunationem defecit annona.'

and the customary imports ceased almost entirely. In Antwerp the moans of the famishing could almost move a stone to pity, according to the testimony of Boendale. In the streets lay their swollen emaciated forms, groaning in heartrending fashion. They died in large numbers and great pits were dug outside the town into which were cast as many as sixty bodies.[1] Van Velthem, who also witnessed these scenes, completely confirms his account.[2] The chronicler of the monastery of Saint Trond declared that the monks distributed food to the poor and needy at their door, and on stated days, as was their wont in time of famine, cooked a soup of peas and condiments in a cauldron for the hungry.[3] According to Villani,[4] Boendale,[5] and the author of the chronicle of Parc, a third of the populace perished; but not much faith can be placed in such statistics which are little better than guesses. So serious a catastrophe had not been seen for a hundred years according to the chronicler of the monastery of Villers in Brabant.[6]

The pestilence swept away large numbers. When Hocsemius was in Louvain he saw a cart carry loads of six or eight bodies two or three times each day to a newly consecrated cemetery beyond the walls. So great was the effluvium of the bodies when the cart passed the house in which he was staying that he was constrained to seek new quarters in the outskirts.[7] Van Velthem states that in all the towns of Brabant the old churchyards were speedily filled so that

[1] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 442–443.

[2] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 393.

[3] *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Trudonis* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. X), p. 416: 'In anno huius caristie larga elemosina pauperibus distribuebatur ad portam. Fuit enim in domo elemosinarii vel a tempore Willelmi primi abbatis aut a presentis abbatis Ade fornax constructus cum caldaria grandi, in qua statutis diebus pottagium ex pisis et condimentis coquebatur, quod mendicantibus et pauperibus distruebatur.'

[4] Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482.

[5] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 444.

[6] *Annales Parchenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XVI), p. 608; *Martini Oppaviensis Continuatio Brabantina* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XXIV), p. 262; *Chronica Villariensis Monasterii, Continuatio Secunda* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XXV), p. 213.

[7] Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium Adolphi et Engelberti a Marka*, p. 373: 'Hoc anno usque ad Augustum sequentem tanta fuit mortalitas et caristia, quod modius siligenis mensurae Thenensis decem florenis aureis vendebatur, et de hospitali in Lovanio biga bis vel ter in die onerata sex vel octo cadaveribus mortuorum, extra villam in novo facto caemiterio miseranda corpuscula continuo deportabat, qua cum transiret quotidie ante domum, qua tunc morari coeperam, foetore cogente, conduxi mihi domum in suburbiis iuxta campos.'

new ones had to be consecrated. In Antwerp the dead were collected and drawn to places of burial in carts which made the rounds of the town three or four times a day, carrying as many as ten bodies each time.[1] All dancing, playing, singing, and revelry ceased.[2] This condition was prevalent throughout the diocese of Liège in which much of the duchy of Brabant lay.[3]

At Tournai the greatest severity was reached in May, 1316. The populace, having no corn, made bread of beans, barley, vetch, and other grains.[4] Numbers of the famishing were carried off by the pest. Young and old of all stations in life and of both sexes died in such numbers that the air was laden with a sickening effluvium. The parish priests were more than occupied with their ministrations among the sufferers. The dead were so numerous that the officials of the town appointed certain persons to remove the bodies for burial in grounds on both sides of the Schelde which flowed through the city.[5]

Few references to the famine and pestilence in Flanders can be found in the chronicles.[6] The fortunate survival of an extraordinary document, however, enables us to draw a good picture of what happened in that land. The *scabini* of Ypres kept an account of the number of persons who died while the famine was at its height.[7] The following table shows the number of bodies buried during each week, except five, from May 1 to November 1, 1316, and the amount of money that was expended for that purpose:

[1] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 394.

[2] Jan Boendale, *Brabantsche Yeesten*, I, 444.

[3] *Annales Fossenses*, pp. 33–34; Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanae, sive Chronicon Commitum de Marca et Altena*, p. 398.

[4] Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, p. 89: 'Et cepit populus in multis locis parum de pane comedere, quia non habebant, et multi fabas, ordea, vecias, et grana, quecumque habere poterant, miscebant, sicut poterant, de hoc panem faciendo et comedendo.'

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 90: 'Et tanta copia pauperum mendicantium in vicis moriebantur super fimis et ubique, quod per consilarios civitatis fuit ordinatum et commissum certis personis ut corpora pauperum sic morientium portarent citra Scaldam, in Valle de Vignea et aliis locis, et ultra Scaldam in hoc vocato Folais, ibique eos sepelirent; et pro qualibet persona habebant taxatum salarium.'

[6] See *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium*, p. 179.

[7] G. Des Marez et E. de Sagher, *Comptes de la Ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329*, I (*Collection des Chroniques Belges*, Bruxelles, 1909), 607–612.

Week ending		Number of dead	Amount paid
Saturday,	May day.....May 1	?	12*s*
"	eve of St Nicholas.....May 8	54	72*s*
"	before Ascension.....May 15	?	30*s*
"	after Ascension.....May 22	173	70*s* 6*d*
"	eve of Pentecost.....May 29	146	63*s* 10*d*
"	eve of Trinity Sunday.....June 5	101	49*s* 3*d*
"	after St Barnabas.....June 12	107	50*s* 4*d* 1*ob*
"	before St John the Baptist.....June 19	157	60*s*
"	after St John the Baptist.....June 26	149	58*s* 4*d*
"	eve of St Martin.....July 3	155	58*s* 8*d*
"	after St Martin.....July 10	167	61*s* 9*d*
"	before St Mary Magdalene.....July 17	158	60*s* 1*d*
"	after St Mary Magdalene.....July 24	172	62*s* 9*d*
"	eve of St Peter.....July 31	190	65*s* 3*d*
"	before St Laurence.....August 7	191	65*s* 5*d*
"	eve of Our Lady.....August 14	130	54*s* 9*d*
"	before St Bartholomew.....August 21	140	56*s* 8*d*
"	after St Bartholomew.....August 28	148	58*s* 2*d*
"	before Our Lady.....September 4	138	56*s* 2*d*
"	after Our Lady.....September 11	124	53*s* 7*d* 1*ob*
"	after Holy Cross Day.....September 18	115	51*s* 3*d*
"	before St Remigius.....September 25	37	38*s* 7*d*
"	after St Remigius.....October 2	27	31*s*
"	St Denis.....October 9	15	20*s* 9*d*
"	.....October 16	?	?
"	St Luce.....October 23	?	2*s*
"	All Saints.....October 30	?	4*s*
		2794	63*l* 9*s* 2*d* 2*ob*

This table shows that the number of deaths mounted rapidly after May and in the first week of August rose to a hundred ninety-one. The total number of those buried at the expense of the town certainly was more than 2794 since the numbers for five of the weeks have not been preserved. During the first weeks when the number of dead was not very great, William le Coletre, bellringer of St John's, and John de le Beke were entrusted with the task of burying all the dead

sans lumière, that is, without torches, and to collect all the bodies of the dead in the street and inter them in the churchyard of the Maselaine (Magdalene). Another person, Thieribus, was named to do the same at the church of the Holy Cross. They cannot have been very busy, for the document states that they were paid for only three days' work. During the second week, when the number of the dead began to increase, gravediggers (*delvers*) were appointed at the Maselaine and the Holy Cross and were paid twenty and sixty shillings respectively each week. The task of collecting the bodies was left to a *frère* Jake, of the hospital of Notre Dame, in which capacity he was occupied until the week of October 9 when the pestilence abated. The amount paid him for his efforts varied according to the number of bodies cared for. The largest sum paid by the *scabini* in any week for these activities was for the one ending May 22 when it mounted to 3*l* 10*s* 6*d*. The total amount spent during this period bv the *scabini* was 63*l* 9*s* 2*d* 2*ob*. Undoubtedly some were buried by guilds or by private agencies; of these of course no data have been preserved. Estimates of the population of mediaeval towns are notoriously uncertain; for Ypres they run as high as 200,000 in the thirteenth century, which is of course a gross exaggeration. In 1431 the population shrank to only 10,523, and in 1316 probably numbered not more than 25,000 or 30,000.[1] If any computation on the basis of such guesses be permitted, only about ten per cent died of the famine and pestilence, which is likely to be more nearly correct than the assertions of Boendale and other chroniclers that a third of the people died. It is interesting to note that the number of dead rapidly declined in August when according to Levold de Northof the crisis had passed.[2]

In the northern parts of the Low Countries it was the same story. The absence of many large towns, however, prevented the disaster from being as acute as in Flanders. In Zeeland, where all the land was easily flooded, the rainy weather of 1315 must have been ex-

[1] See H. Pirenne, *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas*, pp. 129–132.

[2] Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanae sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Altena*, p. 398: 'Eodem anno (*i.e.* 1315) incepit caristia, quae duravit usque ad Augustum anni sequentis.'

ceedingly destructive.[1] In Holland, which for the most part also lay below sea level, crops were a complete failure. Rich and poor alike found it impossible to secure food; they roved along the roads and footways and laid their starved forms down to die.[2] Charities failed everywhere completely. The famishing people acted like savage animals. They ate frogs and dogs, and ferociously devoured the carcasses of animals that had died of the pest.[3] A miracle was reported to have happened in Leiden. A woman who had bought a loaf of barley bread, used half of it and was importuned by her neighbor to give her the other half. She denied having any bread, and called upon God to turn it to stone if she were not telling the truth. When she later wished to use the remaining portion, she found that it had turned into stone. A chronicler toward the end of the century declared that it still was exhibited in St Peter's church at Leiden.[4] It may be assumed that starvation and death were quite as common in other parts of the diocese of Utrecht,[5] even though, except for Friesland[6] and the county of Holland, practically no data can be found.

It is instructive to note how the famine affected the activities of a king. The ordinance fixing prices, made by the Parliament at Westminster, failed completely, for as prices of commodities rose in consequence of the failure of crops in 1315, people would naturally never sell food at the prices set by the royal schedule.[7] The ordinance aroused much dissatisfaction, and in Parliament which met at

[1] Lodewijk van Velthem, *Spiegel Historiael*, p. 375.

[2] *Willelmi Capellani in Brederode postea Monachi et Procuratoris Egmondensis Chronicon*, p. 89.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 90–91; J. H. Scheffer en Fr. D. O. Obreen, *Rotterdamsche Historiebladen*, 1ste Afdeeling, Vol. I, Part I (Rotterdam, 1871), 37.

[4] *Kronijk van Holland van een Ongenoemden Geestelijke* (*Werken van het Historisch Genootschap Gevestigd te Utrecht*, Nieuwe Reeks, No. VI, Utrecht, 1867), p. 163.

[5] *Annales Tielenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XIV), p. 26.

[6] See Pieter Jacobz. van Thabor, *Historie van Friesland* (*Archief voor Nederlandsche, en inzonderheid, Vriesche, Geschiedenis, Oudheid, en Taalkunde*, 2d Part, Leeuwarden, 1827), p. 8.

[7] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 218–219: 'Ordinationes super victualibus prius factae penitus dissolvuntur. Itinerantes enim per patriam multum gravabantur. Nam ex quo processit illud statutum, nichil vel modicum in foro reperiebatur expositum, cum tamen prius habundaret forum venalibus, licet cara viderentur transeuntibus, Porro melius est emere care quam nichil emendum ad opus invenire. Nam licet raritas annonam facit cariorem, habuntantia subsequens reddet meliorem.'

Lincoln a fortnight after St Hilary (January 14) Edward acceded to the petition of the clergy, barons, and commons, and ordered it repealed.[1] Meanwhile the magistrates of London had sought to restrain the soaring price of ale. It was ordered and proclaimed on September 21, 1316, that no one might sell a gallon of the poorest ale for more than three farthings and of the best for three halfpence, at a penalty of confiscation on the first violation, abjuring the trade on the second, and expulsion from the city on the third.[2] How little the king and his government understood the nature of the crisis is revealed by the fact that after repealing the ordinance governing the sale of fowl and animals, they sought to maintain a fixed price for ale. From Daventry on January 22, 1317, the king ordered his subjects to observe the schedule enacted in London throughout the cities, boroughs, and mercantile towns, but instructed that in country towns ale of the best quality should be sold for a farthing.[3] This ordinance is said to have caused much harm to the brewers, for they were enjoined to sell ale at a fixed price after they had bought their supplies for brewing at high prices.[4]

Edward's government sought to alleviate the distress of the populace which suffered much during the winter of 1315 and 1316. So serious was the scarcity of victuals that when Parliament met at Lincoln a fortnight after St Hilary the king through William Inge, justice of the king's bench, urged them to hasten the despatch of business because of the famine.[5] Toward the close of 1315 Edward granted safe-conduct to burgesses of Berwick and Newcastle to bring corn and other victuals from France for the use of the town.[6]

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parliamento Tempore Edwardi*, I, 351.

[2] *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, Letter-Book E* (London, 1903), pp. 71–72.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 73. See also Johannes de Trokelowe, *Annales*, pp. 96–98.

[4] *Annales Londonienses*, pp. 240–241.

[5] *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parliamento Tempore Edwardi*, I, 350: 'Et quod nogotia predicta, et alia in eodem Parliamento tractanda, similiter maturarentur; adiciens, quod dominus rex habuit magnam considerationem ad hoc, quod dicti prelati, comites, at alii, de longinquis partibus ibi venerant, et quod mora sua ibidem, si longa fieret, foret eis tediosa et onorosa propter caristiam victualium, que diebus illis magis gravavit quam prius facere consuevit.'

[6] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, pp. 313, 371.

On December 18 Edward asked King Louis X of France to permit his lieges of Newcastle, Kent, Sussex, Gloucester, Essex, Hereford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Devon, and Cornwall to take corn from the region of the Somme, from Caen, Dieppe, and Ponthieu at the customary prices.[1] Safe-conduct was repeatedly given to parties to bring corn from abroad,[2] especially from Gascony.[3] He took into his royal protection Spanish merchants, also Sicilians and Genoese who came into the realm with corn and other victuals from the corn-producing lands of southern Italy,[4] which escaped the great crisis that raged north of the Alps. Genoese *dromonds*, laden with wheat, came to England. One of them was seized in the harbor of Sandwich by malefactors who endeavored to make away with it. On May 18 Edward thereupon ordered the barons, men, and community of Sandwich to protect merchants from foreign parts coming into the land with corn and other victuals.[5]

The king's attempts to provision his troops levied to wage war upon the Scots failed because of the great scarcity of corn. He had on June 30,[6] and August 25, 1316, ordered his lieges to be at Newcastle on September 15, and on July 3 instructed the sheriffs of certain shires to collect food for the garrison at Berwick.[7] The dearth of all manner of foodstuffs prevented the officials from carrying out the royal commands, and it is not strange therefore that the king on August 25 should complain that his orders had not been fulfilled.[8] His urgent pleas were without effect, and on February 2, 1317, he felt it necessary to repeat them.[9] He issued numerous safe-conducts to

[1] *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1318*, pp. 318–319.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, pp. 401, 438, 450.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 466, 501–502, 571–572. For grain from Sicily, see Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482.

[5] *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1318*, p. 291.

[6] *Rotuli Scotiae*, I (*Record Commission*, London, 1814), 145–146, 160–161.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 156–157.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 169–170. For difficulty in carrying out contracts made with the king to deliver

individuals to bring food to Berwick for the garrison.[1] Some of the officials engaged in purveying grossly abused their duties. In Yorkshire they sold some of the corn intended for the king's lieges, and others appropriated the money and were guilty of making erroneous notation on the tallies of the amount of corn, hay, and other materials taken, so that the king on August 17, 1316, had to issue commissions of oyer and terminer to investigate their conduct.[2] In Yorkshire persons pretending to be of the king's household under color of purveyance had collected various goods and victuals, whereupon the king on September 16, 1316, ordered his sergeants to seize them and place them in jail.[3]

Not much information of what happened in Mediterranean lands can be found. In northern Italy rainy weather during the spring and summer of 1315 prevented the ripening and garnering of crops as well as the making of wine. Pestilence raged in the Romagna and in the valleys of the Casentino and the Mugello, according to Villani.[4] Induced no doubt by the extraordinary profits made possible by the famine, merchants of Genoa and Sicily brought corn from southern Italy, especially Apulia,[5] to northern Europe. The English king took them into his protection as was noted above. The severity of the crisis was not passed in 1316, for in the following year there still were acute want and very high prices of grain in Parma, which may be regarded probably as quite typical of what happened in other towns.[6]

---

provisions, see *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1318*, p. 383.

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, 1313–1317*, pp. 322, 386–387, 390, 394, 400–401, 468–470, 484, 540, 543.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 534.

[4] Giovanni Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, col. 482: 'Questa pestilentia avvenne, per lo verno dinanzi, e poi la primavera, e tutta la state fu sì forte piovosa, e'l paese è basso molto, sì che l'acqua soperchiò il terreno, e guastò ogni sementa. Allora le terre affogarono sì, che più anni appresso quasi non fruttuarono, e corruppe l'aria molto. E dissero certi astrologi, che la cometa, ch'apparve dinanzi nel 1314 fu segno di quello pestilentia, ch'ella dovea venire, perchè la sua influenza fu sopra quelli paesi. E in quelli tempi quella pestilentia contenne simigliantemente in Romagna e in Casentino infino in Mugello.'

[5] *Ibid.*: 'E'l caro fu sì grande di vino, e di tutte vittuaglie, che se non fosse che di Cicilia, e di Puglia per li mercatanti vi si mandò per mare per lo grande guadagno, tutti moriano di fame.'

The force of the famine which thus raged in all parts east of the Pyrenees and north of the Alps appears to have been broken by the harvests in the summer of 1316. The pestilence apparently was gone, but high prices undoubtedly still prevailed. From the mortality statistics contained in the accounts of Ypres it is apparent that the crisis passed with the harvest of August.[1] The testimony of the *Annales Lubicenses*[2] that there was severe famine in Flanders, Holland, Westphalia, and France should really be referred to the previous year, especially as neither Boendale nor Van Velthem make any mention of a catastrophe in 1317. Levold de Northof expressly states that the asperity of the crisis passed with the harvests of 1316.[3] The same appears to be the case in western Germany around Cologne and Strassburg.[4]

In German lands along the Slavic border[5] and in the Danube valley the crisis lingered on and appears to have been as severe in 1317 as it had been in western Germany in the previous year. There was much rain, the Danube overflowed, and grains as well as wine fell far short of the normal harvest.[6] This was also the situation in Bohemia and adjacent Slavic lands.[7] Unusually high prices obtained, which of course entailed hunger.[8] Rye and oats sold at figures abnormally high as far west as Basel, where people died in the streets

---

[6] *Chronicon Parmense ab anno 1038 ad annum 1338* (ed. by G. Bonazzi, A. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Citta di Castello, 1902), p. 151.

[1] G. Des Marez et E. de Sagher, *Comptes de la Ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329*, II (Bruxelles, 1913), 31.

[2] *Annales Lubicenses*, p. 426.

[3] Levold de Northof, *Origines Marcanae sive Chronicon Comitum de Marca et Altena*, p. 398.

[4] *Fritsche Closener's Chronik*, p. 135; *Koelhoffsche Chronik*, p. 663; *Chronik des Diedrich Westhoff von 750–1500*, p. 199.

[5] *Canonici Sambienses Annales*, p. 706: 'Eodem anno fuerunt multe tempestates et inundancia aquarum tam in estate quam im yeme sive autumpno.'

[6] *Annales Zwetlenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. IX), p. 681: 'Hoc anno fames et sterilitas inaudita facta est ex nive preteriti anni omnia sata suffocantis, et etiam ex inundacione Danubii et omnium fluminum, tam ex pluviis quam erupcione vernarum terre, que omnia stat destruxit, ut raro panis triticeus vel siligineus, sed tantum avenacius haberetur.' See also *Continuatio Zwetlensis Tertia* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. IX), p. 666.

[7] *Annales Mellicenses, Continuatio* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. IX), p. 511.

[8] *Annales Burghausenses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XXIV), p. 62; *Annalium Salisburgensium Additamentum* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XIII), p. 241.

and fields.[1] Many persons, driven by the pangs of hunger, roved about the countryside of the Danube valley. The chronicler John of Winterthur relates how the crowds swarmed thither in the vain hope of finding something to eat. On one occasion a large number arrived at the bank of the Danube and got into a boat with the intention of crossing over to the fertile plains beyond. The sailor in charge of the ship to ferry them across threw them into the stream, saying that it was better that they should perish in the flood than heighten the misery of Hungary, an act which apparently was approved by many.[2]

Northward along the Slavic border in Silesia and throughout Poland there was acute hunger and the pest raged.[3] So great was the number of dead in Breslau that they had to inter them outside the walls where they built a church dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament.[4] In adjoining Saxon lands there still was great want; large numbers abandoned their possessions and came begging into the towns, especially Lübeck, induced, it would seem, by the hope of finding food in this sea-port, where, however, great scarcity also prevailed.[5]

Elsewhere the famine appears to have been rather sporadic. There undoubtedly was some want in England in 1317,[6] but the harvests

[1] *Die Grössern Basler Annalen* (*Basler Chroniken herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Basel*, VI, Basel, 1902), pp. 249–250: 'Anno 1317 galt ein fiertel rocken 5 lb, ein viertel dinckel 3 lb, ein viertel habern 30 s. Des selbigen jars verdurben vil leut von hunger, [und das sy allerley assen.] Sy assen mistel ab den boumen und viellen von hunger uff den gassen nider, und fand man sy uff dem feld todt.' It is possible, however, that this passage really describes what happened in the previous year.

[2] Johannes Vitoduranus, *Chronicon a Frederico II Imperatore ad Annum MCCCXLVIII Procedens*, pp. 69–70: 'Tempore ejusdem famis accidit homines de terris prefatis fugere et ad terram Ungarie, tunc fertilem et uberem, sterilitatem aliarum terrarum penitus nescientem, properare. Cum autem in magna multitudine ad unam navim fluvii Danubii consedissent, ut proficiscerentur ad terram Ungarie, nauta, intelligens ipsorum intencionem et iter et insuper perspiciens eos fame prevalida maceratos confectos et pene consumptos, navem subvertit et omnes pariter in profundum Danubii dimergendo eos precipitavit dicens: "Melius est quod in hoc fluvio pereant, quam quod terram totam Ungarie depascendo consumerent." Quod factum inhumanum immo dyabolico perswasum instinctu dum ad nostros terrigenos relacione plurimorum pervenisset, nautam celeriter commendabant.'

[3] *Annales Mechevienses* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XIX), p. 669.

[4] *Annales Cistersiensium in Heinrichow* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. XIX), p. 546: '. . . fames valida Slecziam et totam Poloniam oppressit, per quam innumerabiles Poloni perierunt, ita quod in civitate Wratizlavie propter eorum nimiam multitudinem cives eos extra civitatem sepelire fecerunt, et ibidem ecclesiam ad honorem corporis Christi edificaverunt.'

[5] *Detmar Chronik von 1101–1395*, pp. 434–435; *Annales Lubicenses*, p. 426.

[6] J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, II, 198.

of that summer must have greatly tempered the hunger.[1] In Ireland the agony dragged on into 1318 and proved especially severe, for the people dug up the bodies in the churchyards and used them for food, and parents even ate their children.[2] The year 1318, however, brought a change, for corn which had been selling for sixteen shillings suddenly dropped at St John the Baptist's Day to seven shillings, and oats to five shillings; and there was enough wine, salt, and fish for all human needs.[3] In France the shortage of food apparently remained serious during 1317,[4] and the winter that followed seems to have been very severe.[5] For three years the Parisian *septier* of wheat had been selling for fifty *solidi*, but suddenly at Pentecost (June 11), 1318, fell to twelve *solidi*.[6] In Slavic parts such as Poland and Silesia it appears that the famine and mortality still were common as late as 1319 and cannibalism is said to have been rife. The most revolting facts are recorded of what the starving did to relieve their hunger. Parents killed their children and children killed their parents, and the bodies of executed criminals were eagerly snatched from the gallows.[7]

Thus the extraordinary famine beginning in August, 1315, was caused by the enormous rainfall which prevented the maturing and harvesting of the fall and spring seedings. During the winter months the crisis became increasingly severe until the harvests of 1316 made a new supply of grains available. Statistics concerning the prices of corn sold in Antwerp undoubtedly reflect with great accuracy the

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, III, 174; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, p. 195; Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, I (*Rolls Series*, London, 1889), 411–412.

[2] *Annals of Loch Cé*, I, 579; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, pp. 280, 284; *Annals of Ireland*, p. 359; *Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annals of Senat*, II (Dublin, 1893), 433; *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, III (Dublin, 1856), 521.

[3] *Annals of Ireland*, p. 359.

[4] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine* (continuation), I, 435. See also *Annales Mellicenses, Continuatio* (*M. G. H., SS.*, Vol. IX), p. 511.

[5] *Extrait d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCLXXX*, p. 128.

[6] *Fragment d'une Chronique Anonyme Finissant en MCCCLXXVIII*, p. 152.

[7] See the passage of the *Gesta* of Sigismund Rosicz for the years 1317–1319, printed by F. Curschmann, 'Hungersnöte im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts,' p. 217: '. . . tanta fuit caristia et fames in Polonia et Silesia, ita quod pluribus in locis parentes filios et filii parentes necantes devoraverunt, plures etiam carnes de suspensis cadaveribus comederunt. . . .'

direful conditions which must have prevailed in all of northern Europe. Pestilence, caused no doubt primarily by malnutrition, appeared everywhere when the famine was at its height and took an enormous toll. A disastrous murrain wrought great havoc among the cattle. Perhaps the statistics of the mortality in Ypres may be taken to be indicative of the extent of the catastrophe throughout Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. The force of the famine was broken by the harvests of 1316, and the pestilence thereupon appears to have passed. In western and southern Germany and in Slavic lands there were hunger and pestilence until 1318, and in Poland and Silesia the crisis lingered until 1319.[1]

[1] It was impossible to consult C. Easton, *Les Hivers dans l'Europe Occidentale* (Leyden, 1928).

University of Washington

THE MANY-SIDED CAREER OF MASTER ELIAS OF DEREHAM

By JOSIAH COX RUSSELL

THE career of Master Elias of Dereham has slowly emerged from the obscurity of scattered references in large volumes. As early as 1845 Mr Edward Smirke caught his name in unprinted close and liberate rolls as the architect of works at Winchester.[1] Forty-two years later the Reverend Mr Bennett read an article upon Elias as the architect of Salisbury Cathedral.[2] He had gleaned many items from the printed collections of charter, close, and patent rolls, as well as from the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris, the Wells' documents in the *Twelfth Report and Appendix of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and the *Register of St Osmund*. However, his interest was architectural, and he did not exhaust his sources. A lacuna in Elias' career, 1215–1220, has been partially accounted for by Professor Powicke incidentally in a study of Stephen Langton.[3] Other recent volumes, of documents, offer items about Elias of Dereham and continue a progressive revelation of his many-sided career.

The outlines of the career of Master Elias of Dereham may be sketched briefly in terms of those with whom he was associated. He appears first in 1205 as a royal clerk and rector of the church of Meauton, a man already of some importance.[4] His connection with John's court lasted intermittently until shortly after Magna Carta or possibly until John's death in 1216. Intermittently, because he was abroad in the time of the Interdict with the brothers, Hugh and Joscelin of Wells and also served as steward for the latter when Joscelin was bishop of Bath and Wells. By 1217 Elias was in exile in France, with Stephen Langton who apparently was his patron until 1220. From 1222, at least, Elias was canon of Salisbury until his

[1] 'The Hall of the Royal Palace and the Round Table at Winchester' (Chronological Extracts from Records, etc., Royal Archaeological Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland, *Proceedings*, 1845 (Winchester meeting), pp. 68–80).

[2] J. A. Bennett, 'The Architect of Salisbury,' *The Archeological Journal*, XLIV (1887), 365–374.

[3] F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928).

[4] *Rotuli Chartarum*, I, 147b. April 6, 1205.

death in 1245. Apparently he was in residence there continuously until Bishop Richard Poore was transferred to the bishopric of Durham in 1228 and irregularly thereafter. From 1233 he was again associated with the royal court.

The more certain information about the creative activity of Master Elias of Dereham shows considerable versatility on his part. In describing the great translation ceremony of St Thomas à Becket in 1220 Roger of Wendover speaks of the two incomparable artists by whose counsel and skill the shrine and technical phases of the ceremony were prepared beyond reproach: Master Walter of Coleworth, sacristan of St Albans, and Master Elias of Dereham, canon of Salisbury. To have been entrusted with the shrine of England's greatest saint by Stephen Langton was a tribute to Elias' skill.[1] For another commission of importance Henry III also placed his trust in Elias, as a writ of March 6, 1238 discloses:[2]

> To the sheriff of Wilts. *Contrabreve* to cause the marble tomb (*tumulum marmoreum*) that Master Elias of Derham is making at Salisbury to be paid for (*acquietari*) and cause it to be carried with all speed to Tarrent' to entomb (*tumulandum*) there the body of J(oan), queen of Scotland, the king's sister.

Not all of Elias' skill was devoted to the shrines of national saints or of royal sisters. At Salisbury where we found him constructing a tomb for Joan, he had built himself a house in the close which he assigned to the canon of his stall.[3] It was apparently called Ledenhall.[4] In the summer of 1234 he was granted a brick kiln in the royal forests in the custody of Henry Fitz-Nicholas to assist in the construction of a royal chapel and other buildings at Clarendon.[5] Two years later he was allowed another kiln, also for the works at Clarendon.[6] He gave some attention to a church at Graveline[7] and

[1] IV, 66 (*Rolls Series*), also in Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (*Rolls Series*), II, 242.

[2] *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226–1240*, p. 316.

[3] *Sarum Charters and Documents* (*Rolls Series*), p. 203. *Ca.* 1230. See also *ibid.*, p. 354 of 1275 where a plot next to his house in the close is mentioned.

[4] *Fasti Saresburienses*, p. 410.

[5] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231–1234*, p. 486. July 29, 1234.

[6] *Ibid., 1234–1237*, p. 279. June 18, 1236.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 409. January 13, 1237.

another church, at Herghes.[1] He was even to advise about a wall around the court of a woman-recluse at *Bretfad*.[2]

More important tasks than these occupied his attention. There is very definite information about his direction of construction of the royal hall at Winchester. He is to have a brick kiln in the forest at Melkesham to make seven thousand bricks.[3] The sheriff of Southampton is commanded 'to cause timber to be felled as Master Elias of Dereham shall direct' and to have this timber carried to Winchester.[4] In another writ of the same date the sheriff was ordered to have stone hauled to Winchester also.[5] Later in the same summer a letter close was sent to Peter de Rivaulx requesting him to let Elias have six *fusta* in the woods of Axholt for making the great *verina* of the castle.[6] Some weeks after this Elias was allowed another kiln[7] and a third was granted the following spring.[8] The pay of the laborers at Winchester had fallen into arrears by 1236, and the sheriff of Southampton is ordered to provide funds for Elias.[9] Probably to assist in this deficiency, the king assigned 41*l* 12*s* 8*d* from the aid recently collected to pay for the gate of Winchester Castle, also in 1236.[10]

The tradition that Elias of Dereham was the architect and builder of Salisbury Cathedral is strengthened not only by this display of his capacity but also by direct evidence. On December 30, 1225 the king granted Elias by charter thirteen high and straight oaks as a gift for the construction of the church at Salisbury,[11] and in 1237 another grant was made to the same purpose.[12] Moreover,

[1] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1237–1242*, p. 420. May 1, 1242.

[2] *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226–1240*, p. 273. June 6, 1237.

[3] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231–1234*, p. 194. February 27, 1233.

[4] *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226–1240*, p. 219. June 20, 1233.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[6] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1231–1234*, p. 242. August 1, 1233.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 254. August 27, 1233.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 433. May 28, 1234. Granted to 'Elye de Derh. custodi operationis aule domini regis Wintonie.'

[9] *Ibid.*, 1234–1237, p. 242. February 14, 1236.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 268. May 22, 1236.

[11] *Rotuli Chartarum*, II, 91: 'in parvo parco domini regis de Odiham.'

[12] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1234–1237, p. 409 (2). Jan 13, 1237. Cf. p. 379, note 7 for another matter on the same day.

Leland has preserved the following specific assertion from the 'Martirology Book of Salisbury':[1] *Helias de Berham* (sic) *canon. Sarum qui a prima fundatione Rector fuit nove fabrice Eccl. Sarum 25 annis.*[2]

The picture of the thirteenth-century creator is quite interesting. A sculptor probably, or at least a designer, he is an artist. Yet he must busy himself with dwellings, walls, or chapels, watching brick kilns, and checking up on finance after the manner of a prosaic contractor or builder. In charge of the royal hall at Winchester or of the cathedral at Salisbury, he is the architect combining the reality of the contractor with the vision of the poet. A few lines of verse by Elias have been preserved, upon a subject which he as a builder of tall structures must have had continuously upon his mind, the winds:[3]

> Euro Wlturnus, Subsolanusque sodales,
> Affricus atque Nothus Austro sunt collaterales;
> Hinc Chorus, Zephirus, Favonius atque sequuntur,
> Circius atque Aquilo Boream stipare feruntur.
>
> Mites Australes sunt, dites Hisperiales,
> Sunt Euri laeti, Boreales pisce repleti.

The career of Elias of Dereham, as far as we know it, was divided almost exactly in half by the years 1222–1228 when his interests seem entirely absorbed in duties at Salisbury. The first dateable document from Salisbury which shows Elias actually to have been at Salisbury is of 1222, but he was very probably there two years before.[4] In this year he witnessed two documents, and another in the following year, 1223.[5] From then on he appears with manifold

[1] Thomas Hearne, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland* (3d ed., Oxford, 1769), I, 95.

[2] Other information about Elias' architectural efforts is suggestive but hardly satisfactory. 'I have been told on good authority' writes Mr Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 366), 'that he was the architect for the repairs of King John's palace at Westminster in the year 1209, but I have not as yet been able to verify the statement.' Bennett was also inclined to believe that Elias was responsible for contemporary construction at Wells, Durham, Lincoln, and Laon upon the basis of architectural likeness, although he disclaimed authority in such matters (*op. cit.*, pp. 369, 370.).

[3] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, VI, 465: 'secundum magistrum Elyam de Derham.'

[4] *Sarum Charters*, p. 122; February 19, 1222: *The Register of St Osmunds*, ed. W. H. Rich Jones, (*Rolls Series*, London, 1884), p. 339. See above, note 1 for 1220.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 330, Ides of May.

duties which illustrate the variety of tasks performed by mediaeval church administrators. On July 11, 1224 Elias was custodian of the *communa* or common fund. Although Christmas was yet many months away the chapter decided that on Christmas Eve the canons would drink three times at the expense of the *communa*.[1] In the following year he was entrusted with the gifts at the new altar and chapel in the cathedral, which were to be used for the fabric of the church. This trust was made, not as one might expect, because Elias was in charge, but because the bishop would entrust it to no one else![2]

In 1225 Elias and William of Merton, archdeacon of Berkshire, had arranged to secure the church of Tarrant Keynes and other churches for the bishop of Salisbury.[3] He went with Master Luke of Winchester in 1226 to serve as proctor for the chapter of Salisbury in London before the archbishop.[4] The next year he represented the bishop in a final concord concerning a half-hide of land in Old Sarum,[5] and on April 10, 1228 he represented him again, in a series of cases at the curia regis, Westminster.[6] Elias attended to some other legal duties upon July 7 of the same year,[7] and mediated years later in a dispute between the treasurer of Salisbury and Sir Robert de la Mare regarding tithes at Calne, Wilts.[8]

A number of notices reflect Elias' constant interest in his duties as canon of Salisbury. He was present at the first convocation in the new cathedral in 1225,[9] and also at a meeting of the chapter in which there was a discussion of a grant to the king, August 15, 1226.[10] His share was based upon a prebend whose revenue was estimated at 50 marks—in 1226 for one taxation it was 41 shillings, 8 pence.[11] In the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 44. October 5, 1225.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26. May 27, 1225. *The Records of Merton Priory*, ed. A. Heales (London, 1898), p. 114.

[4] *Register of St Osmunds*, p. 63.

[5] *Sarum Charters*, p. 182. May 21, 1227.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 193 (2), 195, 197 (2).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 200. Cf. also *A Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and chapter of Wells* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1907), I, 365.

[8] *Sarum Charters*, p. 270. Given as of about 1240.

[9] *Register of St Osmunds*, p. 37.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

last three years of Bishop Poore's regime at Salisbury 1226–1228, Elias witnessed a sufficient number of charters to show that he was constantly at Salisbury.[1] In view of his past record it is not surprising that he was named a custodian of the vacant bishopric of Salisbury at the resignation of Richard Poore.[2]

Tradition has it that Elias accompanied Richard Poore to Durham when the latter became bishop of Durham in 1228.[3] Of that there seems no positive evidence unless it be true that Elias' influence can be detected in the Durham Cathedral.[4] He does not appear there so frequently, it is true, but this is partially explained by the fewer Salisbury documents of the period after 1228 and by Elias' oversight of royal construction which took him to Winchester, Clarendon and elsewhere. In 1228 he assented to the election of the successor of Bishop Poore.[5] In the following year the king granted the Church of St Peter in Old Sarum to Wymond, Elias' clerk.[6] Unless some undated charters show him at Salisbury[7] he does not seem to be mentioned again in connection with that place until October 19, 1233: then with other canons he agreed to contribute to the new cathedral for the succeeding seven years.[8] In 1236, however, he witnessed a grant by Bishop Robert Bingham of Salisbury which received the royal *inspeximus* of Henry III at Marlborough one day later.[9] In the same year and again in 1238 he was party to compositions respecting tithes at Imber.[10] Another composition, about tithes at Littleton, is

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 25, *ca.* 1226; *Sarum Charters*, p. 182, May 21, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 187, September 3, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 190, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 189, October 3, 1227; *ibid.*, p. 191, January 26, 1228; *ibid.*, p. 195, 1228; *ibid.*, p. 199, July 6, 1228; *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (London, 1901, Historical Manuscripts Commission), I, 354, 1228.

[2] *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, pp. 66, 67, June 21, 1228; *ibid.*, p. 73, August 8, 1228; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1225–1232*, p. 195, July 22, 1228.

[3] *Fasti Saresburienses*, p. 410.

[4] Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[5] *Register of St Osmunds*, p. 108.

[6] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1225–1232*, p. 242. March 25, 1229.

[7] *Sarum Charters*, p. 203; *Calendar . . . of Wells*, I, 365; *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1226–1257*, p. 183; an *inspeximus* of an undated charter of which Elias was a witness.

[8] *Sarum Charters*, p. 229.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 238. February 17 and 18.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 246, Aug. 16.: *Various Collections*, Hist. MSS Comm., I, 385. Aug. 16. The coincidence of the month and day makes the years suspect.

recorded for 1239.[1] In 1242 he appeared as a witness,[2] and again in 1243.[3] His death occurred in 1245: Matthew Paris mentions his decease between events of May 20 and June 4, still calling him canon of Salisbury.[4]

Elias' career is extraordinary in that it bursts upon us well-developed. In 1205 he secured from King John for one palfrey a year freedom of his church of Meauton from suit and other burdens.[5] Yet in the same and the following years he acted as one of the custodians of the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury.[6] At court Elias had witnessed, sometime in 1207 or before, a payment by Philip de Lucy to the king.[7] Here he doubtless became acquainted with Hugh and Joscelin of Wells who were also royal clerks. In spite of royal favor all three went into exile during the Interdict, where Hugh made a will in 1212 witnessed by the other two.[8] Hugh had been made bishop of Lincoln in 1209. Before this date Elias had witnessed a grant made by Joscelin to his brother, then still archdeacon of Wells.[9] Probably sometime between 1207 and 1212 he acted as steward for Bishop Joscelin,[10] although the actual date needs to be worked out more accurately. In May of 1212 King John sent a safe-conduct to Elias in order that he might come to England with his men and return again.[11] In 1213 he seems to have returned to the favor of King John.[12] Two years later he was among those who were given copies of Magna Carta to take to a number of places and was also in charge of the restitution of certain properties.[13]

[1] *Sarum Charters*, p. 250. August 11, 1239.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 254. January 12, 1242.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 285. September 8, 1243.
[4] *Chronica Maiora* (Rolls Series), IV, 418.
[5] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, etc. (London, 1835), I, 270.
[6] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, I, 42b, July 22, 1205; I, 43, July 27, 1205; and I, 44b, July 29, 1205.
[7] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, p. 82.
[8] *Calendar of Wells I*, 365. Nov. 13.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, 480.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, 36, 43, 487.
[11] *Rot. Litt. Pat.* p. 92. May 4.
[12] *Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, 146. July 21, 1213.
[13] *Rot. Litt. Pat.* p. 180b, *ca.* June 19, 1215; and p. 144, June 21, 1215.

Although called *dilectus noster* by King John at this time Elias appears in the service of Archbishop Langton and Prince Louis of France two years later.

> For a time in 1217 the negotiations for peace were delayed by the refusal to include Simon (Langton) and three other clerks, one of them Elias of Dereham, a clerk of Archbishop Stephen's household, in the terms of the settlement. He was deprived of his preferments and remained in Louis' service. In May 1218 Pope Honorius allowed him to hold a prebend or other benefice in France, and as he had confessed his sins, restored him to papal favor. . . . . He was still receiving a pension in 1234.[1]

In the spring of 1219 at the instance of Prince Louis, these restrictions were removed that Elias might return to the service of Archbishop Langton, who evidently desired his assistance in the construction of the shrine of St Thomas à Becket.[2]

One phase of the career of Master Elias of Dereham which is rather astonishing is the number of important special commissions given to him. In the years 1205–1207 he was an executor of the will of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as a custodian of the vacant archbishopric.[3] Elias was named as an executor in the will of 1212 of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln.[4] Along with Simon Langton, the Bishop of Coventry, and Thomas of Freckenham, Elias acted as an executor of the will of Stephen Langton in 1228.[5] He served in the same capacity for Langton's successor in the archbishopric.[6] As we might expect, he was an executor of the will of his friend and patron, Richard Poore, upon Poore's death some years after his translation to Durham.[7] On November 4, 1236 Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, made his will in the presence of several, including Elias of Dereham who was named an executor.[8] This extensive experience as

[1] F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, p. 136

[2] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, ed. Bliss, I, 63. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

[3] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, p. 46b, August 16, 1205; *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, p. 61, January 2, 1206; p. 61, April 4, 1206; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, 92, September 16, 1207.

[4] *Ante*, p. 384, note 8.

[5] *Cal. Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, p. 110, July 22, 1228.

[6] *Ibid., 1231–1234*, p. 106, September 11, 1232; *Cal. Liberate Rolls, 1226–1240*, p. 200, February 13, 1233; *ibid.*, p. 202, February 28, 1233.

[7] *Cal. Close Rolls, 1234–1237*, p. 436, April 28, 1237.

[8] *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1232–1247*, p. 66.

executor of the wills of prominent churchmen is a tribute to the confidence and even the friendship which men of extraordinarily diverse character placed in him.

In view of his many experiences as executor, it is not strange that he secured protection for the objects covered by his own will.[1] Nevertheless, the papal envoy, Master Martin, seems to have seized some of the unclaimed returns of Elias' property after the latter's death.[2]

Amid the manifold activities of Master Elias of Dereham, the architectural and artistic duties were probably of most importance. Henry III clearly employed him as a director of construction. It is significant that Elias was with Langton in 1219–1220 when the latter's attention was concentrated upon achieving a splendid translation ceremony and monument for St Thomas à Becket, and with Richard Poore from 1222–1228 at the time Poore's heart was set upon building the new cathedral. Indeed, it is difficult to explain why Elias changed from one to the other unless for reasons of architecture. Assuming that Elias was first of all an architect, how are we to explain his other activities? Did Elias receive a canonry at Salisbury as payment for his duties as architect, and perform the other duties out of the goodness of his heart? Or was he, and other architects, expected to serve in several capacities? Was Elias a typical builder or an exception?

The facts presented here about Master Elias of Dereham doubtless do not include everything which is to be discovered about him. A name which appears more than one hundred times in printed documents will certainly appear in collections as yet unpublished. On the artistic side of his career especially, a great deal probably can be worked out. Even before this phase is more carefully studied, his career of forty years is sufficiently amazing. He would be worthy of remark had he done nothing more than serve as executor for the wills of three archbishops of Canterbury and two bishops. He was obviously a man of wide abilities. We should like to know more

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 180, April 28, 1237, the same date as that of the mandate about the will of Richard Poore.

[2] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, IV, 418.

about the more intimate side of his association with his patrons, especially Richard Poore. Administrator, lawyer, treasurer, canon, trusted friend, artist, builder, and poet, he possessed a vigorous and many-sided personality. It is hard to avoid comparing him with a contemporary and more famous Elias, the friend and successor of St Francis who built the great church at Assisi. Had he but lived two centuries later, he might have felt the autobiographic urge which would have assured him immediate and everlasting fame.

New Mexico Normal University

SOURCES FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF ST FRANCIS OF ASSISI

By EMMA GURNEY SALTER

THE life of St Francis, and the history of the founding and early days of his Order, are well documented. The years following his death in 1226 saw a diligent collecting of records, and there exists to-day an abundance of first-hand, contemporary information, the legends or lives of the Saint being supplemented by references in other writers, Italian and foreign, members of the Order and outside it. Around this material much controversy has raged, beginning with the critical discussions in the *Acta Sanctorum* (L. Oct. II, 1768): it has become especially acute in recent years, when a whole literature has grown up around it, in which the value of certain documents has been variously estimated, according to the view taken of their date, their genuineness, and their tendencious tone. Critical texts of the most important sources are now available. A series of them has been published by the Fathers of the College of St Bonaventura at Quaracchi, near Florence (editors of the *Analecta Franciscana* and *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*);[1] by the British Society of Franciscan Studies; in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and other periodicals. Many have been translated into English.

The present article is an attempt to discuss these sources, and summarise the results of recent criticism upon them. Even though we are regarding them from the literary rather than the historical standpoint, a few words are necessary as to the condition of affairs in the Order at the time when they were being composed, as this affected them very considerably.

As is well known, there were two parties. One clung to the strictest observance of the Rule of absolute poverty, and handed down every word of St Francis that supported its views; its records were mainly derived from Leo and the other special 'Companions' (*socii*) of the Saint. Its members were known as Observants, 'Zelanti,' or 'Spirituals,' the last name arising from their association later on with the

[1] 'Legendae Sti Francisci Assisiensis Saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae', *Anal. Franc.*, 1926, etc.

doctrines of the Abbot Joachim of Flora. The other party, consisting of those who accepted a laxer observance, and modified interpretation of the Rule as sanctioned by Papal privileges, became known as the 'Community' or 'Conventual' party. Between extremists on either side, the great body of Friars were moderate men who wanted above all peace.

The literature produced by the first party has been contrasted with the 'official' literature, i.e. that compiled by command of the Pope, or Minister General of the Order, such as the *Legenda Prima* and *Secunda* by Brother Thomas of Celano, with his Tractate on St Francis' Miracles, and, later, the *Legenda* by St Bonaventura. This division is not very satisfactory, because the official 'lives' used material contributed by the 'Companions,' while the *Legenda* known as that of the *Tres Socii* was itself (according to the traditional account) compiled in response to the request of the Minister General.

St Francis' own writings must hold the first place as a source of information, though rather as to his personality than his biography. Many are full of character. There is an edition of them (*Opuscula S. P. Francisci*) by the Quaracchi Fathers (which leaves out the Italian *Cantico*—the 'Song of Brother Sun'), and another by Dr H. Boehmer,[1] both published in 1904. Of the writings usually considered authentic, leaving aside the devotional ones, those that are concerned with history are the Rules of 1221 and 1223—the latter embodying modifications suggested by Cardinal Ugolino, the 'Protector' of the Order—and the *Testamentum*, Francis' last setting-forth of his ideals and intentions for his Order, recalling in a simple, moving way various incidents of his life. The autograph Benediction, still preserved at Assisi, was given to Leo, and is annotated by him, his reference to the Stigmatisation being one of the earliest that we have.

The earliest life is by nearly all critics considered to be the *Legenda Prima* by Thomas of Celano, dating from 1228–1229. The late Paul Sabatier, the regretted pioneer in modern Franciscan study, claimed this place for the *Speculum Perfectionis*, which he was the first to identify as a separate work, with 1227 as its date, and

[1] In his *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*.

Leo as its author. His view, however, for reasons to be given shortly, has not met with general acceptance.[1]

In 1246–1247, we have the *Legenda Secunda* of Celano and, if accepted as genuine, the *Legenda Trium Sociorum:* in 1263, St Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior.*

The *Legenda Trium Sociorum* and the *Speculum Perfectionis* (*Mirror of Perfection*) are the two sources that have been most hotly contested: the latter, though not the work of one hand or one year, is generally admitted to be a compilation of great importance, derived from material partly written, partly oral, some of which was actually contributed by, some handed down from, Leo and the other 'Companions,' continuing from the years following the Saint's death down to 1318. Less polemical portions of this same material are probably preserved in Celano's *Legenda Secunda*, others in the *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius* (the Latin original of the *Fioretti*), and in collections found in various codices under some such heading as *Verba Fratris Leonis.* Leo died in 1271, and, although some of his rolls and parchments (*rotuli, cedulae,*) were lost or perhaps intentionally destroyed, others were carefully, sometimes secretly, treasured up: they are referred to by Ubertino da Casale, a leading 'Spiritual' of the end of the century, and are quoted by him and other 'Spirituals,' e.g. Peter John Olivi and Angelo da Clareno: thus, where such passages occur in the *Speculum* or elsewhere, Leo's work is indubitably authenticated.

The above mentioned sources will now be considered in more detail.

Thomas of Celano.

At the time of the Canonisation of St Francis (July, 1228), Pope Gregory IX commissioned Brother Thomas of Celano (a town in the Abruzzi) to write a life that should make him known to the world. Thomas was probably chosen because he had some literary renown—

[1] In his *Vie de St François d'Assise* (Paris, 1894), M. Sabatier provided a masterly 'Étude Critique des Sources.' This was not brought up to date in subsequent editions, but the author from time to time published studies on the documents, and answered criticisms on his views, in his series of *Opuscules de Critique Historique*, and *Collection d'Études et de Document sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher).

he is the reputed author of the *Dies Irae*—and because he was known to be pacific. During the last troubled years he had been absent from Assisi on the mission to Germany, and was a friend of its chronicler, Brother Jordan of Giano. He had known Francis, though not intimately. Celano had a real enthusiasm and love for Francis, as is shown in his work and in his touching description of his *Legenda Secunda*, twenty years later, as *memoriale . . . in desiderio animae*. His work was a labor of love, as well as a command performance. He was painstaking and sincere and speaks of his determination to be guided by truth. Some of his information is derived from his own knowledge, some from his enquiries among reliable witnesses. Celano is a stylist and loves playing with words; his opening remarks about his 'unpractised pen' and his desire to avoid 'ornaments of speech' were not to be taken seriously: he puts rhetorical speeches into Francis' mouth. But he gives a very good idea of his life and teaching, for instance, as to the imitation of Christ, the ideal of poverty and duty of manual labor, and the care of lepers. In the *Legenda Prima* (XXIX, 83) occurs the well-known account of the Saint's personal appearance.

This *Legenda Prima* was finished in 1229: it gives such a vivid description of St Francis' Canonisation as to suggest that Celano was an eye-witness of it, but does not mention the Translation of his body to the new, great Church in 1230. Thomas has been unfairly accused of being a partisan of Elias, the imperious Minister General under whose able and ambitious direction the building of that Church was expedited, and whose character has been so variously judged. But the praise lavished on him by Celano, and the prominent place allotted to him, were quite natural at the time of writing, and especially in view of the Pope's friendship with Elias. Celano has also been blamed for not mentioning Leo and the other *socii* by name, but he alludes to them (*Leg. Prima*, VI, 102) unmistakably, in glowing terms, as holy and devout men, pleasing to their Brethren, especially beloved of Francis, and his support in his physical weakness. He adds that he purposely omits their names to spare their modesty. Celano's defence has been successfully taken up by W. Goetz in his valuable work *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des Hl. Franz*

von Assisi (1904). Thomas perhaps relied too much on Elias for his information, and he does admittedly, whether through ignorance or intention, slur over the recent difficulties in the Order. Mention of these would have been out of place in a work intended for the outside world. He does not, for instance, allude to the Rule of 1221 or of 1223. In the final section, he records some miracles wrought by the Saint after death—those publicly announced at the Canonisation.

Celano's work became widely known and was largely drawn upon by those who came after him. Among these were Brother Julian of Speyer, who abridged him in a prose *Life* (*ca.* 1232) and in a metrical Office (*ca.* 1235), both of which still exist; and John of Ceperano—not a member of the Order—of whose *Legenda*, called after its opening words *Quasi stella matutina*, only a résumé remains. Julian's *Legenda* has been edited in the *Anal. Boll.*, XXI, 148–202; part of his rhymed Office—appalling doggerel—is set alongside it with the corresponding passages in Celano and is seen to be taken absolutely verbally from them. He inserts some hymns previously composed by Pope Gregory and two Cardinals in honor of St Francis, probably for his Canonisation. A curious point, showing the liberties taken with biography in the supposed interests of 'edification,' is the alteration of one of the opening lines. These originally ran:

> Hic vir in vanitatibus nutritus insolenter
> Plus suis nutritoribus se gessit indecenter[1]

The second line became, by order of the Chapter General of Narbonne (1260),

> Divinis charismatibus praeventus est clementer (!)

Celano's *Legenda Prima* was also abridged in Latin hexameters by Henry of Avranches, court poet of Henry III of England. A text was published by Cristofani with the title *Il più Antico Poema della Vita di San Francesco* (Prato, 1882).[2] Bonaventura and the

[1] Celano's statement here versified conflicts with the account given by the *Tres Socii* of Francis' youth.

[2] A thirteenth century MS. (*Dd. xi. 78*) of the poem was lent by Cambridge University Library to the Exhibition of Franciscan MSS at the British Museum in 1926. Cf. J. C. Russel; 'Master Henry of Avranches,' Speculum, III (1928), 41, 45, 49, 59.

'Three Companions' also quarried from the *Legenda Prima* later on.

In the years following the publication of the *Legenda Prima*, when the will and intention of Francis for the Order were being much discussed, a strong desire was felt to gather and put on record all that could be learned of him, and in 1244 the Chapter General of Genoa directed that all who had information to give should send it in. The material thus collected was handed over to Celano, so that he might compile a supplementary *Legenda Secunda*, intended more for the Order itself than for the outside public. Leo and the other *socii* sent in their documents and reminiscences, probably including the *Intentio Regulae*, in answer to the demand, and *apparently*—we have no actual proof of it—the then Minister General, Crescentius, who was not in favour of the Leonine party, suppressed the more contentious matter. Some parts of this same material are probably represented in the traditional *Legenda Trium Sociorum*. Celano in this *Legenda Secunda* used much of the 'Companions'' work, and, in the second section of it, associated them unmistakably with himself in his Prologue and the final 'prayer of the Saint's Companions to him.' He uses the plural where in the *Legenda Prima* he had used the singular. It is possible that Leo and the others, when they saw the work referred to as their joint effort, may have felt like contributors who have been rather severely edited; for, if Crescentius suppressed, Celano certainly paraphrased and embellished.

This *Legenda Secunda* is in two parts or sections.[1] The first, which was begun in 1246 and finished in 1247, gives some incidents of St Francis' conversion and of his earlier years which, as Thomas says, he had not known before, and some later happenings.

In 1247, Crescentius was succeeded as Minister General by John of Parma, the first member of the 'Spritual' party to hold that office. Thus, in *II Cel. ii*, Celano was able to use the work of the 'Spirituals' more freely—he quite speaks of it here as if he were only its editor—hence we have a great insistence on Poverty, and on St Francis' teaching about it. The biographical form of the first part is not continued in this, but under the heading of virtues, such as humility,

[1] Usually cited as *II Cel. i* and *ii;* the *Legenda Prima* as *I Cel.*

charity, and so forth, narratives are grouped showing how they were exemplified in Francis: his end is also described.

In spite of the lapse of years, we get a much nearer view of the Saint than in *I Cel.* and the style is on the whole simpler. The first section (*II, i*) bears a close resemblance to the *Legenda Trium Sociorum;* the second (*II, ii*) to the *Speculum.* A theory has been advanced that all three may be derived from some documents now lost.

Celano included some miracles, but purposely did not multiply them: he had remarked in his *Legenda Prima* that 'miracles do not constitute sanctity, but only set it forth.' But such a demand for records of the Saint's miracles persisted that, shortly after, Celano was called upon to compile a *Tractatus de Miraculis.* (Incidentally this fresh commission shows John of Parma's confidence in his honesty and truth.) This tractate was lost for many years; some fragments were found in 1894, but the whole was rediscovered by the Jesuit Father Van Ortroy, in 1898, and published in *Anal. Boll.*, XVIII. It includes an account of the visit of the widowed Lady Giacoma to St Francis on his deathbed, thus confirming that in the *Speculum Perfectionis.*

The most striking difference between Celano's two lives is the attitude towards Elias, who had fallen into disgrace by 1246, and whose name is absolutely not mentioned in *II Cel.*! *I Cel.* is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum.* The two lives, and the tractate on miracles, were published in a critical text by Fr Edouard d'Alençon in 1906.[1] Had Fate decreed that only *one* Franciscan source should survive, there can be no doubt that *I* and *II Cel.* would have been the most valuable.

Legenda Trium Sociorum.

The *Legenda Trium Sociorum* is in all the MSS prefaced by an introductory Letter to Crescentius from Brothers Leo, Angelo and Rufino, dated August, 1246, from Greccio, the little hermitage near Rieti where Francis had made the first Christmas *Presepio.* It

[1] *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula, additis Opusculis Liturgicis, auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano,* (Rome, 1906.)

consists of 18 chapters, of which the last two, dealing with the Stigmata and Canonisation, are obviously different in style from the rest,—a later addition, partly drawn from Bonaventura. In some MSS, an additional chapter on the Portiuncula Indulgence has been appended; this is not an integral part of the *Legenda*. The traditional 18 chapters are printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* as an appendix to *I Cel.*, and a text was published in 1898 from a MS. at Foligno by Monsignor Faloci Pulignani.[1]

The question of this *Legenda* bristles with difficulties. In the first place, the introductory Letter does not in the least describe it *as it stands*. The 'Companions' say they are not writing chronologically, and they do so. They promise new material from their own personal knowledge and do not supply it. They deal with the early years only, whereas it was in the later ones that they were intimate with St Francis. They borrow largely from *I Cel.*, whose wording is recalled in their introduction. It really seems impossible to believe that this introductory Letter describes the traditional *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, and apparently only two authorities, Faloci Pulignani, in the text above referred to, and Salvatore Minocchi,[2] have even tried to maintain that it does.

The most concentrated attack on this *Legenda* was made by Fr. Van Ortroy in *Anal. Boll.*, XIX (1900), 119–197. He maintained that it is a 'clever fabrication' (*pastiche*), complete as it stands, by some unknown compiler, who was, at the earliest, of the end of the thirteenth century. He rejected the Letter also. He pointed out various errors and anachronisms, and the fact that the work was not mentioned by thirteenth-century Franciscan writers, except for the allusion to the Letter and the 'Companions' ' names in the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General*, dating from about 1369. Fr. Lemmens O.F.M.[3] and Goetz,[4] among others, consider it spurious; Fr. Cuthbert[5] thinks that the 'Companions' are not 'the sole source' of

[1] *Sancti Francisci Legendam Trium Sociorum*, ex. cod. Fulg. edidit Michael Faloci Pulignani (Foligno, 1898).

[2] *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Quinta Serie, XXIV (1899), 249–362; XXVI (1900), 84 ff; reprinted in book form as *La Leggenda Trium Sociorum; Nuovi Studi* (1900).

[3] *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana*, I, 26–27.

[4] *Quellen, cit. supra*, pp. 91–147.

[5] *Life of St Francis*, (New York: Longmans, 1912) Appendix IV, pp. 433–444. See also H. Tilemann, *Speculum Perfectionis und Legenda Trium Sociorum* (Leipzig, 1902).

the *Legenda*, though he admits that the question of date and authorship is not finally settled. Lemmens looks on it as a supplement to the *Speculum*, and thinks that the Letter refers to the 'Companions' ' work in *II Cel.;* Boehmer holds that the Letter applies to the *Speculum*. Fr. Delorme O.F.M. believes that a *Legenda Antiqua* which he discovered in a Perugian MS. (of which we shall treat later) exactly answers to the Letter, and shows that, in an incident in the fifth chapter of the *Tres Socii*, several words are common to that and the *Legenda Antiqua* which do not occur in the *Speculum* version. Professor Burkitt is of opinion that one section (D) of Delorme's MS. is the document to which the Letter refers,[1] and that the *Tres Socii* was compiled to complete the *Speculum*. Critics have asked how, if the *Tres Socii* be fragmentary, as Sabatier and others of its defenders have maintained, it is to be accounted for that all the MSS give just these traditional chapters, and that Bartholomew of Pisa, a fourteenth-century writer, alludes to a fact in Chapter 16 as being 'at about the end of the *Legend*' (*quasi in fine legendae*)?

The various objections raised before 1901 were met in that year by Sabatier in his brochure *De l'Authenticité de la Légende de St François dite des Trois Compagnons*, as follows. If we allow the existing *Legenda* to be fragmentary, we may suppose that Crescentius suppressed the remainder. The new materials promised are to be looked for in *II Cel. i.* This is clearly borrowed from the 'Companions,' not the 'Companions' ' legend from it, because of the miraculous element and embellishments introduced in Celano. If so, the *Legenda* must date from before 1247. In style and spirit it differs entirely from the late compilations of which we have examples. If it be asserted that later writers do not use or name it, one must remember, as to name, the reticence practised about documents of the 'Spiritual' party; as to use, that it filtered down through *II Cel.* and Bonaventura. The later 'Spirituals,' such as Ubertino da Casale and Angelo da Clareno, do not quote it because they are only concerned with the Saint's later years, and the crisis in the Order. The an-

[1] See his 'Study of the Sources' in *Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of St Francis* (ed. Dr. W. Seton, London Univ. Press, 1926), and in *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine* (Oct. 1925).

achronisms are dealt with and explained. The date is certified by the most exact ancient authority known on the sources, the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General*, already alluded to, which, after mentioning the *socii*, says: *et* post *Frater Thomas de Celano . . . compilavit . . .*, going on to give the opening words of *II Cel. i.*

But it is really the atmosphere of the *Tres Socii* that seems conclusive: it reads like an original, not a *pastiche;* it is fresh and vivid, naïve and homely, with a fine austerity also: it corresponds with the character and thought of St Francis' own writings. As Ed. d'Alençon says,[1] it has the 'authentic note.' It is *not* polemical. Sabatier (before his discovery of the *Speculum*) called it 'le plus beau monument franciscain.' His belief in it as (a) fragmentary and (b) authentic is shared by the leading English Franciscan scholar, Dr. A. G. Little,[2] and appears convincing to the present writer.

Where, then, are the missing portions of the *Tres Socii* to be sought? The answer seems to be: both in *II Cel.* and in the *Speculum*, and a digression to consider the latter now becomes necessary.

Speculum Perfectionis.[3]

A version of this was first discovered by Sabatier; other forms of it, of varying length and contents, have since come to light, in ten or twelve MSS. M. Sabatier had been working at a compilation, dating from about 1345 (printed in 1504) called *Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius*, and was struck by the fact that 118 chapters of it, dealing with the Saint's later years, bearing largely on his teaching and intentions as to Poverty and the Rule, all had a close similarity in style and thought. The expression 'we that were with him' was often repeated in them. He then discovered a MS. in Paris (the Mazarin [1743] of 1459) entitled *Speculum Perfectionis*, in which there were embedded 116 of these identical 118 chapters that he had selected—a proof of his fine literary instinct—with an *explicit* giving the date May 11, 1228 (1228 the Pisan reckoning, 1227 our style.) Sabatier was thus confirmed in his belief that the

[1] *Études Franciscaines*, VII (1902).

[2] See his article 'The Sources of the History of St Francis of Assisi' in the *English Historica Review*, XVII (1902), 643–677, and his *Guide to Franciscan Studies* (London: S. P.C. K., 1920).

[3] The full title is *Speculum Perfectionis Status Fratris Minoris scilicet Beati Francisci.*

work was Leo's, and published a critical text of it in 1898, calling it *Legenda Antiquissima, Auctore Fratre Leone.*

Its appearance was the signal for a perfect hailstorm of books, articles, and notices attacking it. The date 1227 was to most people disproved by the discovery of an earlier MS. of the work—at the Ognissanti, Florence—of about 1380, whose *explicit*, while identical as to day, month, and place of compilation, gives the year 1318. If MCCXXVIII and MCCCXVIII be compared in Roman figures, the likelihood of a copyist's error in one figure (a ten for a hundred) is clearly seen. Sabatier, with characteristic honesty, drew attention to it himself, but pointed out that the copyist's error might equally well have been from 1228 to 1318; he maintained further that the early date was confirmed by internal evidence. Under this heading, he instanced the very human and intimate details about St Francis; the absence of prophecies and similar matter that would infallibly have been inserted in a later compilation; and the correspondence of the text with the state of affairs in the Order in 1227. He considered that the *Speculum* was a protest against Elias' building of the great basilica, and that its appearance, together with Elias' alleged ill-treatment of Leo, resulted in the election of the 'Spiritual' John Parenti as Minister General in 1228. He argued that the fact of the quotations from Leo by Ubertino and other later 'Spirituals' being *all* in the *Speculum* are proofs of Leo's authorship. Sabatier admitted that the first chapter in his version, which ascribes a miraculous origin to the Rule, was out of tone with the rest, and tendencious, probably replacing an earlier, less miraculous account. He admitted, too, that there are other interpolations, such as the mention of the death of Bernard, the first disciple, which did not occur till 1240: the reference to *Saint* Dominic, and the praise of Leo's own character put into St Francis' mouth. (This last is omitted in the Rome MS.)

Sabatier maintained his original position in an *Opuscule* of 1910, and does so almost entirely in his definitive edition of the *Speculum*, which, left incomplete at his death, was published by the British Society of Franciscan Studies in 1928. The final revision and editing were ably carried out by Little, who hopes shortly to publish Tome II, containing the critical notes, partly supplied by himself. These,

we understand, will convincingly demonstrate the close relation between St Francis' own writings and the *Speculum*.

But Sabatier has not convinced most scholars. The elaborate arrangement of the *Speculum* is against its having been brought out so hastily, and even more damaging than the 1318 *explicit* is the heading or rubric of the two Mazarin codices [1743 and 989] themselves, and of all the others but three—

> Istud opus *compilatum est* per modum legendae *ex quibusdam antiquis* quae in diversis locis scripserunt et scribi fecerunt socii beati Francisci.

This alone, says Van Ortroy, makes Sabatier's position untenable.[1] Sabatier, however, argued that the *Istud opus* sentence was adventitious, a gloss, not a part of the work, and not corresponding to its contents. To many, however, it seems as unfair to separate this sentence from what follows as to detach the introductory Letter of the *Three Companions* from its accompanying chapters, as Sabatier himself blamed some critics for doing. This same introductory Letter is another argument against the 1227 date: had the *Speculum* been known when it was written in 1246, the 'Companions' could not have said what they do about the neglect by previous writers of the recollections and narratives which they had offered.

On the other hand, the *Speculum* cannot have been actually composed as late as 1318, since *II Cel.* uses 86 of its 120 chapters, in which the simpler style and thought, the local, intimate touches, show the *Speculum* to be the earlier of the two. For instance, the actual words of the 'Companions' are carefully preserved, whereas Celano, as already noted, makes all rhetorical. The *Speculum* is not a biography, but gives the Saint's teaching, with narratives to illustrate it, and lays stress on the Portiuncula as the 'Holy of Holies,' and on the literal observance of the Rule. In some cases, the *Speculum* possibly preserves a now lost original from which *II Cel. ii* may have derived: in some cases, it copies Celano: in others, we cannot be sure which was the earlier of the two. The chapters in it

[1] Fr Van Ortroy is not quite accurate in calling this heading the *Incipit* because the MSS. all have an *Incipit Speculum Perfectionis*—in some of them the *Istud opus* sentence precedes it, in some, it follows; in three, the *Istud opus* does not occur at all; Sabatier followed one of these.

which are *not* used by Celano are apparently either later than 1246–1247, or were rejected by him as contentious.

A shorter form of the *Speculum* was discovered by Lemmens in a MS. at San Isidoro, Rome, which also contained chapters headed *Intentio Regulae*, and *Verba Scti. Francisci.* He published them in *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana* I and II (Quaracchi, 1901). What Lemmens calls a 'first redaction' contains 45 of Sabatier's 124 chapters. He considers that these are documents sent in by the 'Companions'. in 1246, and compiled 30 years after, whereas Sabatier's version is a 'second redaction,' compiled later from other documents. The polemical chapters of the *Speculum* which are not found in Lemmens' version are contained in the other material (*Intentio Regulae*, etc.) in the MS.: this corresponds to writings of Leo described by Ubertino and Angelo. Ubertino apparently knew the *Intentio* as a separate writing; his quotations follow the order of its chapters, not those of the *Speculum.*

A MS. purchased by Little from the Phillipps Collection also contains 50 chapters of the *Speculum* in a text much nearer Lemmens' version than Sabatier's.[1] It contains certain chapters resembling *II Cel. ii* that are not in the *Speculum*, but in a simpler, directer style. This simple, almost bald style is characteristic of Leo and his group, and is in marked contrast to the rhetorical antitheses and elaborate panegyrics of Celano and Bonaventura. It is homely and unpretending, sometimes provincial (e.g. in the use of words assimilated from the Italian, like *guerra; petia* (for *pezza*), *zucarium* (for *zucchero*)). Sometimes it rises to eloquence. As a priest, Leo must have known more Latin than his master probably did,[2] but one frequently feels that he preserves Francis' actual words translated from the vernacular, as in the oft-cited '*Fratres mei, non debetis me facere dicere rem totiens*' (!) which Celano 'improved' out of all recognition. The saying occurs in the attractive story of the parsley (Phillipps MS. chap. 187), an example of one of the chapters referred to above, which this MS. gives in full, while both Lemmens' and Sabatier's

[1] See *Opuscules de Crit. Hist.*, xviii and *Collectanea Franciscana* I (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies).

[2] Eccleston speaks of a letter from Francis 'which had bad Latin in it.' We fear his French was not much better, much as he loved using it; the 'Three Companions' tell us 'he spake it not aright'!

versions have only a summary of the moral. A weighty, recent contribution to the *Speculum* problem is furnished by the discovery and description by Delorme of a MS. (1046) in the Municipal Library at Perugia, published in *Archiv. Franc. Hist.*, XV (1922), to which reference has already been made. The MS. contains, among other items (e.g. Franciscan Papal Bulls; Bonaventura's *Legenda;* a series of over 100 Franciscan anecdotes), a compilation called *Legenda Antiqua Sancti Francisci;* it is a copy, and dates from about 1311. Some of its pages are lost. Several indications would date the original as probably from between 1239 and 1247. Its author must have known the various MSS preserved in the convent at Assisi, as it was only there that he could have access to the Bulls. Nearly all the chapters of this *Legenda Antiqua* are found in Lemmens' *Speculum*, or in the other documents of his MS. or in Little's MS. Burkitt suggests that Sabatier's version of the *Speculum* borrowed from this Perugian MS. and rearranged its material. Delorme considers his discovery to be the source of the *Speculum*, and *a* source of the *Tres Socii*. Some of its chapters are obviously extracts from Celano, but, equally obviously, some are earlier than the *Speculum*. For instance, a present tense in the *Legenda Antiqua* often becomes a past one in the *Speculum*. The former speaks of the Poor Clares as being still at San Damiano; the latter, of their having moved into Assisi, as they did in 1260. Chapters 42 to 115 must be earlier than *II Cel.*, as Celano worked them up and embellished them. Delorme considers that this *Legenda Antiqua* exactly answers, as a source, to the '*Istud opus*' sentence of the *Speculum*, and also to what the 'Companions' promise in their introductory Letter.

Now, previous to Delorme's discovery, a MS. in the Vatican (4354) had been known, containing, among other material, a *Legenda Antiqua*, which included 57 chapters of the *Speculum* in the order of Sabatier's version, and 30 of the *Actus*.[1] Its compiler speaks of a *Legenda Vetus*, from which Bonaventura drew, and which was ordered to be read at table in the Avignon convent when he was there. It is not known what this *Legenda Vetus* was; it has been suggested that it may have been the original version of the *Legenda*

[1] Several codices in other places, e.g. at Fribourg, contain it; some give more *Spec.* chapters.

Trium Sociorum. This Avignon compilation, probably dating from between 1322 and 1328, is usually known from its heading as *Fac secundum Exemplar* (from *Hebrews* viii, 5). Sabatier and Lemmens had both published fragments of this *Legenda Vetus* from two different MSS.; the seven chapters which compose Sabatier's fragment are found in Little's MS. already mentioned, following some *Speculum* chapters, without any separate title.

To sum up the *Speculum* question: There seems no doubt that Leo's material is largely and more or less directly represented in the *Speculum*, the *Legenda Antiqua*, and the *Actus*, and, though we cannot regard him as sole author of the *Speculum*, or accept Sabatier's date for it, its value still remains very great. We feel that it brings us very near to St Francis: it is, as Little has said, 'the most valuable authority for his *inner* life.' We may consider that its greater part consists of documents sent in by the 'Companions' in 1246, (probably the portions missing from their *Legenda* as it stands), plus earlier and later writings of Leo, all collected and arranged—with some additions at the time of arranging—at the Portiuncula (as the *explicit* tells us) in 1318. At this date, it would serve as a manifesto against Pope John XXII, who was taking hostile action against the 'Zelanti.'

Returning to the closely linked problem of the *Tres Socii*, it may be observed that the 16 chapters of the traditional *Legenda* represent largely what the 'Companions' took from others, while their own reminiscences are found in the *Speculum*, authenticated by the 'we that were with him,' which never occurs in the *Legend*. A sixteenth-century Florentine chronicler, named Mariano, quotes incidents as from the *Tres Socii* which are not in the traditional *Legenda*, but which *are* in the *Speculum*, and which answer to the promises of the introductory Letter to the *Legenda*. In several MSS, the 16 chapters of the *Legenda* are followed by part of the *Speculum* or *Actus*, so the Letter may apply to those also, and would justly describe them. Jörgensen[1] has suggested that possibly they formed a second part of the *Legenda*, the first 16 chronological chapters alone

[1] *St Francis of Assisi*. Authorised English Translation by T. O'Conor Sloane. Appendix, pp. 374, 375. (New York: Longmans, 1912).

bearing the name of *Legenda:* this would account for Bartholomew's remark about an incident 'near the end,' as other of his quotations show that he knew a completer form. The neglect of the *Legenda* by later writers might be accounted for by the fact that *II Cel.*, which included their oral communications also, appears more official, and fuller, and makes the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* rather resemble a preparatory sketch.

A close kinship has been pointed out between the traditional *Tres Socii* and a short *Legenda* of 12 chapters by an anonymous writer, known as the *Anonymous Perugian*, which has been published by Fr. Van Ortroy *in extenso* in *Miscellanea Francescana*, IX (1902), 33–48: it had appeared incompletely in *Acta Sanctorum*. The writer speaks of himself as a disciple of the first *socii*, and cannot have written much before 1290 as he quotes the compilation of Bernard of Bessa, Bonaventura's secretary, of about 1280. He gives one or two details not otherwise known, e.g. the name, Albert, of the old beggar whom St Francis chose to bless him. Possibly the two legends derive from some common origin.

Before leaving the *Tres Socii*, we must make mention of a reconstruction attempted by two Franciscan Fathers, Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli, in 1899, based on an old Italian version of unknown date. This they turned into Latin and published as *La Leggenda di San Francesco scritta da tre suoi compagni pubblicata per la prima volta nella sua vera integrità*. In addition to the traditional 16 chapters, this adds 63, which are drawn from the *Speculum* or Celano. They do not agree in manner or length with the first 16. Though not convincing, this reconstruction may possibly represent the stage in which the *Tres Socii* had been revised by the authorities before being sent to Celano.

St Bonaventura.

The publication of so much of the 'Companions'' material as above described, together with the fall of Elias, encouraged the party of the strict Observance, who pressed their claims to be the only real followers and interpreters of Francis' intentions. Controversy in the Order increased and feeling ran so high that the authori-

ties felt that it must be stopped. There must be no more appealing from this record to that, in support of rival positions: these records must be superseded by one authorised, official, non-partisan standard *Life* of the Founder. The fall of Elias made it necessary to revise the existing, official *Life*, Celano's. Accordingly, in 1260, the Chapter General of Narbonne ordered Bonaventura, who had become Minister General in 1257, to produce a *Life* which should supersede both it and all the 'Companions' ' material. Bonaventura was a 'moderate,'—a learned and eloquent writer, while at the same time enough of a mystic and ascetic to appreciate that aspect of the Founder. Between 1260 and 1263 he produced his *Legenda*, very tactful and discreet, warranted to offend no one. All controversial points are omitted—the *Testamentum*, for instance, is not mentioned. Beautiful as this *Legenda* undoubtedly is, it suffers considerably as an historical source in consequence. In it St Francis tends to become—so far as anyone can make him—the conventional Saint. It contains little new material, in spite of the researches which the writer made: this shows how thorough Celano had been.

From this *Legenda*, known as *Maior* (printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*), its author abstracted one known as *Minor* for choir use. They are published together by the Quaracchi Fathers (1898). Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior* was also sometimes called *Nova*, in contrast to Celano, whose First and Second *Lives* were each apparently described as *Legenda Antiqua*,—a fruitful source of confusion, since not only did the Avignon document also bear that name, but also another, now lost, to which the writer of the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General* constantly refers.

In the supposed interests of peace, a startling and drastic decree was now issued by the Chapter General of Paris, 1266, to the effect that all previous *Lives* or *Legends* of St Francis, wherever they existed, were to be sought out and destroyed! The decree seems to have been rigorously executed, and accounts for the scarcity of MSS of Celano and others; only seven MSS of *I Cel.* and eighteen of the *Tres Socii* now exist, as compared with 179 MSS of Bonaventura. Certain writings of the Observants were, in spite of it, secretly preserved and discussed, as we have noted. The Chapter General hoped

to render Bonaventura's *Legenda* acceptable to this party by asserting that its narratives were compiled 'from the mouth of them that had been nigh continuously with Blessed Francis . . . which things he (Bonaventura) had diligently proved before placing them therein.' But it obviously could not satisfy them, and their appeals to 'Spiritual' records continued. Bonaventura's work, however, became at once, and has remained, popular with the general public, and served as the basis for the frescoes in the Upper Church, Assisi.

Bonaventura's secretary, Bernard of Bessa, in about 1280, made a résumé of the earlier legends and of Bonaventura's own, mentioning some of the earlier biographers and the 'Companions': *II Cel.* is not mentioned, though *I Cel.* is. He adds some new incidents, and gives an account of the three Orders. This work is known as the *Liber De Laudibus*, and will be found in *Anal. Franc.* III.

Before we pass on to the authorities of the next century, some contemporary, or almost contemporary, accounts of St Francis must be mentioned, such as the famous letter of Elias to the Order at the time of the Saint's death, in which he describes the Stigmata: the description of his preaching and appearance by one Thomas of Spalato[1] who heard him in Bologna in 1222 (he confirms Celano's account of his insignificant physique—'mean to look upon,' as the *Fioretti* say later—): and the description of the Founder and his Order contained in two letters[2] of 1216 and 1220 of the French Bishop, Jacques de Vitry, and in his *Historia Occidentalis* (cap. 37), in which he relates how he saw Francis during the siege of Damietta by the Crusaders, and calls him 'a man simple and unlettered, beloved of God and men.' Several scenes of Francis' life, e.g. the 'Chapter of the Mats,' are related in the *Chronicle* of Jordan of Giano (*ca.* 1262): Jordan knew him personally, and describes his journey to the East in 1219-1220, and the troubles that arose in his absence.

Thomas of Eccleston's *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*

[1] Reprinted from Thomas's *Historia Salonitanorum* in *Acta Sanctorum* (L. 842). The date is there given, incorrectly, as 1220.

[2] *Gesta Dei per Francos. Epist. ad Fam.*, p. 1146.

(*ca.* 1258) has, of course, references to the Founder, but does not add materially to our knowledge of his life: the same may be said of Salimbene's gossiping *Chronicle* (1283–1288). A great number of writers outside the Order, and at a distance, e.g. in Sicily and the North of France, give descriptions of, or allusions to, St Francis, showing how widespread was the interest in him. One of the earliest is an official of Pope Gregory IX's court, who, in about 1240, describes his Canonisation, and the Pope's presence at it. In England, Roger of Wendover (before 1236) relates Francis' life at some length in his *Chronicle*, but with wild inaccuracies: this Matthew Paris inserted, with some alterations, in his *Chronica Maiora* shortly after, under the year 1226.[1]

Jacobus da Voragine (†1288) devoted chapter 144 of his *Golden Legend* to St Francis.

There are also references in Papal Bulls (see *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. J. H. Sbaralea, Rome, 1759 etc.) and other documents. One of the most interesting of the latter is the *Donatio Montis Alvernae* of 1274 (also in Sbaralea), by which the sons of Count Orlando of Chiusi, who first gave the holy mountain to St Francis, make it over to his Order for ever. Faloci Pulignani refers to an inscription of 1216 to be read some years back—I do not know if it is still there—on the outside wall of the apse of Sta Maria del Vescovado, Assisi, '.... *Tempore Episcopi Guidi et Fratris Francisci.*' This points to the esteem in which he was held in his lifetime.[2]

The exquisite early allegory, the *Sacrum Commercium Beati Francisci cum Domina Paupertate*, is not described here, as not being biographical. It was edited by Ed. d'Alençon in 1900. Its authorship is disputed, but it may probably be assigned to John of Parma.

Fourteenth Century.

The most important authority of this century is the *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius*, from which the *Fioretti* were almost certainly translated. As already said, it derives largely from the

[1] These and others will be found mentioned in Lemmens' *Testimonia Minora Saeculi xiii* (*Archiv. Franc. Hist.*, I (i and ii)).

[2] *Misc. Franc.*, II, 33.

Tres Socii. It probably dates from between 1322 and 1328; the authorship is unknown, but it has been traditionally ascribed to a Brother Ugolino Brunforte di Monte Giorgio. Probably it is a compilation. Special interest is shown in the Friars of the March of Ancona. There are several MSS of the *Actus*, with rather varying contents. Some include certain chapters of the *Speculum*. Sabatier published a tentative edition in 1902.[1] The Latin text of this includes some 22 chapters that are not in the Italian, and six of the Italian chapters are missing in it: these have since been discovered in the Phillipps MS. purchased by Little, and are published in *Coll. Franc.*, I (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies). The lovely, pure, early Tuscan of the unknown translator is far more charming than the Latin, and is worthily rendered in Sir Thomas Arnold's translation (Temple Classics). A critical Italian text is badly needed: the best is probably that by L. Manzoni, (Rome, 1900).

The *Fioretti* are fragrant with the true Franciscan spirit, but in them history is blent with popular fable. The first section, of 38 chapters, dealing with St Francis and his *socii*, is probably considerably earlier than the latter part.

The highly controversial writings of the 'Spirituals,' though constantly appealing to the teaching of Francis, hardly contribute to our biographical information. In the confused, bitter-sweet, mystical masterpiece of Ubertino da Casale, for instance, the *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Iesu*, which appeared in 1305 (printed in 1485), a great part of Book v, chap. 2, is taken up with what Leo handed down as St Francis' teaching on absolute poverty: (cf. Sabatier's *Spec. Perf.* chaps. 2 to 5, 11 and 26).[2] Angelo da Clareno knew several of the 'Companions': he quotes as a record of Leo's the *Verba Scti. Francisci* edited by Lemmens, and is the author of an *Expositio Regulae Fratrum Minorum* (*ca.* 1321) based on Leo.[3] Between 1314 and 1330 he compiled a *Chronica Septem Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*,[4]

[1] Also, in the same year, the Latin text of the *Fioretti* chapters by themselves, under the name *Floretum Sancti Francisci Assisiensis*.

[2] Ubertino is an extraordinarily interesting figure. Reference may perhaps be permitted to an article on him by the present writer in *Franciscan Essays* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, 1912).

[3] Ed. L. Oliger (Quaracchi, 1912).

[4] Shortly to be published in *Anal. Franc.* Published in part by Cardinal Ehrle S. J. in

which begins with the innovations introduced while Francis was in the East, and describes with pardonable bitterness the treatment to which Angelo himself and his friends, especially John of Parma, were subjected by the 'Conventuals.'

Dante mentions Ubertino only to condemn him as an extremist (*Par.*, xii, 124). His glorious Canto about St Francis (*Par.*, xi) is drawn from Bonaventura; Leo is not mentioned; nor does Dante give any new biographical details. The striking image of Poverty scaling the Cross, while even the Blessed Mother stood below, is taken from the *Sacrum Commercium*.

Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius.

Reference has already been made to this compilation, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century (p. 397 above). It is a chaotic work, full of repetitions, but incorporating some very valuable fragments among its heterogeneous contents. It has been described and analysed by Sabatier (*Opuscule*, vi). It is largely made up of chapters of the *Speculum Perfectionis* and *Actus*, which the compiler tries to fuse, together with portions of St Bonaventura and the *Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General*, and some of St Francis' own writings.

Some sections relate to the early followers, and it concludes with a series of *exampla* (anecdotes for use in sermons).

The Chronicle of the XXIV Ministers General.

This lengthy chronicle—compiled between 1369 and 1379—has already been quoted in reference to the *Tres Socii*. The text is printed in *Anal. Franc.*, III. Its author has been thought to be a Brother Arnold of Sarano, in Aquitaine: he shows special knowledge of that province. The *Chronicle* is based on many early documents, including *I* and *II Cel.*, Bonaventura, and Eccleston; the *Liber De Laudibus* of Bernard of Bessa is transcribed, practically in full. Only the earlier sections deal with the life of St Francis; these also describe the starting of the Third Order, and the Portiuncula Indulgence. This work was much used by such later compilers as Glassberger, a writer of the early sixteenth century.

Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, II. Vols. I and III also contain 'Spiritual' literature.

The Indulgence of the Portiuncula.

There has been much debate as to whether the petition by Francis for this Indulgence and its granting by the Pope (Honorius III) was an actual incident in his life, or a later fabrication. Either conclusion involves serious difficulties. That of the silence of *all* the *early* writers, (including the Leonine group, who most desired to magnify the Portiuncula), is hard to explain, but it was already faced by the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, who also set out the first witnesses in favour of the Indulgence that were then known. It has been further met by Sabatier; by Father Cuthbert (in Appendix ii of his *Life of St Francis*, 1912), and by others. The *Acta Sanctorum* referred to the *Tractatus de Indulgentia S. M. de Portiuncula* of Brother Francis Bartholi of Assisi, and this was edited by Sabatier in 1900. Its exact date is unknown, but is probably about 1336, or rather later. Bartholi's treatise is the most important work extant dealing with the Indulgence; he gives a number of testimonies to its truth and its dependence on Francis himself. In his Introduction to it, and in an earlier pamphlet (1896) entitled *Un Nouveau Chapitre de la Vie de S. François*, Sabatier summed up the evidence that had led him to abandon his first attitude of doubt or denial, and to accept the story. Jörgensen[1] has similarly pronounced his own palinode. Whatever the first beginning of the Indulgence may have been, it was well known about fifty years after the Saint's death, as references of that time show.

The last ancient authority to be mentioned—for with the close of the fourteenth century we come to the end of sources that can be so described—is the *Liber Aureus Conformitatum* (or *de Conformitate*) *Vitae Beati Patris Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, of Bartholomew of Pisa. Begun in 1385, it appeared in 1399.[2] It is based on the early biographies, which the author had studied, and traces in a fanciful way the parallels between the life of Christ and of St Francis. It became the object of violent attack later by the Lutherans, expressed in the scurrilous *Der Barfuser Münche Eulenspiegel und Alcoran* of Erasmus Alberus (1542), which was

[1] *St Francis of Assisi*, pp. 172–173.

[2] Published in *Anal. Franc.*, IV and V.

translated into Latin; also into English, as the *Alcoran of the Barefote Friers* (1549).

It would be impossible to conclude without a passing mention of that indefatigable seventeenth-century Irish annalist of his Order, Luke Wadding. He begins with its history from the early days, and, in spite of some inaccuracies, is an invaluable authority. Wadding also compiled a list of writers of the Order. In some cases, as in that of St Francis' own compositions, later criticism rejects some writings which he had included as genuine.[1]

Possibly future research may discover fresh MSS that may throw light on those already known, and settle some vexed questions: it is unlikely that they will materially affect the picture of Francis given in the *Lives* above considered.

[1] *Annales Minorum* (Lyons, 1625–1654); *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (new edition, Rome, 1906).

London

NOTES

ORLEANESE FORMULARIES IN A MANUSCRIPT AT TARRAGONA

THE preëminence of Orleans as a centre of the *ars dictaminis* in France has long been recognized. Apparently the cultivation of *dictamen* at Orleans and in its neighborhood was closely connected with the revival of literary studies in the twelfth century, and the earliest treatises and collections from Orleans and Fleury reflect these classical and literary preoccupations.[1] In the course of the thirteenth century, however, and more definitely from about 1235 on, Orleans becomes a school of civil and canon law,[2] and the collections of letters take on a more legal character.[3] This transition is illustrated by two collections preserved in a manuscript of Tarragona, to which, so far as I am aware, attention has not been called. This codex, no. 6 of the Biblioteca Provincial, I examined in 1913, and am now able to study in detail through photographs kindly made by Mr. Walter M. Whitehill, Jr.

The manuscript, written in various hands of the thirteenth century, is incomplete at the beginning and at the end, and parts of it have been misplaced in the binding. It contains ninety-eight folios, as follows:

Fols. 1–15, 97v–98r, sixty letters of Stephen of Tournai, whose early life was associated with Orleans, with no heading, beginning in the midst of

[1] See particularly L. Delisle, 'Les Écoles d'Orléans au douzième et au treizième siècle,' in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1869, pp. 139–154; C. V. Langlois, 'Maître Bernard,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV (1893), 225–250, 792–795; and the other monographs cited in my *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), p. 190. On the decline of literary studies at Orleans in the thirteenth century, see L. J. Paetow's edition of *La bataille des VII ars* of Henri d'Andeli (Berkeley, 1927).

[2] Besides the general accounts of H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), II, 1, pp. 136–148, Marcel Fournier, *Histoire de la science du droit en France*, III (Paris, 1892), 5–11, and the same, *Statuts et privilèges des Universités Françaises* (Paris, 1890–94), I, nos. 1–6, see particularly E. M. Meijers, 'De Universiteit van Orleans in de XIIIe Eeuw,' in *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, I (1919), 108–132, 443–488. For references in formularies to town and gown riots of 1236 and thereabouts, see H. C. Lea, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 23, and Haskins, 'Two Roman Formularies in Philadelphia,' in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), IV, 284–285. On the dispersion of 1229, cf. the 'Sermo cancellarii Parisiensis quem fecit Aurelianis ad scolares de recessu scolarium a Parisius, quem fecit in vigilia Pasche': Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 62, note.

[3] Cf. Langlois, 'Notices et extraits de trois formulaires Orléanais,' in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXIV, 2 (1895), 1–18.

letter ccviii (Migne, *P.L.*, CCXI, col. 486): ' . . . semper excutio. Venientibus ad me in confessione . . . '

Fol. 5r, three student letters printed below (nos. 5–7).

Fols. 15v–16r, lists of Latin synonyms, such as appear in the same hand on fols. 68v–70r.

Fols. 17r–35r (without heading), the Orleanese formulary of ecclesiastical procedure and correspondence (*ca.* 1234) described below as No. II.

Fols. 35r–55r, going on in the same hand, the Orleanese formulary of Master Renerius, described below as No. I.

Fols. 56v–57r, notes on reserved cases, dated 1401.

Fols. 57v–62r, forms of letters concerning the diocese of Orleans in the time of Bishop Philip, apparently a continuation of No. II.

Fols. 62v–67v, a brief treatise on canonical procedure, incomplete at the end, beginning: 'Quia causarum decisio per iudicium debet determinari, videndum est quid sit iudicium . . . ' There are some brief anonymous examples, and the following illustration indicates the academic environment: 'Si Titius promiserit Seio decem causa legendi duos libros et potat illa decem prius legerit unum . . . .'

Fol. 68r, two forms of petition for benefices.

Fols. 68v–70r, lists of Latin synonyms; cf. fols. 15v–16r.

Fols. 71r–80v, in an English hand, formulary from England, of the time of Gregory IX, with a document dated 1235 on fol. 79r.

Fols. 81r–96v, collection of forms of correspondence from Italy of the time of Gregory IX and Frederick II, with samples of salutations and exordia. The places mentioned center chiefly about Bologna, but there are also references to Naples.[1] Inc.: 'Rudes et insolentes dictatores . . .'

I

The earlier of the two Orleanese formularies in our manuscript is preceded (fols. 35r-37v) by a brief theoretical treatise which bears the name of an unidentified Master Renerius:[2]

[1] On fol. 83v we find a letter addressed to A. (=Eleanor), queen of England (1236–72), and a letter recommending John, clerk of the king of England, to Odo, cardinal deacon of St Nicholas in Carcere (1227–44), so that this Master John would appear to be connected in some way with the collection. On fol. 87r begins anonymously the eulogy of Master Arnald the Catalan, professor at Naples, by Terrisio di Atina, published by G. Paolucci in 'Documenti inediti del tempo Suevi,' pp. 44–45, in the *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, 3d series, IV (1897), and by F. Torraca in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXVI (1911), 247–248.

[2] He can hardly be Rainerius Perusinus, author of a *Summa artis notariae* and teacher at Bologna in 1219, on whom see H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, II, 1, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1915), 256–257, and the editions by A. Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi*, II (Bologna,

Hic incipit modus dictandi secundum Magistrum Renerium. Cum plura sint genera dictaminis et plures modi dictandi, scilicet metrice et prosaice, omisso metrico de prosaico dicemus. Dicitur autem metricum secundum pedum vel metri observacionem, et dicitur metricum a metros quod est mensura. In versu autem observatur pedum mensura et metrum dicitur correptio et productio sillabarum. In tali metro secundum communem usum tantum tres pedes considerantur, scilicet dactulus spondeus trocheus, et dicuntur pedes metaforice quia sicut pedes regunt euntem ita isti tres dicuntur regere metrum sive versum. In prosaico autem non sunt pedes considerandi ut mensura pedum scilicet correptio et productio, ponimus tamen propter ornatum vel eleganciorem modum dictandi duos pedes, scilicet dactulum et spondeum ut patebit inferius. Dictamen autem prosaicum et epistola idem est secundum quosdam . . .

The author goes on to consider the five parts of a letter, especially the salutation, then the formal *privilegium*, and, under *narratio*, the use of dactyls and spondees, followed by the barest reference to barbarisms and solecisms and an enumeration of eight styles of petition. All this is in the manner of the manuals of the twelfth century, to one of which we are twice referred under salutations: *secundum Bernardum*[1] (fol. 36r, 36v). The salutations belong to the period of Innocent III (1198–1216), Philip Augustus (1180–1223), and Peter, archbishop of Sens (1200-22).

The treatise is followed immediately (fols. 37v–55r) by a collection of 294 forms of letters from the years 1216–23. Honorius III[2] is now Pope (1216–27), but Philip Augustus is still king, save in one instance (fol. 48v), where we find L.,[3] and Philip is bishop of Orleans (1221–34). There are allusions to the Albigensian wars (fol. 39v) and to the expedition of Prince Louis to England in 1216–17 (fol. 40v). The letters deal with the region of the Orléanais and include not only the principal churches of Orleans but many forms for secular correspondence as well, so that they were evidently meant for general use. The official does not appear frequently (fol. 52v).

The collection is thus somewhat later than the Orleanese formulary analyzed by Cartellieri,[4] and its forms are more practical and specific. It is lacking in bits of pure imagination and has very few forms of the *socius socio* type. Indeed the student letters are comparatively rare and such as there are deal with rather definite situations.

1892), 25–73, and L. Wahrmund, *Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter*, III, 2 (Innsbruck, 1917).

[1] On the *dictatores* who bore the name of Bernard in the twelfth century, see Langlois, 'Maître Bernard,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV (1893), 225–250, 792–795; Haskins, 'An Italian Master Bernard,' in *Essays Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 221–226.

[2] Innocent, however, still on fols. 45r, 47v.

[3] Also, on fol. 42v, B. and S. (!)

[4] A. Cartellieri, *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller: Lateinische Stilübungen des XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Orleans'schen Schule* (Innsbruck, 1898).

Grammar is evidently still the leading study, for we hear of texts of classical authors pawned while the borrowing student went on the Albigensian Crusade (no. 1), and we learn of another student sufficiently advanced to lecture on grammar if he but receive the money necessary for the purchase of suitable academic robes (no. 2) :

(1) (fol. 39v) Socius socio salutem. Vestram certificamus dilectionem, quod auctores postulatos a vobis ad presens vobis non possumus commodare, quia cum iter arripuerimus apud Albigenses[1] memoratos auctores decrevimus obligandos eo quod pecunie nobis minime suppetebant, sed dictos auctores si facultas vobis imminet redimatis et eis fungentes ipsos fideliter observetis.

(2) (fol. 46r) Carissimo avunculo suo tali canonico talis scolaris salutem et debitum in omnibus famulatum. Non verus sed fictus amicus dicitur qui accedente necessitatis tempore pro suis viribus non succurrit. Satis novit vestra discretio quod causa studii dolores angustiasque quamplurimas sitim famem aliasque miserias diu sustinere minime dubitavi. Nunc autem per Dei gratiam quoniam in arte grammatica aliquantulum sum peritus, mihi quarundam scolarum regimen est concessum. Cum igitur vilibus sim indutus (fol. 46v) vestibus et in facultatibus non habeam unde vestes valeam comparare, discretionem vestram in quantum possum humiliter exoro quatinus capam et tunicam mihi per latorem presencium transmittatis. Mihi siquidem esset et vobis maxime pudibundum si in tam vili veste in talibus scolis maxime doctoris officium exercerem.

The following letter bears on the matter of charging fees for instruction, a question of some interest[2] in connection with the cathedral schools and the early universities. The bishop of Orleans decides against gratuitous instruction, save in the case of poor students (fol. 46v):

(3) *Episcopus scolaribus.* F. Dei gratia Aurelianensis episcopus universis scolaribus in scolis Aurelianis commorantibus salutem et ad scientie plenitudinem totis viribus hanelare. Cum nemo propriis cogatur stipendiis militare, dignum est ut qui ad honus eligitur a mercede nullatenus repellatur. Solite benignitatis affectu litteras vestras recepimus querimoniam vestram de magistris Aurelianensibus continentes qui pro discendi licentia, ut dicitis, a vobis certam extorquere summam pecunie moliuntur, ita quod scientiam a magistris aliquis accipere non valeat nisi manum implere curaverit largitatis, unde contingit quod multociens pauperibus clericis, cum quid solvant non habeant, aditus[3] sciencie precludatur. Ideo nobis humiliter suplicastis ut, cum sciencia gratis impendi debeat, magistros ad ipsam vobis gratis impendendam cogere dignaremur. Peticioni igitur vestre in quantum possumus annuentes vobis benigniter respondemus quod magistros ad hoc faciendum cogere non possumus nec debemus, cum a labore suo nullum aliud commodum consequantur. Secure siquidem dicere possumus quod ex ista scientia cum sit temporalis numquam temporalia petere vel recipere prohibentur. Ne

[1] MS. *Abligenses.*

[2] Cf. H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters,* I (Berlin, 1885), 721; G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia,* I, 2 (Milan, 1914), 9–10, 22, 23, 24, 26, 44; and on the related question of fees for the license, Gaines Post, in *Haskins Anniversary Essays* (Boston, 1929), pp. 255–277.

[3] MS. *additus.*

tamen possitis contra iusticiam aggravari, vobis mandamus quatinus[1] siquis vestrum paupertatem siue aliam quamlibet rationem allegare poterit quare pecuniam a magistris impositam ipsis solvere non valeant, auctoritate nostra vel officialis nostri ab impetitione magistrorum penitus absolvantur ac ab imposita pecunia quod iustum fuerit relaxetur.

Relations between Orleans and the North of France are illustrated by the following letter concerning an assault by clerks of Arras on students of noble birth at Orleans:[2]

(4) (fol. 44r) *Episcopus episcopo.* G. Dei gratia Aurelianensis episcopus G. eadem gratia Atrebatensi episcopo salutem. Cum filius iniquitatem patris portare non debeat, indignum est ut aliquis suis non exigentibus meritis propter delictum alterius puniatur. Noverit vestra discretio quod quidam clerici, ut dicitur, vestre diocesis maligno ducti spiritu quosdam scolares nobilitatis genere prefulgentes scolas Aurelianenses frequentantes de nocte tanquam fures interficere minime dubitaverunt, quo facto a villa protinus decesserunt. Nunc autem amici defunctorum et socii, propter mortem ipsorum valde et merito contristati, omnes Atrebatenses clericos in tantum habent odio quod si aliquos ex ipsis alicubi valent invenire credimus quod in odium delinquencium ipsos interficere minime dubitabunt, quod etiam, ut dicitur, peroptime protestantur. Cum igitur innocentes non debeant puniri sed nocentes, dilectionem vestram attentius exoramus quatinus predictos malefactores in Atrebatensi civitate, ut dicitur, commorantes, si ipsos invenire poteritis, in vestrum detrudi carcerem faciatis, ut sic noxii puniantur iustorumque sanguis innoxius sicut condecet observetur.

Grammar appears likewise as the subject of chief interest in the group of three letters inserted in fol. 5, if we may judge from the third of this fragmentary collection. In the first (no. 5) a father sends his son to a prior to be prepared for the schools of Orleans. In the second (no. 6) a clerk complains to a student of the depredations of a thieving servant whom the student had recommended. In the third (no. 7) a student who requests a master to come to Paris in order to give him instruction in grammar is put off and advised to engage Master Peter of Rheims:

(5) *Prior burgensi.* Prior burgensi salutem et suam in omni <in> perficere voluntatem. Vobis mando quatinus filium vestrum parandum ad scolas Aurelianenses senire[3] [*sic*] ut ibi studere valeat mittere destinetis. Illi vero vestre dilectionis intuitu omnia sibi necessaria ministrabo et circa ipsius commodum in quantum potero efficaciter laborabo.

(6) *Clericus scolari.* Talis clericus tali scolari salutem et dedecus proximi pro suis viribus sepelire. Dedecus illatum proximis in obprobrium vertitur proprium. A vestra, sicut credo, non excidit memoria quomodo talem famulum consanguineum vestrum vestro consilio in meo recepi servicio, sed quomodo res postea processerit

[1] MS. *a qtinus os.*

[2] There are also references to Arras in No. II, fols. 23, 24v. On Flemish students at Orleans in the same period, see Delisle, in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1869, p. 141, and Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 186.

[3] *Sine mora?*

forsitan penitus ignoratis. Cum enim alia die solum, sicut consueveram, dictum famulum dimississem, diabolico instinctus spiritu vestes meas furari minime dubitavit. Ideoque vobis mando[1] quatinus dampnum tale mihi competenter faciatis emendari, alioquin tanquam furem et latronem ipsum faciam, si potero, condampnari.

(7) *Magister scolari.* Magister scolari salutem et Aristotelicam induere probitatem. Discipulus talem magistrum satagit invenire qui circa ipsius commodum velit et valeat fideliter laborare. Mihi per tuas litteras mandavisti quod Parisius personaliter accederem et secundum quod promiseram in arte grammatica te fideliter edocerem. Scias enim certissime quod tam magnis sum negociis occupatus quod promissionem meam non possum utiliter adimplere. Sed cum alium magistrum habere desideres, tibi consulo quod magistrum Petrum Remensem in doctorem accipias, qui[2] cum sit bonis moribus exhornatus vita et sciencia commendatus circa scienciam tuam et doc[trinam . . .][3] fideliter laborabit.

II

The second formulary in chronological order, containing approximately 260 letters and memoranda of procedure on fols. 17r–35r, and probably also the 58 letters on fols. 57v–62r, is concerned with ecclesiastical procedure in the diocese of Orleans in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It can easily be dated by the mention of Popes Honorius III (1216-27) and Gregory IX (1227–41), the bishops of Orleans M[anasses] (1207–21) and Philip (1221–31, 1234–38), G[autier], archbishop of Sens (1222–41), H[enry], archbishop of Rheims (1227–40), Franco, abbot of Micy (*ca.* 1219–37), Louis, king of France (1223–26, 1226–70), and I[ngeborg], formerly queen of France (d. 1236). A document of Raginaldus, dean of Orleans (fol. 27v), dated 1234, may serve as an approximate date for the collection.

It would seem, from the frequent occurrence of 'Robertus officialis Aurelianensis' and the occasional mention of the officials of Sens, Chartres, and Laon, that the collection was especially connected with the exercise of the official's jurisdiction, but it differs from the later type of official's formulary[4] in that comparatively few of the letters are in the name of the official himself, while most emanate from the bishop and other dignitaries of the diocese and chapter of Orleans, neighboring bishops and archbishops and their subordinates, the king of France, and the Pope. For the most part, the forms are grouped by cases and modes of procedure, rather than by the authorities which issue them, and the whole seems to exemplify the various processes arising in the exercise of ecclesiastical

[1] MS. *nūlo.*

[2] MS. *q̄m.*

[3] Leaf cut.

[4] See Joseph Bry, 'Notice sur un formulaire du XIVe siècle à l'usage de l'officialité d'Orléans,' in *Nouvelle revue historique de droit,* XXXVIII (1914), 417–460, and my 'Formularies of the Officialité of Rouen,' in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), 359–362.

jurisdiction in this period. Thus the formulary, which shows many points of resemblance to that described by Langlois in MS. 1468 of Rouen,[1] begins with a petition to the Pope for the appointment of judges delegate:

Sanctitati vestre conqueritur G. clericus Aurelianensis diocesis de Petro eiusdem diocesis qui violentas manus in eundem inicere non expavit. Conqueritur dictus G. clericus de tali priore et de quibusdam aliis tam clericis quam laicis Aurelianensis Carnotensis Parisiensis diocesis qui super terris vineis debitis et rebus aliis iniuriantur eidem. Unde petit iudices videlicet cantorem succentorem et archidiaconum Parisienses.

Then follow the resulting bull of Gregory IX and various documents and citations in the name of these judges delegate and of the official of Orleans, illustrating the various stages of the canonical procedure. The concluding document (fol. 35r) runs in the name of 'Stephanus Montis Acuti dominus.'

For the most part, the collection is quite special and contains relatively little of general interest. Even the student letters, as befits such a collection, are concerned chiefly with legal procedure, indicating that we are passing from the literary to the legal phase of Orleanese education.[2] Inasmuch as the schools of Orleans are the most interesting aspect of the city's history in this period, certain of these letters are subjoined as specimens for the light they throw on student life and scholastic organization.[3] The *magister scolarum* is clearly the head of the schools, but he seems to deal with each student through his particular master. Thus in no. 10 a layman complains to the *magister scolarum* of an assault committed by a scholar, and the complaint is referred to the scholar's master for final settlement; and in no. 11 the master takes up the case and summons the student for the following day. In nos. 8 and 9 a master receives a complaint against certain dicing and disorderly students who have broken into a woman's house and carried off her property, but demands their names before he can proceed to a formal inquiry. In no. 12 a citizen of Orleans urges his brother, a student in Paris, to return and assert his claim to a tithe in the ecclesiastical court. In no. 13 an archdeacon commands a clerk to repay a debt to a fellow clerk. In no. 14 the archdeacon of Amiens is implored to soften the heart of the brother of a student who sold his patrimony in order to study *in decretis et legibus*, evidently at Orleans. No. 15, however, comes from a French student at Bologna, who requests that money be sent him by a merchant of Bologna visiting the fairs of Lagny.[4] In nos. 16 and 17, the

[1] *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXIV, 2, pp. 14–18.

[2] There is a reference to 'sciencia litteralis' on fol. 21v. On fol. 23r an abbot asks a master of the *ars dictaminis* to send him one of his promising pupils. On fol. 28v a scribe has agreed to copy 'missale unum et graduale' for ten *livres Parisis*.

[3] On student letters in general, see my article in the *American Historical Review*, III (1898), 203–229, revised and expanded in my *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, ch. i.

[4] Cf. on fol. 22r the payment to be made 'apud Trecas in nundinis.'

last forms but one of the collection, Robert, the official of Orleans, is exercising jurisdiction in the case of an attack on certain students *ignorancie vultum habentes* by relatives of a Master Stephen, whose aid he obtains for arranging a quiet settlement.

(8) (fol. 20v) Dilecto suo tali magistro talis mulier salutem. In generali consilio fuisse didicimus promulgatum quod omnes clerici qui ludunt in scolis deciorum et qui per violenciam de domibus suis extrahunt mulieres excommunicationis sententie supponantur.[1] Tales quidem scolares de nocte nostrum hostium perfregerunt et res nostras clanculo detulerunt. Cum igitur in canonem sentencie late lapsi sunt, vestram imploramus discrecionem quatinus premissos scolares tanquam excommunicatos publicetis et cum debita satisfactione res nostras nobis restitui faciatis.

(9) (fol. 20v) Talis magister tali mulieri salutem. Tua nobis conquestio reseravit quod quidam scolares hostium tuum per violenciam frangentes detulerunt res tuas et tibi reddere contradicunt. Verumptamen cum sicut aseris idem scolares excommunicati sunt, cum instancia postulasti quod nos ipsos tamquam excommunicatos publicemus et res tuas tibi restitui faciamus. Cum igitur dicti scolares nobis (fol. 21r) ignoti sint, tibi mandamus quatinus ipsos nominatim et expresse nobis prodas, et nos rei veritatem diligencius inquiremus et si verum est quod aseritur eos ulcione debita puniemus.

(10) (fol. 21v) H. magister scolarum Aurelianensium dilecto suo tali magistro salutem. Talis laicus nobis conquestus est quod quidam scolaris vester ipsum indebite molestavit et occasione molestacionis illius dictum laicum per tres septimanas coegit in lectum egritudinis decubare, ita quod etiam licet pauper sit et egens nihil interim[2] adquisivit. Unde vobis mandamus quatinus causam istam vobis assumatis et per circumspeccionem vestram iniuria facta laico sopiatur nec ad nos iterata vice super hoc questio reportetur.

(11) (fol. 21v) Talis magister tali scolari suo salutem. Ex insusurracione[3] magistri scolarum recepimus quendam laicum sibi fuisse conquestum quod vos eidem iniuste molestias intulistis, unde magister scolarum attentius nos hortatur quod questionem qua vertitur inter vos et dictum laicum sopiamus nec ad ipsum deferri questionem super hoc permittamus. Nos igitur mandato tanti viri parere volentes vobis mandamus quatinus die crastina coram nobis compareatis et nos auditis[4] hinc et inde rationibus utrique parti iusticiam faciemus.

(12) (fol. 24r) Dilecto et precordiali fratri suo P. Parisiensi scolari G. Aurelianensis civis frater eius dilectissimus salutem et sincere dilectionis plenitudinem. Ad ius suum protegendum quilibet tenetur prestrui ne contingat eum de negligencia condempnari. Fraternitatem vestram latere non cognosco patrem nostrum pie memorie mihi nec non et vobis qui sumus heredes debiti in sui dissolucione corporis talem decimam assignasse. Vos autem post patris obitum ad Parisiense studium accesistis et interim possessiones vestras ad vos hereditatis iure devolutas cum dicta decima nullo reclamante diu pacifice conservavi. Talis vero clericus iam velut exci-

[1] For the many enactments on this subject, cf. Du Cange, *s. v. Decius*, and the canons of councils summarized by Miss Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (Boston and New York, 1927), appendix e.

[2] MS. *interūn.*

[3] *Insinuacione?*

[4] MS. *audite.*

tatus a supremo super dicta decima me citatum coram nostro[1] pontifice trahens in causam proposuit domino pape mandatum fuisse laicalis sortis hominem posse nullam decimam obtinere. Super quo consilium habens apud me deliberavi vos posse clerecali sorte nostram decimam a tali calumpnia liberare. Cum igitur ad suum ius conservandum debeat nullus esse negligens, fraternitatem vestram expostulo quatinus pretermisso studio patriam nostram exposcere studeatis, ut per vos nostra decima possit a tali calumpnia liberari.

(13) (fol. 25v) Archidiaconus Roberto salutem. Miramur de vobis plurimum, nam cum Iohannes clericus dilectus compatriota vester de propria sua pecunia necessitatem vestram relevaret, vos non attendentes gratiam vobis factam pecuniam commodatam non vultis, sicut dicitur, redde[re] nec eidem paribus meritis respondere. Quia vero laudabile non est aliquem ingratum[2] esse cum gratia sequi debeat gratiam, vobis mandamus consulimus et laudamus quatinus officium socii vestri grato respicientes affectu eidem totam pecuniam persolvatis et eiusdem indigenciam de vestro proprio cum tempus et locus fuerit sublevetis.

(14) (fol. 27r) Viro venerabili et discreto Roberto Ambianensis ecclesie archidiacono Guillelmus suus in omnibus salutem et ad sue voluntatis beneplacitum se paratum. Cum propter libros comparandos et pro scolarum (fol. 27v) frequencia meum pridem vendiderim patrimonium, in decretis et legibus per Dei gratiam adeo sum provectus quod in brevi possem incipere. Sed frater meus quamvis sit dives tantum erga me durus est quod nullum vult mihi adiutorium impertiri. Vestram idcirco magnitudinem devotus et humilis impl[or]o quatinus mei fratris duriciam taliter molliatis quod amore Dei motus et vinculo fraternitatis necessitatis articulo me non deficiat adiuvare.

(15) (fol. 34r) Karissimo patri suo Nicholao de tali loco Martinus filius eius Bolonie moram faciens veram in Christo salutem et continuam per Dei gratiam mentis et corporis sanitatem. Cum a vestro discesi latere Boloniam profecturus promisistis mihi, quod adhuc recolo nec vestram reliquit memoriam, quod quamdiu scolaris essem diligens vestra paternitas non deesset nec filium suum delinqueret desolatum. Cum igitur in presenti mihi gravis incumbat necessitas, vestre paternitati auxilium imploro precibus poscens humiliter quatinus per Gracianum mercatorem Bolonie satis expertum fidelitate qui nuper ad nundinas Latiniaci viam arripuit denarios ad sufficienciam si placeat transmittatis, mihi clausis scribentes litteris quanta summa pecunie dicto commissa fuerit mercatori.[3]

(16) (fol. 34v) Robertus officialis curie Aurelianensis dilecto suo magistro Stephano salutem et sinceram dilectionem. Ammirati sumus non modicum de quibusdam consanguineis vestris qui nuper in quosdam scolares ignorancie vultum habentes timore Dei postposito manus iniecerunt, ut dicitur, violentas. Nobis vero datum est in mandatis quod predictis scolaribus debitam satisfactionem impendi sine dilatione qualibet faciamus. Quia vero dicti manuum iniectores consanguineitatis linea ad vos coniunguntur, eisdem parcimus quantum pos[s]umus, sed quia iusticiam petentibus non possumus denegare dilectionem vestram monemus et consulimus quatinus passis iniuriam satisfieri plenarie faciatis, ita quod ipsi scolares taceant et de ipsis ad nos super hoc querimoniam non reportent.

[1] MS. repeats *nostro.*

[2] MS. repeats *ingratum.*

[3] The father promises in reply to send by the Bolognese merchant 'sexaginta solidos sterelincorum . . . infra quindenam Purificationis.' Cf. my *Studies in Mediaeval Culture,* p. 19, note 2.

(17) (fol. 34v) Officiali magister Stephanus salutem. Discrecionem vestram modis omnibus quibus possumus exoramus quatinus Stephanum et Robertum consanguineos nostros citare vel (fol. 35r) vocare parcatis donec de causa scolarium locuti fuerimus cum eisdem, et nos firmiter credimus quod parentes nostri vestram et scolarium plenarie facient voluntatem.

Charles Homer Haskins
Harvard University

SOME MEDIAEVAL SPANISH TERMS OF WRITING AND ILLUMINATION

In view of much conjecture and speculation as to the materials used by mediaeval scribes in the preparation of those manuscripts that have been almost miraculously preserved to our times, it seems fitting to set down here, not only statements of the materials they used that have come under my observation in a thirteenth-century manuscript, but also certain few details as to the preparation and use of these materials. I have drawn all this material for this brief study from the *Lapidary of Alfonso X*, which I have elsewhere described both generally and in some detail.[1] A recent article by D. S. Blondheim[2] throws considerable light on this matter. He gives an English translation of a Portuguese work written in Hebrew characters that presents much detailed information on the preparation of colors for both painting and writing. The original writing of this work probably antedates that of the *Alfonsine Lapidaries*.[3]

There is some uncertainty as to the actual substances meant in some of the references given below, and we are unable to assign modern equivalents

[1] 'The Lapidary of Alfonso X,' *Philological Quarterly*, VIII (1929), 248–54. Joan Evans has described the Alfonsine lapidaries in 'The "Lapidary" of Alfonso the Learned,' *Modern Language Review*, XIV (1919), 424–426 and in *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1922, Chap. III. Some others worthy of attention in this connection are: J. Fernández Montaña, *Lapidario del Rey D. Alfonso X*, Madrid, 1881; M. Barrington, 'The Lapidario of King Alfonso X,' *The Connoisseur*, XIV (1906), 31–36; P. de Madrazo and A. Fernández Guerra, 'Sobre la Edición Fotocromolitográfica del Códice del Lapidario, que perteneció al Rey Don Alfonso X,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, T. I, Cuaderno V (1879), 471–475; J. Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, I, (Madrid, 1781), 103–113; M. Steinschneider, 'Arabische Lapidarien,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLV (1891), 266–270; and J. Cardoso Gonçalves, *O 'Lapidario del Rey D. Alfonso X el Sabio'*, Lisboa, 1929.

[2] D. S. Blondheim, 'An Old Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination,' *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Ser., XIX (1928–1929), 97–135; the Hebrew text is included.

[3] *Idem*, p. 97f: 'A colophon at the end of the ninth opuscule in the MS. states . . . that it was finished by Abraham b. Judah ibn Hayyim at Loulé, Portugal, in 1262 . . . . There is some reason to believe that the present form of the text dates from a period later than the thirteenth century, and that our MS. may have been written in Galicia.' The *Alfonsine Lapidaries* were written in the period from 1276–1279.

to many of the curious stone-names as they appear in the *Lapidary*, particularly when the manuscript states that the names are '*en caldeo*,' as it does in the case of 45 of the 301 stones in the *First Lapidary*.[1] This difficulty is due to the fact that almost no effort has been made to identify any of the stones in the *Alfonsine Lapidaries*;[2] the problem is further complicated by the effort of the scribe to represent Greek, Chaldean, Arabic, Persian, Egyptian, and Latin sounds in Spanish. In certain identifications that I have been able to make, I have encountered such well-nigh incomprehensible changes and substitutions as: *acufaratiz* for Χενωκράτης, *adehenich* for *eidhenegi*, *militaz* for *magnatim*, *zebech* for *cysaban*, *caffyuri* for *elkibori eldor*, etc.

The medicinal, magical, and other virtues attributed to the 492 Alfonsine stones are many and varied. Here and there throughout the work appear references to materials for; ink, erasures, writing, parchment, paper, painting, and book binding. These references are always brief, and it is always taken for granted that the reader will be acquainted with the stone or metal in question. I have put the stone-name at the head of each reference and grouped all the references to each writing material under an appropriate heading, listing the citations in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

Ink

For clarifying yellow, green, or red ink used in writing or painting:

> *affricana* (fol. 33d): Et si molieren della el casco que esta de fuera *e* es duro, en que no a humidat ninguna, *e* lo mezclaren con las tintas con que escriuen o pintan, esclarece las *e* dales bona color; pero no faz esto si no a amariella o uerde o uermeia, ca a todas las otras danna si con ellas la mezclan.

For the manufacture of good clear ink:

> *kinfar* (fol. 48d): Et otrossi quando la muelen *e* la destiempran con uinagre, fazen della tinta bona *e* clara *e* luzia pora escriuir.

[1] These Chaldean stones have been briefly and rather inadequately treated by F. de Mély, 'Les Pierres Chaldéennes du Lapidaire d'Alphonse X, Roi de Castille,' *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Quatrième Série, XIX (1891), 196–201. I have corrected and enlarged upon this study by Mély in my article, 'The Chaldean Stones in the Lapidary of Alfonso X,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLV (1930), 444–453.

[2] Some identifications are attempted incidentally by F. de Mély and H. Courel, 'Des Lapidaires Grecs dans la Littérature Arabe du Moyen Âge,' *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*, Nouvelle Série, XVII (1893). The complete dependence of these scholars on the faulty transcription of Fernández Montaña (see p. 420 note 1) occasionally leads them afield.

eraqui (fol. 88c): Et quando la muelen *e* la mezclan con uinagre, fazen della tinta muy buena *e* luzia pora escriuir.

To produce beautiful writing on parchment:

piedra negra que es en este ryo sobredicho [*Jaret, Algaret, Aliarech*] (fol. 59d): Et si con ella escriuen en pargamino, fazes fremosa letra *e* luzient.

Erasures on Parchment

For erasure that will leave no trace of what has been erased:

quetmee (fol. 46d, 47a): . . . si la molieren *e* la mezclaren con çumo de uerdulagas *e* untaren con ella el pargamino que sea escripto, dessatar sa la letra del que no y pareçca ninguna dellas, mas el pargamino ficara tan claro *e* tan limpio cuemo fue de primero. Et a esta piedra nol fallaron otra uertud si no esta.

---

alfeyxu (fol. 82c): Et si echan los poluos della sobrel pargamino, rae la escriptura que a en el de guisa que no dexa y sennal . . .

Writing

For proficiency in writing and counting:

zauarget, prasme[1] (fol. 97a): Et esta a tal uertud que el omne que la trae consigo es bienandant en escriuir *e* en contar *e* en labrar por pan.

Parchment

For preparing parchment for writing or painting:

cahadenyz[2] (fol. 87b, c): Et es bona pora esfregar con ella los cueros que quieren fazer pargamino pora escriuir o pora pintar.

[1] This stone seems to be *zeberdjed* as described by Ibn El-Beïthâr in L. Leclerc, 'Traité des Simples par Ibn El-Beïthâr,' *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXV (1881), Art. 1123; *thabariat* as described by Ibn al-Dschezzar in V. Rose, 'Aristoteles de Lapidibus und Arnoldus Saxo,' *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur*, XVIII (1875), 399 note; *zabarged* as described by Serapion in V. Rose, *art. cit.*, p. 399; and *seberdsched* as described by Mohammed Ben Manssur in Jos. v. Hammer, 'Auszüge aus dem persischen Werke: das Buch der Edelsteine von Mohammed Ben Manssur,' *Fundgruben des Orients*, VI (1818), 131. But according to Rose, *art. cit.*, p. 398, *zabarschad* is *beryll*. L. Leclerc, *loc. cit.*, identifies it (*zeberdjed*) as *topaze*. Our text classifies *zauarget* as *prasme* (fol. 16a). Were the names *beryll* and *prasme* confused in naming the same stone?

[2] Cf. ξαντεγής in F. de Mély and H. Courel, *loc. cit.*

Paper

To make paper white and smooth:

> *onna* (fol. 38c): Et los que fazen el paper, meten della en ello por que se faze blando *e* mas luzient.

Painting

Substance used:

> *uerdet*[1] (fol. 32a): . . . en la color (el *adehenich uerde*) semeia al *uerdet* con que pintan *e* aun en otra cosa, que si la molieren con olio de linaca, faz mas fina color que el *uerdet e* mas clara.

> *ferrenna, ambonencuz,*[2] (fol. 37b): Et si despues que fuer quemada la molieren con algun olyo, sale della tinta bona *e* luzient pora pintar.

For dyeing cloth and painting on wood:

> *armeniana,*[3] (fol. 56c): . . . los tintores se siruen dellas en tennir los pannos *e* otrossi los pintores pora pintar en madera.

For use in dyeing and painting:

> *ancalicez,*[4] (fol. 65a, b): De color es amariella que tira ya quanto a uerde *e* ayudan se della en tennir *e* en pintar.

For painting wood and walls a gold color:

> *bulufiriz* (fol. 74b): Fuert es *e* dura de quebrantar *e* los pintores ayudan se della en tennir los maderos de color de oro, *e* en la tierra o la fallan, pintan las paredes con ella.

[1] Cf. the following in L. Leclerc, *loc. cit.: verdet* (Galien, Art. 73); *zendjar, verdet, kustos, racle* (Ibn El-Beïthâr and Dioscorides, Art. 1131); *zahrat, en-nohas* (Ibn El-Beïthâr, Art. 1134 *bis*). Also the following *apud* V. Rose, *loc. cit.: ziniar, viride eris* (Serapion, p. 422); *viride eris, ziniar* (Ibnegizar, p. 422).

[2] Cf. *marcasita de ferro,* Algafiki (*apud* V. Rose, *loc. cit.*, p. 413); *marquachita* (*de fer*), 'Le Livre des Pierres' (*apud* L. Leclerc, *loc. cit.*, Art. 2116); and *eissenmarkessit,* Mohammed Ben Manssur (in Jos. v. Hammer, *loc. cit.*, p. 141).

[3] Cf. *armeniana, harminica* in F. de Mély, 'Les Cachets d'Oculistes et les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Haut Moyen Âge,' *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes,* Nouvelle Série, XVI (1892); *piedra llamada armenia,* Dioscorides (*apud* Pedro del Marmol, *Pedacio Dioscorides Materia Medicinal,* p. 538, Salamanca, 1566); and κυανός in F. de Mély and H. Courel, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cf. *lapis qui trahit fecem,* Arnoldus Saxo (in V. Rose, *loc. cit.*, p. 426).

For painting carmine on wood and gold on silver:

> *queyebyz, azul arambrenno*[1] (fols. 82d, 83a): Et quando la quebrantan, fallan la dentro de color cardena buelta con amariello *e* por esso tinnen con ella los maderos de color cardena, mas pero no es tan bona tintura como la del otro azul . . . Et tinne la plata otrossi en color doro, mas con todesso no es cosa que dure mucho.

Book Binding

For glue in covering books:

> *sanguina*,[2] (fol. 38d): Et si molieren esta piedra *e* la mezclaren con agua, faze se ende engludo muy fuerte. Et obran dello en tierra de Promission los que cubren los libros . . .

[1] This stone resembles *armeniana* above.
[2] Cf. *piedra sanguna*, fol. 5b.

J. Horace Nunemaker
State College of Washington
Pullman, Washington

THE WELSH TEXTS OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA*

The recent publication of Mr Acton Griscom's edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* containing a translation of one of the Welsh texts, and a discussion of the relationships between the Welsh and the Latin versions has called attention again to the particular complexity of the problem. As Dr J. Gwenogvryn Evans pointed out when he edited the text of the *Historia* as found in the *Red Book of Hergest*, and again and again when he was working on his *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, the different Welsh texts differ so widely that we seem to be justified in speaking of a number of different versions. But even between manuscripts that he classifies as belonging to the same version the differences are, as he admits, so great as to render any real collation practically impossible, and the further we go in the texts the greater these differences become. Evans made no attempt to explain these facts, his task at that time being merely to catalogue the various manuscripts and record what he found, but the presence of the variations has been used by Mr Griscom and others as a starting point for arguments of one kind or another.

Since in many of the manuscripts the text of Geoffrey has prefixed to it a Welsh translation of the *Historia* of Dares Phrygius it occurred to me that this might be used as a control, because here the possibility that the

Welsh had preserved material not in the Latin version could hardly be considered. So far as I am able to discover from the material available to me[1] the texts of Dares differ from each other and from the Latin in the same way as do the texts of Geoffrey. Professor John Edward Lloyd declares the same thing true with regard to the *Brut y Tywysogion* which is found in many manuscripts as a continuation of Geoffrey's history,[2] and Dr Mary Williams has called attention to something very similar in the case of the text of *Peredur*.[3] Whatever may be the cause of this state of things it is certainly not peculiar to the text of Geoffrey.

Aside from purely orthographical variations, which are innumerable, the variants in the text of Geoffrey are of three kinds. Sometimes one text will omit material contained in others and in the Latin. These omissions may be of only a word or a phrase or they may be of considerable extent; for example the whole of Merlin's prophecies are wanting in some manuscripts. On the other hand a text will sometimes contain material not to be found in the others or in the Latin. Usually this is merely an amplification of an idea that is in the Latin, but occasionally it is more than this. Some texts contain a rather extensive 'Prophecy of the Eagle' and others have the whole of the 'Meeting of Lludd and Llevelys' which is also found elsewhere and is best known for its inclusion in Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*. Far more common than either of these types of variation are the cases where several of the manuscripts say practically the same thing but in wholly different words. For example Geoffrey's '*in hec verba*' introducing the letter in I, iv, is variously rendered '*yn yr ymadravd hvn*,' '*yn y mod hvnn*,' '*ar amadravd hvnn endav*,' '*ar amadrawd hwn yndunt*,' '*a llyma mod y llythyr*,' and '*a llyma ystyr y llythyr*,' to mention only the major variants. It would be difficult to say that any one of these readings (except possibly the fourth) was derived

[1] The text of the *Red Book* is printed in the *Red Book Bruts;* British Museum MS. *Addit. 15,042*, a modern transcript of a *Panton* manuscript that I have not been able to identify, is printed in Volume II of *Y Brython*, and brief selections from others are given in the Evans *Report*. Peter Roberts prints in *Chronicle of the Kings of Britain* (London, 1811) a translation of the text as found in the *Book of Basingwerk*.

[2] He notices 'how again and again identity of substance has gone with great variety of phrase,' and explains this by the assumption that the different manuscripts represent distinct translations from a Latin original now lost. *The Welsh Chronicles, The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Inaugural Lecture delivered before the British Academy*, 1928 (London: Milford, [1929?]), p. 12.

[3] She writes 'Nous sommes disposé à voir dans Peniarth 7 l'œuvre d'un copiste qui possédait seulement des notes d'un manuscrit qu'il a complétées lui-même. Cela nous paraît le seul moyen d'expliquer pourquoi Peniarth 7, tout en ressemblant beaucoup à Peniarth 4, en est cependant à d'autres points de vue si différent. Les deux manuscrits se correspondent, en effet, presque toujours quant au sens des épisodes—bien que l'ordre en soit quelquefois changé—mais très rarement quant aux mots et à la forme.' *Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur* (Paris: Champion, 1909), p. 34.

from any other, and yet every one of them represents Geoffrey's Latin, and the one that departs furthest from it—the last—says no more than 'and this is the import of the letter.'

The relationships of the different texts—which apparently do not remain constant—cannot be adequately illustrated except by a complete collation of all the manuscripts, but some idea of the nature of the problems involved may be gained from examination of a single paragraph from eleven MSS. For this purpose I have selected a passage which seems to exhibit about the average amount of variation and which contains both Celtic and non-Celtic material.

1. Cambridge MS. 1706.[1] *Ca.* 1136.

Huic successit leil filius suus. pacis amator & equitatis. Qui ut prosperitate regni usus est urbem in aquilonari parte brittannie edificauit de nomine suo kaerleil uocatam. Tunc solomon cepit edificare templum domino in ierusalem & regina saba uenit audire sapientiam eius. & tunc siluius epitus pater [patri?] albe in regnum successit. Vixit leil deinde post suptum [sumptum] regnum .xxv. annis. set regnum in fine debiliter rexit. Quocirca segnitia eius insistente ciuilis discordia subito in regno orta est.

2. Dingestow Court MS.[2] Early 13th Century.

Ac yn ol y deuth lleon y uab ynteu gvr a garvs hedvch uu hvnnv. A guedy guelet o honav y gyuoeth yn tagneuedus yd adeilvs dinas yg gogled yr enys hon ac y gelwis oe enw e hun caer lleon. Ac yn diwed y oes y llesgvs. Ar amser hvnnv y dechreuis selyf uab dauit adeilat temhyl yg kaerussalem. Ac y doeth brenhynes sabba y warandav y doethineb. Ac aeth siluius epitus yn vrenhyn yn yr eidal yn lle y tat. Ac yna ual y dywetpvyt uchot wedy llesgu lleon. y kyuodes teruysc y rvng y kywdavdwyr e hun.

3. Peniarth MS. 44.[3] First half of the 13th Century.

Ac en y ol entev e bv lleon y vap entev en vrenyn. Gwr wu hvnnv a karey yavn gwyryoned a hedvch. Ar lleon hvnnv gwedy rwydhav llywodraeth e eteyrnas kanthav. a adeylvs en e parth ar gogled enys prydeyn. dynas a elwyr kaer lleon. Ac en er amser hvnnv e dechrewys selyf vap davyd adeylat temyl yr arglwyd eg kaervssalem. ac e doeth brenhynes e dehev y warandav doethynep selyf. Ac e doeth epytvs en ol y tat en vrenyn en er eydal. Pym mlyned ar rvgeyn e bv leon en vrenyn. ac eyssyoes en dywed y oes llesc wu a ryvel a thervysc er rvng e kyvdavt wyr e hvn a wu.

4. Llanstephan MS. 1.[4] Second quarter of the 13th Century.

Ac en ol brvtvs taryan glas e devth lleon y vap entev gwr oed hvnnv a karey hedvch. Ac gwedy gwelet ohonav y kyvoeth en llwydav ac en hedychv pob peth

[1] Acton Griscom, *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae*, (New York: Longmans, Green, 1929) pp. 260–261.

[2] P. 28, from rotographs. In these texts I have printed the Welsh *V* with one limb extended as *v* (it designates sometimes *v* and sometimes *w*) and have ignored the two forms of the *r* and *s*. To make comparison easier I have, so far as possible, divided the words in the modern way.

[3] P. 22 of MS.

[4] Pp. 31–32 of MS. The part in parentheses has been added at the top of the page.

wrth y kyghor ef a adeylavd dynas eg gogled er enys honn ac ae gelwys oe enw e hvn kaer lleon. (Ac en er amser hvnnv ed adeylvs selyf temhyl yr arglwyd eg kaervsalem ac e devth bren [hynes] saba y warandav y doethynep ef. Ac e devth sylvyvs epytvs en lle y tat en vrenyn en er eydal.) Ac en dywed y oes eyssyoes llescv a gwnaeth. A phym mlyned ar rvgeynt e bv en gwledychv. Ac oy lesked ef ar dywed y oes e kyvodes kywdavdavl tervysc en e teyrnas.

5. Havod MS. 1.[1] First half of the 14th Century.

Ac yn ol brutus y doeth llyon y vab ynteu. Gwr a garwys hedwch uu hwnnw. A gwedy gwelet o honaw y gyuoeth yn tagnouedus. sef a adeilwys dinas y gogled yr ynys. Ac ae gelwys oe enw e hun kaer lleon. Ac yn diwed y oes y llescwys. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw y dechreuwys Selyf wab dauyd adeilaw temyl yg kaerusalem. Ac y doeth brenhines sabba y warandaw doethineb selyf. Ac y doeth siluius epitus yn vrenhin yn lle y tat yn yr eidal. Ac yna val y dywespwyt uchot. gwedy llescu lleon. y kyuodes teruysc y rwg y kiwtawtwyr e hun.

6. Red Book of Hergest.[2] 1375–1380.

Ac yn ol brutus y deuth lleon y vab ynteu. Gvr a garvys hedvch vu hvnnv. A gvedy gvelet o honav y gyuoeth yn dagnouedus ef a adeilvys dinas yg gogled yr ynys. Ac ae gelvys oe env e hun kaer lleon. Ac yn dived y oes y llesgvys. Ar amser hvnnv y derchis selyf ap dauyd adeilat temyl yg kaerussalem. Ac y deuth brenhines saba y warandav y doethineb. Ac y deuth siluius epitus yn lle y dat yn vrenhin Ac yna val y dyvespvyt uchot. gvedy llesgu lleon y kyuodes teruysc y rug y kivtavtwyr e hunein. . . .

7. The Book of Basingwerk.[3] This part 14th Century (?).

Ac yn ol brutus darian las y kymyrth lleon i vab lywodraeth y dyrnas. ac ai gwladychawd yn hir o amser yn hedwch dangneuedus ac ef a wnaeth dinas yngogled yr ynys. ac ae gelwis oe henw e hvn yn Caer lleon ar henw hwnnw a drigawd ar y dinas o hynny allann ac wedi llithraw talym oe amser y syrthiawd gorthrwm haint arnaw. hyt na allei na marchogaeth na cherdet Ac yna y kyuodes kiwdawdawl deruysc yn y dyrnas oe lesged ef hyt yn diwed i oes. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw ydoed Selyf ap dauyd yn edeilat temyl grist ynghaeruselem ac y doeth Sibilla vrenhines saba i wrandaw ar doethineb Selyf ac wedy gwledychu o leon pvmp mlyned ar hugeint y bu uarw ac yr oed hynny yn M°.CCC°. lxxv gwedi diliw.

8. British Museum, MS. Cotton Cleopatra B V[4]. 14th Century.

A gwedi brutus y kymyrth lleon y vab llywodraeth yr ynys ac ay gwledychawt yn hir o amseroed yn hedwch dagnauedus, ac ef a wnaeth dinas yngogled yr ynys, ac ay gelwys oy enw e hun caer lleon, ar henw hwnnw a drigawd ar y dinas yr hynny hyt hediw. A gwedy llithraw talym o amser y ssyrthawt gorthrwm heint arnaw hyt na allei na marchogaeth na cherdet, ac yna y kyuodes kiwdaudawl deruysc yn y deyrnas oy lesged ef hyt yn diwet y oes. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw yd oed Selyf vab dauid yn adeiliat temyl crist yngaerussalem, ac y doeth sibilla brenhines saba y warandaw ar doethineb selyf. A gwedy gwledychu o leon pymp mlynet ar ugeint y bu varw, sef oed hynny, M.CCC.LXXVI. annus gwedy diliw.

[1] *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 561, note 147, text B.

[2] *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890), p. 63.

[3] P. 59 of MS.

[4] *The Cambrian Register*, II (1796, published 1799), 32-33.

9. Panton MS. 9 (XVIII Cent);[1] this part 'in verbal agreement' with *Havod 2*, 15th Century.

Ac yn ol Brutus Taryan las y deuth Lleon y vap ynteu. Gwr oed hvnnv a karey kedvch. ac gwedy gwelet o honav y kyvoeth yn llwydav ac yn hedychu pop peth vrth y gyghor ef a adeylavd dynas yg gogled yr ynys hon ac ae gelwys oe enw e hun Kaer Lleon ac yn amser hvnnv yd adeylvs Selyf themyl yr Arglwyd yg Kaerussalem ac y deuth brenhynes Sabba y warandav y doethynep ef. ac y deuth Sylvyus ypytus yn lle y tat yn vrenyn yn yr Eydal. ac yn dywedd y oes llescu a wnaeth. a phum mlyned ar rugeynt e bu yn gwledychu. Ac oy lesket ef ar dywed y oes y kyvodes ef kytvradavl tervysc yn y teyrnas.

10. Brut Tysilio.[2] 16th Century?

Ac ar y ol y bu Leon gavr y vab ynte a gvr da vy hvnv yn vrenin yn cynnal gvirioned a chyfiavnder. Ar Lleon hvnv a rvydhavys lyvodraet y dyrnas ac adailivys yn y part drav yr gogled o ynys Brydain dinas a elwir Caer Lleon. ar amser hvnv ydoed Selyv ap Dafyd yn adailiat temyl Iessu Grist yngharissalym. Ac yna y dayth Brenhines y dehau y vrando doethineb Selyv. ac velly pymlyned ar hygaint y by Leon yn gvledychu yn vrenin. Ac ynived y oes llesc vy ev ac am hyny y codes tervysc yn yr dyrnas a ryfel ryngtynt y hun.

11. Addit. MS. 14,903.[3] A composite text made from five old MSS in the first quarter of the 16th Century.

Ac in ol brutus i daeth lleon i vap enteu. ac en ir amser hwnw ed adeilws seliv temil ir arglwid eg kaerusalem ac i daeth Siluius Epitus in lle i dat in vrenin in ir Eidal. Gwr oed lleon a garai hedwch. a gwedi gwelet ohonaw i givoeth in llwidaw ac in hedichu pob peth. wrth i gighor ef a adeilawd dinas egogled ir enis hon ac i gelwis oe enw e hun. kaer lleon. Ac in diwed i oes eisoes llescu a gwnaeth. A phum mlined ar ugeint i bu en gwledichu. Ac oe lesged ev ar diwed i oes e kivotes ciwtawtawl tervisc in i deirnas.

Among these texts there is a certain agreement, not always as close as in this passage, between the *Dingestow Court*, *Havod 1*, and the *Red Book* versions; others which, judging from Evans's descriptions, seem to agree more or less closely with these are *Peniarth 45*, *Peniarth 46*, *Peniarth 22*, *Mostyn 116*, *Mostyn 117*, and *B. M. Addit. 19, 709*. So far as I can judge from Evans's accounts and from examination of the first three of the texts a real collation is not feasible, although it may prove possible to reconstruct substantially the text which lies behind them. Next in age we have two very different versions represented by *Peniarth 44* (including the fragment now separated from it) and *Llanstephan 1*, with its missing parts perhaps preserved in the late *Peniarth 265*. The wording throughout differs radically from that of the *Dingestow Court* manuscript, and though they differ as

[1] *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 485, col. 1.

[2] Printed in the *Myvyrian Archaology*, pp. 440-441 from the copy (*Jesus MS. XXVIII*) of *Jesus MS. LXI* made by Hugh Jones in 1695.

[3] *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 561, note 147, text *A;* but the spelling does not follow that of the MS.

much from each other, in substance they are in rather close agreement and represent the substance of Geoffrey's Latin. *Peniarth 21* which, according to Evans, contains a text that 'does not agree verbally with that in any other MS. that is older' may represent a third version. Next come *Cotton Cleopatra BV* and the *Book of Basingwerk* which are in close, but not always verbal, agreement with each other but differ widely from all the earlier versions. They contain an attempt at a chronology and considerable other material not in Geoffrey.[1] The still later version commonly called the *Brut Tysilio*, the text of which can hardly be pushed back of the end of the fifteenth century, is again radically different from all the others. Because it is the only one of the versions translated entire in English it has acquired an importance far beyond its real worth. It appears to be nothing more than a free rendering of the Latin with the addition of a small amount of unimportant material and a version of the Lludd and Llevelys story.[2]

I believe that the best way to account for the state of affairs existing here is to assume that in many cases, perhaps in most, the text was not preserved in writing but was committed to memory and was written down only when some one desired a copy. Welsh story-tellers seem to have looked upon the words of a prose passage as comparatively unimportant and to have memorized the thought rather than the exact phraseology. As Professor Jones says in another connection, 'the prose portion of the narrative may have differed to some extent from time to time, even as related by the same person, thus never attaining an absolutely fixed form.'[3] This is apparently exactly what happened to the *Historia* as soon as it was translated into Welsh.

This theory accounts, too, for the many passages which are omitted from so many of the MSS. It is quite frequent for a Welsh text to lack large sections of Merlin's Prophecies or even to omit them completely. We can hardly assume that this was because such material would not interest a Welsh audience; the presence of this same material in so many manuscripts out of its context proves quite the contrary. It would, however, be very difficult to memorize and would be the first part to be forgotten. So, too, a man might be expected to have a more hazy recollection of the last part of

[1] On pages 59–62 of the *Book of Basingwerk* we find inserted the prophecy of the eagle (II, ix), on pages 90–93 the Lludd and Llevelys story, and on pages 101–102 a chronology of affairs in Palestine and Rome in the time of Christ.

[2] There are a number of still later versions which are admittedly compilations and so do not require consideration here, although they ought to be examined. Apparently there are also Latin copies that vary in the same way that the Welsh do. See Evans, *Report*, II, 844.

[3] T. Gwynn Jones, 'Some Arthurian Material in Keltic,' *Aberystwyth Studies*, VIII (1926), 89. He adds, 'This is fully illustrated in the case of a very original Welsh *raconteur* of the present day, whose art is largely traditional, known to the writer. His stories show continual variation.'

a long work like the *Historia* than he did of the first, and we do find that the variations are greater in the latter part than in the earlier. Many of the texts lack a long section at the end and while this is sometimes due to an injury to the manuscript it may at other times be due to a defective memory on the part of the scribe.

On the other hand the narrator naturally had his mind stored with other stories which were also part of his stock in trade. Most of them probably knew, for example, the story of *The Meeting of Lludd and Llevelys* which Lady Guest included in her *Mabinogion*. What more natural then than for one to insert it into his tale when he came to the part of the *Historia* that told of Lludd? When he came to Geoffrey's reference to the eagle which prophesied at Scephtonia it would not be difficult for him to introduce some later prophetic material.[1]

There is no reason why a text as extensive as that of the *Historia* could not have been transmitted orally, although at first sight the idea may seem extravagant to us. The Celtic story-tellers were trained to do exactly this sort of thing, and seem to have taken pride in being able to do it. We do not have as complete information about the training of the Welsh *cyfarwydd* as we do about the Irish *fili*—who to secure the degree of *ollam* had to spend twelve years in training and know by heart three hundred and fifty stories—but it was probably very similar. The *Dream of Rhonabwy*, which as we have it must be more recent than Geoffrey, seems to have been composed as a test piece to show whether a man could carry in his memory a difficult tale and reproduce it with verbal fidelity. How much later than this the practice of reproducing such material from memory persisted I do not know—to a certain degree it is still kept up as has been shown above—, but it certainly was the custom long enough to have influenced the text of the Welsh versions of the *Historia* and there seems to be plenty of evidence to show that it did.

It follows then that any attempt to base an argument on the text of any particular version of the Welsh must necessarily prove futile. Wherever any two or more texts agree it will usually be found that they do so because they agree with the Latin; when they depart from this each text usually goes its own way[2] and the later the version the further removed it is from the Latin, both in subject-matter and in the spelling of Latin proper names. That these later texts may contain Celtic material not in the

[1] The *Book of Basingwerk—Cotton Cleopatra BV* version which contains this gives the impression of being a conscious, 'scholarly,' compilation, but this does not preclude the possibility that the text had passed through a period of oral transmission before it fell into the hands of the redactor.

[2] The texts in *Cotton Cleopatra BV* and the *Book of Basingwerk* are somewhat of an exception; there is clearly some relationship between them but I am not yet certain what it is. Lloyd (*op. cit.*, p. 25) believes the second is a copy of the first.

earlier ones is undeniable, but this comes in almost certainly from floating tradition not from old manuscripts and so is subject to all the inaccuracies of oral tradition.[1] We therefore find ourselves driven back to Geoffrey's Latin version as the one most likely to have preserved ancient material, and although our study of the later versions proves nothing concerning the existence or non-existence of that famous *britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum*, it may at least raise the question whether if Geoffrey did have as his source a definite Celtic story he found it in manuscript or only in the well-stored mind of some Welsh or Breton teller of tales.

John J. Parry,
University of Illinois

[1] The statement of two texts (7 and 8) in the passage cited above (p. 427) that Lleon's illness was so severe 'that he could neither ride nor walk' probably no more reflects actual historical fact than does the other in the same texts that Solomon built 'the temple of Christ in Jerusalem,' or, as the *Brut Tysilio* has it, 'the temple of Jesus Christ.'

EIN UNVERÖFFENTLICHTES LATEINISCHES LIEBESLIED

Die lateinische Liebeslyrik des Mittelalters führte kein freies und stolzes Dasein. Die Verfasser legten meist keinen Wert darauf, sich zu diesen von ihnen selbst als Seitensprünge empfundenen Kindern einer vergessenen Stunde (die darum desto hemmungsloser ausfiel) zu bekennen. Ihre glatte Sprache, ihre gewandte Metrik, ihre Technik im Musikalischen hatten sie sich auf frommeren Gefilden (beim lateinischen Conductus) erworben. Handschriftlich sind die lateinischen Liebeslieder durchweg in Verbindung mit geistlicher Lyrik, die formal und musikalisch dieselben Züge trägt, erhalten. Träger dieser weltlichen Lyrik, d. h. Dichter, Sänger und Verbreiter waren wohl meist die Clericuli, sei es, dass sie unter strenger Zucht des Cantors und seiner Helfer an Kloster-und Domschulen Kirchenmusik betrieben und gleichzeitig ihre theologische Vorbildung erhielten, sei es, dass sie als fahrende Scholaren über Land zogen und kundige Standespersonen gegen ein Entgelt durch ihre Darbietungen erfreuten. Später, wenn sie älter wurden, mochten diese Jugendsünden in ihnen peinliche Gefühle erwecken. Veranstalteten sie selbst Sammlungen ihrer schriftstellerischen Produkte, so nahmen sie wohl selbst eine (für uns sehr bedauerliche) Säuberung vor. So kommt es, dass uns beispielsweise von der Jugendlyrik Abälards, mag sie nun französisch oder lateinisch gedichtet sein, leider keine Spur erhalten ist. Nebenbei bemerkt war ich eine Weile versucht, bei dem Akrostichon *PETRI*, das wohl den Verfasser von Nr. 7 der Arundelsammlung (Ausg. W. Meyer-Speyer, 1908, S. 18) und der andern, nach Inhalt und Stil dem gleichen Verfasser zuzuschreibenden Lieder dieser Sammlung verrät, an den grossen Philosophen und seine

Heloise zu denken; doch die fortschrittliche Metrik der Lieder verbietet dies.

Es ist mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, dass das Verhältnis der tatsächlichen Produktion zu dem Ueberlieferten bei der weltlichen Lyrik des lateinischen Mittelalters ein ganz anderes, wesentlich ungünstigeres ist als bei der geistlichen. In den nicht ganz seltenen Fällen, in denen weltliche Stücke in geistliche Sammlungen ganz isoliert eingesprengt erhalten sind, kann man über den Grund der Aufnahme verschiedener Ansicht sein. Vielleicht duldeten zuweilen die Auftraggeber, wie z.B. bei den verhältnismässig harmlosen weltlichen Gedichten des Notre Dame-Repertoires, dass beliebte Melodien, und mit ihnen nebenbei auch die Texte in hochernste und hochoffizielle Sammlungen aufgenommen wurden.

Anders steht es mit einigen Texten, die in den Handschriften des älteren Martial-Repertoires zwischen religiöser Musik aufgezeichnet sind. Hier möchte man eher annehmen, dass die Schreiber (meistens sind mehrere Hände zu konstatieren) infolge mangelnder oder nachlässiger Aufsicht es unternahmen, zwischen Liedern zum Lobpreise der Jungfrau Maria Stücke einzuschieben, die sich mit sehr unfrommen Dingen befassten.

Eine Uebersicht über sämtliche in Martialhandschriften erhaltene weltliche Lyrik werden meine demnächst erscheinenden Martialstudien bringen. Den Lesern des Speculum möchte ich hier als besonderen, freilich recht scharf gewürzten Leckerbissen das interessanteste der unedierten Stücke vorsetzen. Den Inhalt bilden die Vorwürfe eines offenbar recht jungen Liebhabers gegen seine noch jüngere Freundin; die Angabe 'septennis' freilich erscheint selbst für südliche Verhältnisse etwas auffallend. Interessant ist die Umgebung des Liedes in der (einzigen) Handschrift Paris *BN. lat. 3719*, fol. 38v. Auf fol. 35v steht ein in freier Sequenzen-(Lai) form gedichtetes Marienlied '*Virginis in gremio*,' das Dreves in Bd. XXI (S. 187) nach einer andern Martialhandschrift (Paris *BN. lat. 3549*, fol. 167v) veröffentlicht hat. Dann folgt ein auch in Oxf. *Bodl. Add. A 44*, fol. 71, erhaltenes Liebeslied in Sequenzenbau, mit dem ganz ähnlichen Anfang '*De terre gremio*,' gedruckt, nicht ganz fehlerlos, von Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen-Age*, S. 232. Hierauf folgt unser Lied, '*Ex ungue primo teneram*' (fol. 37v), und darauf wieder ein Marienlied '*Uterus hodie*' (fol. 38v), gedruckt *Anal. 20*, Nr. 112, ein Strophenlied mit einstimmiger Melodie zur ersten Strophe; melodisch ist dieses Lied, nebenbei bemerkt, interessant als sehr früher Anwendungsfall des sogenannten Kanzonenbaues: *A B A B C D/E*.

Vom formalen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, ist das folgende Lied eine Sequenz mit zwei Doppelversikeln und einem Schlussteil, welcher zwar eine weiter fortschreitende metrische Repetition in kleinsten Teilen aufweist, der aber in der (einstimmigen) Melodie keine Gleichheit der Parallel-

glieder, wie sie in den ersten Doppelversikeln vorhanden ist, entspricht; wir haben diesen musikalischen Bau (*A A B B C*) durch die Anordnung des Abdruckes ersichtlich gemacht.

I

1.

Ex ungue primo teneram
Nutrieram,
Ut te, Lice,
Prima vice
Etatem circa puberem
Exigerem
Et caperem
Primicias pudoris.

2.

Fovisti viros gremio
Propicio;
Jamjam vivis
Cum lascivis.
Septennis aduc fueras:
Te reseras
Ad miseras
Illecebras amoris.

II

3.

Me meo memini
Scripsisse legem virgini,
Pro foribus astaret,
Ne molestum virgini
Profundius intraret.

4.

Audax virguncula
Majora multo jacula
Suscipere decrevit;
Votum licet parvula
Femineum explevit.

III. (5).

Pubertatem
Per etatem
Dum stultior
Operior,
Lice, Lice,
Lice, sexu ducta femineo
Virum viro nosti et doleo.
Doleo, doleo, doleo, doleo, doleo.

Hans Spanke
Duisburg

REVIEWS

MARGARET ARMOUR, trans., *Gudrun*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. xi+215. $2.75.

MISS ARMOUR, who has already established her competence in Middle High German by her prose translation of the *Nibelungenlied*, has performed a similar service for the general reader and the younger student interested in Germanic legend by a prose rendering of the *Gudrun*. Since it may be assumed that the chief usefulness of such a translation lies in its availability for general academic courses in literary history for which a knowledge of early Germanic dialects is not presupposed, it is regrettable that Miss Armour did not extend her brief and, in the main, unsatisfactory introduction to give some idea of the significance of this poem in the complex of heroic tradition. At the same time, it appears open to question whether even a fairly literal prose rendering like Miss Armour's succeeds in reproducing in an appreciable degree the flavor of the original; her translation reads, indeed, rather more like a fairly dull prose saga, with momentary lapses into trivialities of expression which do not necessarily represent in every case corresponding weaknesses of the Middle High German text.

Occasional omissions for no apparent reason may also be noted, e.g., 30^4, 'des ich hie künde nie gewan' and 151^4, 'dâ muoste ein starkez dringen von sînen friunden geschehen.' Minor inaccuracies of translation occur with some frequency, e.g.: 'that he might the better prevail' for 'daz er's diu baz möhte geniezen' (3^4), which signifies 'that he might the better profit by it.' 'Twanging' and 'whistling' are hardly a correct rendering of 'rotten' and 'phîfen' (49^{3-4}), which simply mean 'playing the zither and fife.' 'Wes mohte er do geniezen' (92^3) means 'what good did his shooting do him,' rather than 'how could he then escape.' Similarly, 'er râmte swes er gerte' (97^4) signifies 'he aimed at whatever he desired' instead of 'he hit whatever he aimed at.' 'Den ellenden frouwen den tet ir arebeit vil wê' (108^4) would seem to be rendered more properly by 'the homeless maidens suffered sore from their distress' than by ' . . . were weary from their journey.' Why not reproduce 'wie wênic er des liez des sie an in gerten' (174^{2-3}) by 'their every wish was fulfilled' rather than by the highly prosaic 'all that they needed was done for them,' which is still less emphatic? Similar examples could, in fact, be considerably multiplied to indicate that this ostensibly close translation is occasionally deficient in exactness.

These observations are recorded by no means with a view to depreciating the obvious general utility of Miss Armour's translation. On the other hand, it would seem that a rendering of a mediaeval work of classic nature intended for the hands of non-specialist readers should possess a more striking

artistic appeal to attain its maximum effect. Translators of Middle High German verse (and, for that matter, of Middle English as well), unless desirous of providing an absolutely literal version, might be well-advised in sacrificing some degree of literalness to a perfection of form which would be fundamentally closer to the original than any painstakingly accurate and correspondingly dull translation of which the literary merit is perforce restricted.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

A. V. Billen, *The Old Latin texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii, 234. 15 shillings.

The Cambridge University Press deserve the thanks of all Biblical students and scholars for their readiness to publish works such as the above, which, owing to their limited appeal can hardly ever be remunerative, even if their sale is sufficiently large to cover working expenses. Dr Billen's work lies in a field in which very little has been done previously and in which there is ample scope for future investigators. The logical, orderly, and coherent method pursued by him will furnish a model for those who may be led to work in the same field. The manuscripts with which he deals are the Lyons Pentateuch and the fragmentary palimpsests of Munich and Würzburg, all belonging to the fifth or sixth centuries but representing texts current previous to the Vulgate. All are incomplete and only about one hundred verses are common to all three. These documents are submitted to a rigorous and exhaustive linguistic examination in order to elicit their salient characteristics. Dr Billen draws certain very definite conclusions which he supports by equally cogent evidence. Following the categories already broadly laid down by Sanday and Hort, he shows which parts of each are 'European' and which 'African' and gives copious instances of words characteristic of each group. According to Dr Billen, the Lyon and Würzburg MSS are European but of different types, while the Munich palimpsest is partly African and partly European. Much of the evidence naturally depends on an exhaustive study of phrases or single words, and it is in this department that Dr Billen is most convincing. Pages 185 to 222 consisting of noteworthy words constitute a fine piece of patient research, and will be of incalculable service to future investigators. Some of the words treated in this section and in the chapter on Vocabulary are of great interest, e.g. the use of '*quoad*' for '*donec*' (which is paralleled in English by the Yorkshire use of 'while' for 'until'); the intrusive '*t*' in '*Istrahel*'; the use of '*iste*' for '*hic*'; the occurrence of such future forms as '*deleam*' '*periet*' '*transiet*', etc. for the classical forms in '*ibit*'; the use of '*quanta*' for '*quaecunque*,' and so on.

Dr Billen's acquaintance with the more important Latin Fathers and with

such well-known sources as the Regula of Tyconius is pretty evident, and he uses quotations from them to check and extend results reached elsewhere on other grounds. Such pre-Jerome quotations are of absorbing interest to the investigator and, in the opinion of that eminent Patristic authority Dr A. Souter, deserve greater attention than they have hitherto received at the hands of scholars, for they are capable of yielding important results. To compare and contrast the Biblical quotations used by such writers with Jerome's text is an interesting and illuminating task, for the results are often startling in their theological implications. Here it may be remarked that the same verse often appears in the same writer with slight but important variations, a fact which may be due either (a) to too great reliance on memory, or (b) to carelessness (for the maxim 'verify your quotations' is a modern idea) or (c) to the existence of more than one version in religious circles at the time.

It seems rather ungracious to call attention to two small misprints in a work which is refreshingly free from such flaws, but I note 'Pual' for 'Dual' on p. 95 and '*meum*' for '*meam*' in the Ambrose quotation in *Ps.*, xliii ('*protegam manum meum super te*'). Again on p. 61, '*Dam*' is a misprint for '*Dem*,' the reference being to Pelagius' long letter to Demetrias, giving her spiritual advice—in 27 chapters! Some mention should have been made of Dr Souter's work on the Heptateuch used by Pelagius, as well as of his well-known work on the earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul, which contains the most exhaustive analyses we have of writers like St Augustine, Ambrosiaster, Jerome and Marcus Victorinus.

The printing and format of the book are such as we expect in this series and leave nothing to be desired. It is a work which should be in the hands of all those who are interested in Patristics.

Austin H. Birch,
'Larkfield' Secondary School,
Chepstow, (Mon.)

J. M. Bissen, O. F. M., *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura* (Études de Philosophie Médiévale, IX). Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1929. Paper. Pages 304.

This work was originally submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Freiburg in Switzerland as a doctor's dissertation. No substantial changes have been made in its present form, but some important additions have been embodied in the chapter on the history of exemplarism in the Middle Ages. The bibliography lists only such works as were used by the author, because an abundant general bibliography can be found in the works of Gilson and Luyckx.

The purpose of this work is the exact description and loyal interpretation of the teaching of St Bonaventura on exemplarism. A perusal of the book

will convince the reader that the author has made every honest effort to give due consideration to every passage in the writings of St Bonaventura that has bearing on his subject. Copious texts cited in the footnotes add clearness to his argument.

The author stresses the importance of the study of the exemplarism of St Bonaventura for the history of mediaeval philosophy in general and for the history of the philosophy of St Bonaventura in particular. He notes the absence of as much as a sketch of this magnificent doctrine in the manuals of theology and dictionaries pertaining to the theological knowledge of the period under consideration.

St Bonaventura defines an exemplar as that which serves as a prototype in the realization of a thing or action, and exemplarism as the doctrine which teaches how God is the prototype of all that exists, and the manner in which things exist in God. The author defines exemplarism as 'the doctrine of the relations of expression which exist between God and the creature.' This definition, suggested by St Bonaventura himself, covers the active and passive side of exemplarism, and includes the element of *expression* which is peculiar to St Bonaventura. To reduce the significance of exemplarism solely to the theory of illumination is, in the opinion of the author, to misunderstand its scope.

This study confines itself to the development of only one part of a more general plan which the author has in view. His subject is the representative and active exemplar of all being in God. The three principal points of discussion are: (a) God is the exemplar, because He possesses in Himself the ideas of things; (b) These ideas are the forms according to which He knows beings, and the exemplars according to which He produces them; (c) God possesses this exemplary causality in relation to all beings, for all beings, before they are produced, exist in Him, and have in Him, as well before as after their realization, a being more true than that which they possess in themselves. These three aspects of exemplarism are nicely summarized in the trilogy of St Bonaventura: God is for the creature the *causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi.*

The study is divided into two parts. The first has two sections. Section A treats of exemplary ideas, their definition, and their perfection in God. God knows things by these ideas, and not by their essence, nor because He is their cause. The manner in which they exist in God is described, and the chief characteristics of the theory of exemplarism are given. In criticism of the theory the author says that the concept of truth is not the most fundamental, and that St Bonaventura does not seem to distinguish sufficiently the concept of the pure idea and that of the exemplary idea.

Section B deals with the divine Word as the exemplar, the Word as the

likeness of the Father, the Son of God as the image of the Father, and the Son of God as the Word of the Father.

Part Two takes up the active influence of God upon creatures. The author points out that neither the theory of exemplarism nor that of illumination is, properly speaking, a theory of knowledge. After some general considerations on truth in God and in creatures, the author gives the views of St Bonaventura on the divine light, knowledge in the eternal reasons, and our source of certitude. God is not the active intellect, according to St Bonaventura. A chapter is devoted to the historical significance of the intellectual exemplarism of St Bonaventura and its historical scope in the Middle Ages. A comparison is made between the teaching of St Bonaventura and that of St Thomas. The final chapter discusses God's influence upon man's will and his moral life.

It is the author's view that St Bonaventura and St Augustine somewhat underestimate the capacity of human nature. This relative pessimism is a consequence of the very lofty idea which they have of God. Both exalt the dignity of the human soul in so far as it is the image of God.

The doctrine of St Bonaventura on the divine exemplarism leads to the very source of being and of truth; to Him 'a quo omne bonum originaliter progreditur, per quem omne bonum exemplariter producitur, et ad quem omne bonum finaliter reducitur'.

An alphabetical index of proper names and a complete analytical table of contents conclude this excellent study.

Sebastian Erbacher, O. F. M.,
Catholic University of America

Oliver E. Bodington, *The Romance Churches of France*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925. Cloth. Pp. 262 +113 half-tone illustrations on plate pages. $5.00.

One may quarrel at once with this author for attempting to supplant the established name of Romanesque regularly applied to the style he treats. The subtitle suggests a more ambitious work than it is possible for a dilettante to write in this day and age. The author rushes in where trained archaeologists fear to tread, speaking in a rather sophomoric way of the Legend of the year 1000 and the derivation of certain Romanesque elements 'straight from Persia.' His diagrams are an easy target, and it hardly seems that a writer who has but 233 pages for the whole of French Romanesque church architecture ought to waste one on an unflattering joke about an American in St Mark's, Venice. The book concludes with 'Photographic Notes', for the author is a photographer willing to share his secrets.

He is quite right in saying that 'it may perhaps be claimed without vanity that the photographs accompanying this book are somewhat above the average of amateur productions of the kind.' They are indeed. And the re-

viewer is bound to say that the book itself is an interesting book from the popular point of view, and far more likely to engage the sympathy of the layman for its subject than would a sedately impeccable treatment of more scholarly cast.

K. J. Conant
Harvard University

Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Vol. XI, Richard II, 1391–1399; *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, Henry IV, Vol. II, 1402–1405; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Edward VI, Vol. VI, Index. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1929. Pp. iv, 433; vii, 529; 771. £1 10s.; £1 10s.; £2 10s.

The Fine Rolls now calendared cover the uneventful period 1391–1396 as well as the stirring years that brought to a close the reign of Richard II. As usual, they contain records of the appointment of all kinds of officers. Writs to the escheators occupy the customary large amount of space. But, due to the specialized character of the rolls, there are relatively few notices of contemporary political events. The expedition to Ireland, which occupied Richard's energy during the final months of his reign, is mentioned directly in but one place (p. 293). On the other hand, the troubles with Arundel, Gloucester, Norfolk, and Hereford are referred to in a number of writs sent to escheators and keepers of lands. John of Gaunt's death is mentioned because of the necessity of caring for his lands. Of the exactions complained of in the chronicles of 1399, only one clear-cut example has been found (pp. 250–252).

The contents of the letters close calendared in the second volume are far more illustrative of contemporary events of general interest. Within the period, 1402–1405, there was the uprising in Wales under Owen Glendower, the rebellion of the Percies, and an uprising in Yorkshire. There are numerous references to each of these. There are writs relating to the gathering of troops, to the munitioning of castles, to the assembling of ships, to the disposal of the heads and quarters of executed rebels, and finally to measures of pacification. There is also a fair amount of material on the social and economic aspects of life. The copy of the charter to the chantry chapel of St Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard Street, is full of detail concerning endowment, services to be held, ornaments of the altar, and vestments handed over to the chaplain (pp. 135–138). The wine fleet that was to sail to Bordeaux is noticed (p. 199). The cargoes of other ships are occasionally noted. In ships from Portugal came figs and raisins, wine, oil, and wax (pp. 99, 243). From Castile came iron, steel, rosin, salt, apples, 'orengis', and 'clowes' (pp. 257, 356). From Italy came almonds and 'rys' (p. 257). From Zeeland came madder and onions (p. 242). There is mention of 124 boxes of white soap landed in London from a galley of Venice (p. 345). The present volume has no index.

The third volume under review is a very welcome Index to the Patent Rolls of the reign of Edward VI. The compilation needs no comment save that it contains few subject headings.

The new Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Alfred E. Stamp, is to be congratulated upon the celerity with which the volumes of the mediaeval Calendars are appearing.

James F. Willard,
University of Colorado

H. G. Enelow, ed., *Menorat ha-Maor by R. Israel ibn al-Nakawa.* Part I. New York: Bloch, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 37+90.

Al-Nakawa (or, according to the more common spelling, Alnaqua) was a member of a prominent Jewish family of Toledo and was executed there in an *auto-da-fé* during the summer of 1391. His son Ephraim escaped to Algeria, where he founded a Jewish community and practiced medicine so successfully that he was regarded as a miracle worker and became a legendary figure.

Al-Nakawa's *magnum opus, The Lamp of Illumination* (*Menorat ha-Maor*) does not seem to have attained a considerable circulation, for although it was printed in 1578 (and in an abridgement again in 1593), it survives only in a solitary Bodleian manuscript which Rabbi Enelow has now undertaken to edit. The reason for the oblivion into which this work has fallen was the extraordinary popularity enjoyed by a work with the same title and similar contents by Isaac Aboab. Taking issue with Zunz, Mr Enelow undertakes to prove that Aboab obtained most of his material from al-Nakawa, reshaping and rearranging it freely. Both works represent a reaction against scholastic talmudism in favor of an ethical interpretation of Judaism that became highly popular among the masses.

Of the twenty chapters into which the work is divided, the first one (dealing with charity or, more exactly, almsgiving) is published in this volume, together with the acrostic poem in praise of the Law of Moses and the Introduction (describing the circumstances that induced al-Nakawa to write his book). Mr Enelow gives a detailed summary of the contents of the Hebrew text, and points out in the footnotes the numerous Biblical and Talmudic references.

R. H. Pfeiffer,
Harvard University

An Exultet Roll Illuminated in the XIth century at the Abbey of Monte Cassino. Reproduced from Add. ms. 30337. London: British Museum, 1929.

The reproduction of this manuscript in 1929 by the trustees of the British Museum was a courteous recognition of the fact that the venerable Abbey of Monte Cassino, founded by St Benedict in 529, was celebrating its 1400th anniversary. At the beginning of the celebration, copies of the reproduction were formally presented to the Pope and to the Abbey. The manuscript is

eminently appropriate for the choice. Beautiful in script, illumination, and color, it is allied by style to the greatest period of the Cassinese scriptorium when the Abbey was ruled by that great patron of the arts, the cultured Abbot Desiderius. Its restoration in facsimile to the Abbey was therefore a gracious and suitable tribute.

The affiliations of the manuscript to the products of the Desiderian scriptorium are striking, and they invite comparisons with the beautiful volume of homilies still at Monte Cassino signed by the Scribe Leo, whom Dr Lowe in one of his happy phrases characterized as 'the Prince of Beneventan Scribes' (E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 329; and also in his magnificent recently published *Scriptura Beneventana*, vol. 2, pl. LXX).

The entire roll, 22 feet 6 inches in length and 11 inches wide, is reproduced in the size of the original by the Oxford University press. The soft tones of the paper give some illusion of the parchment, and the reproductions of the miniatures, being collotypes of the high grade which we have learned to expect from the Oxford press, conserve to a considerable degree the effects of light and shade which give so much charm to the original. It is true that this manuscript suffers unusually from the loss of its color which time and the rubbings of use have transformed into exquisite pastel tones, accented and enlivened by glints of gold. But as the color in the miniatures is at least in part later than the drawing, this is less serious for the student than for those to whom the manuscript makes mainly an aesthetic appeal.

The subjects of the 14 miniatures which illustrate the text are: 1. Christ enthroned between angels (illustrating the words *Lumen Christi*, thrice sung by the Deacon as he advances to the ambo to sing the Exultet). 2. *Angelica turba caelorum.* 3. *Mater Ecclesia* (a majestic figure standing in the arched nave of a church and supporting it with outstretched arms). 4. *Tellus* (a woman's figure emerging from a mound of earth and suckling the ox and the serpent). 5. The Exultet ceremony; lighting the candle. The Deacon in the ambo calls his brothers to join him in praise. 6. The Crucifixion. 7. The Red Sea (derived from the familiar Byzantine scene as found in the Paris psalter (*B. N. gr. 139*) and elsewhere. The illuminator seems to have been unfamiliar with the scene, however, as he has shown an animal from Pharaoh's horde escaping with the Israelites). 8. Descent into Limbus (Harrowing of Hell) with St John the Baptist. 9. Adam and Eve (between two trees, the Serpent coiled in the tree at left). 10. *Noli me tangere.* 11. Incensing the candle (another representation of the ceremony similar to scene 5; the Deacon stands on the steps of the ambo). 12. The Bees (illustrating the Eulogy of the bees, a poetic interlude which formed part of the earliest version of the hymn). 13. Virgin and Child (illustrating the passage in which, in accordance with mediaeval ideas, the chastity of the bee is compared with that of the Blessed Virgin Mary). 14. A third repre-

sentation of the ceremony. The Deacon, in the ambo, holds the Roll in his left hand while with the right he makes the Byzantine sign of address. Of these fourteen Scenes, all but the first are inverted.

An adequate treatment of these scenes would involve a discussion of the iconography of the Exultet Rolls, a subject too complicated to be more than alluded to in this review. The earliest surviving illuminations (tenth century) were designed to illustrate the early version of the Exultet, described as *Vetus Itala* by the Rev. H. M. Bannister, who believed it to be a part of the lost early liturgy of Italy. The British Museum roll, however, contains the later Roman version (Vulgata), and its illumination is in part derived from the earlier rolls and in part consists of new scenes designed for the Vulgata text. Some lack of understanding of the significance of the earlier scenes is shown, there is some misplacing, and a preference for Byzantine compositions in the new scenes suggests that one of the Byzantine masters whom Desiderius is known to have called from Constantinople to Monte Cassino to train his monks, laid out the plan for the illumination of this roll. It is noticeable also that this roll omits the usual miniatures representing the dignitaries of church and state for whom prayers are offered at the close; and as these sentences merely repeat the usual Exultet phraseology, with no allusion to the Congregation of St Benedict, it is probable that the roll was one of many such products of the Desiderian scriptorium intended to be used as a gift. If so, its destiny was fulfilled, as the erasures and insertions in this part of the text indicate. Furthermore, Dom Beyssac, the well known authority on mediaeval music, pointed out when examining the photographs of this roll that the neumes written for the individual names (to be inserted when sung by the Deacon) are everywhere uniform and do not suggest that any particular pope, bishop, or count was in the mind of the copyist.

The British Museum publication contains a brief but adequate introduction by the late Mr J. P. Gilson who carefully supervised the preparation of the plates but, to the great regret of his friends, did not live to see the actual presentation of his work to the famous old Abbey. He has summarized the facts with singular clarity and judgment, giving deserved credit to Émile Bertaux's pioneering chapter in his *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*. One can only agree with Mr Gilson when, after stating the difficulties involved in an attempt to identify the secular princes referred to in the closing sentences, he concludes by saying that it 'appears safest to date the roll purely on grounds of style.' In his allusion to the Vatican fragment (*Barb. lat. 592*) which resembles this roll so closely, he follows the usual opinion that the Vatican manuscript copies at least in part the British Museum miniatures. This, however, seems unlikely in view of the better understanding of some

of the scenes in the Vatican manuscript and it is more probable that both were copied from a slightly earlier prototype.

A descriptive text following the Introduction contains brief color notes and explanations of the scenes. The interpretation of the fifth miniature (pl. 6), however, as a narrative scene introducing the Deacon twice (lighting the candle and again at the ambo) is inconsistent with earlier miniatures upon which this scene is based; and it is to be noted that the cleric who lights the candle is not vested with the dalmatic. This section contains also the entire text in modern letters, which will be welcomed by students of liturgy who do not easily read the Beneventan script. The text is of the Vulgata complete, and varies in minor details from that published by Duchesne (*Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 259) following more closely the *Vetus Itala* in the Preface, where alone the two versions are practically the same.

The British Museum has therefore won the gratitude not only of the Benedictine Order throughout the world but of all students of mediaeval script, illumination, and liturgy for its excellent publication of this treasure of the Middle Ages.

Myrtilla Avery,
Wellesley College

Cesare Foligno: *Latin Thought During the Middle Ages.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii+120. $1.75.

This is a well-written and well-printed sketch of the continuity of Latin culture from the political downfall of Rome to the Renaissance. Its six chapters are entitled as follows: I. *Rome and the Middle Ages;* II. *The Salvage;* III. *The Christian Contribution*; IV. *Summaries;* V. *The Scottish Age;* VI. *Charlemagne;* VII. *The Schoolmen and After.* The work is furnished with a bibliographical note and an index. Lastly, it contains six beautifully executed and appropriate photographs, each accompanied by an adequate description.

In the opening chapter, Professor Foligno gives a brief survey of the period under discussion, and states his thesis: 'in every cultured man of that epoch, deep down or on the surface, clearly marked or dissembled, there is to be traced the Roman impress, and it will be our object to show how and why this came about.' In the following chapter, he describes the efforts made to preserve the Latin heritage after Rome had fallen. He finds that the most active forces which contributed to this survival were provincial activity, Christianity, scholarly instinct, and particularly the Roman tradition. The chapter entitled *The Christian Contribution* is a consideration of the fate of Latin culture in Italy, where the forces of tradi-

tion were strongest. Christian Rome was stepping into the place of Imperial Rome; and in the Church, the leadership had passed from the Greeks to the Latins—to the Romans, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. The next chapter, *Summaries*, is a characterization of the attempts made by Boëthius, Cassiodorus, and others to preserve the Roman culture, and to adapt it to the needs of their age. This simplified form of culture was needed by the three principal elements of Western society: the Roman traditionalist, the Christian Church, and the barbarians. Chapter V, *The Scottish Age*, is devoted to the activities of the *Scotti*, or Irishmen, and the Anglo-Saxons in absorbing and spreading the Latin culture both at home and abroad. Not the least of their achievements was the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, which is discussed in the following chapter. Here is given a relatively full discussion of the revival of learning which is connected with the name of Charlemagne. Professor Foligno stresses the fact that essentially the most lasting achievement of this movement was the transcription and transmission of manuscripts, since practically all that we know of the writers of Rome is derived solely or mainly from Carolingian copies. The final chapter contains a summary of the conditions which brought about the revival by the Schoolmen, and a discussion of the efforts of scholars to harmonize ancient philosophy with Christian principles.

Professor Foligno has given us a very readable and stimulating book, which, on the whole, is convincing. However, there are a few points which call for comment.

On page 8, the following statement is unacceptable to me in part: 'that the whole of Europe followed a faith which had been reluctantly accepted by Imperial Rome, whose official language was Latin, and whose organization and *tendency to universality had been inspired by Rome*.' (Italics are mine). Again, to my mind, De Labriolle in his *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* has given us a juster estimate of St Jerome's attitude toward the pagan learning than is to be found in the present volume (pp. 35 ff.). The final chapter is also inadequate: in comparison with the treatment of the early Middle Ages, it is too meager. While the works mentioned in the *Bibliographical Note* are very well chosen, yet, in view of the titles presented, the following might well be included: P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1924); E. Norden, *Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, in Hinneberg, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, 8, 3rd ed. (1912), pp. 483–522; A. Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker* (Freiburg, 1905); and F. Lot, *La Fin du Monde Antique et le Début du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1927).

I have noted only one misprint. On page 114, G. Gröber, *Grundriss d. latein. Philol.*, read *Grundriss d. roman. Philol.*

These minor criticisms, or rather suggestions, are not meant to detract from the intrinsic worth of an extremely interesting and delightful book.

BROTHER GILES, C. F. X.,
The Catholic University of America

ETTORE LO GATTO, *Storia della Letteratura Russa*, Vol. I: *Dalle Origini a Tutto il Secolo XVI*. Rome: Anonima Roma Editoriale, 1928. Paper. Pp. xi+294.

SINCE unfavorable economic and political conditions bid fair to restrict in appreciable degree the scope of abstract scholarship and *belles lettres* in Russia for some time to come, it is gratifying to note that not only in the younger Slavic states, but also in France, under the impulsion of Professors Meillet and Mazon, in the Netherlands, under Professor Van Wijk of Leyden, and now in Italy, thanks to the pioneer efforts of Professor Lo Gatto, we may expect a continuance of the great work which the founders of Slavic Philology carried forward during the half-century preceding the World War. The unique character of the first volume of Professor Lo Gatto's treatise, which presents the first even relatively complete survey of Russian literature to the close of the Sixteenth Century ever published in a Western European language, should attract any mediaevalist whose interest extends to this highly interesting field of research. Professor Lo Gatto here devotes a whole volume to a period which Professor Brückner's *Literary History of Russia* covers sketchily in thirty-five pages, and to which Arthur Luther's more recent *Geschichte der russischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1924) gives but seventy.

Any general treatment of a linguistically inaccessible literature must of necessity be in large degree *une oeuvre de vulgarisation*. Professor Lo Gatto would doubtless be the last to deny his obvious indebtedness to such precursors in the elucidation of the literature of Kiev as Pypin, Vladimirov, Istrin, and Speranski, to the studies of Shakhmatov on the Chronicles, or to the investigations of Buslayev, Vsevolod Miller, A. Veselovski and others in the domain of popular poetry and folklore. He is, in fact, to be commended for his familiarity with the well-nigh appalling volume of scattered Russian material dealing with the mediaeval period alone, and his work thus possesses a considerable bibliographical value for the less initiated non-Slavic scholar.

Beginning with a preliminary section on the ethnography of the Eastern Slavs, the introduction of Christianity under Vladimir I, the characteristic linguistic features of Old Russian, and the partition between the oral tradition of popular literature and the formal written literature developed under Byzantine influence, Professor Lo Gatto then devotes his first book to a survey of oral literature, examining in turn the *bylina*, religious poetry, and the so-called '*obrjadnyja pjesni*.' He then turns in the second book to the

formal literature of Kiev, with its translations and compilations from the Greek, its Apocrypha, its hagiographical and moralizing works, the Chronicles, and finally, to that unique and widely-debated brief epic, *The Tale of Igor's Warrior Band.* While Professor Lo Gatto's summary is subject to some reserve on account of his uncritical relation to his Russian predecessors (particularly in regard to Shakhmatov's theories of annalistic compilation), it may be urged that in so controversial a field he was hardly in a position to reverse prevailing hypotheses of wide implication. The third and last section of this volume covers the written literature of the Tatar and Muscovite periods to the death of Ivan the Terrible.

Professor Lo Gatto refers with some frequency to the parallels between Mediaeval Russian literature and the literatures of Western Europe, so that his first volume may thus serve as an important auxiliary for students of comparative literature and folklore desirous of expanding their field of vision.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion with Extracts from their Sacred Writings.* Philip K. Hitti, Ph. D. of New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. viii+80. $2.00.

A book upon the Druzes by one who was born in the Lebanon Mountains and who has associated with them intimately, will excite the curiosity and raise the expectations of the student of the history of religion. Professor Hitti's little book gives a convenient summary of the principal articles of Druze belief and some interesting notes on their social and historical development (Chapter II) and folklore (Chapter VII), which might profitably have been expanded. As an historical study of the Druze religion and its sources it is, however, entirely inadequate and adds little or nothing to our knowledge of this sect and its doctrines.

The documents which Professor Hitti cites and upon which he bases his discussion of the dogmas, morals and speculative theology of the Druzes, have all, with the exception of two or perhaps three, been referred to and extensively quoted by de Sacy in his two volume *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838). De Sacy, moreover, cites and quotes some forty other documents. Of Professor Hitti's extracts, Appendix A will be found in de Sacy's Exposé, vol. II, pp. 704–705, Appendix C, save the last few lines, in vol. I, pp. 205 ff. and vol. II, pp. 606–612, Appendix D in vol. II, pp. 531–539, and Appendix E in vol. II, pp. 540–547, and de Sacy also gives a résumé of the whole of the latter three documents. Appendix B is only referred to by de Sacy (vol. I, p. 191), and he does not seem to have known the document quoted in Appendix F.

Professor Hitti dismisses Druze theology and its sources in twenty pages; de Sacy discusses this subject for one hundred and ninety-one pages of Volume I and throughout the greater part of a brilliant introduction of two hundred and forty-six pages. De Sacy devotes three hundred and eighty-four pages to the hierarchy of Druze ministers; Professor Hitti gives two and one-half pages to this complicated question. The seven precepts of Hamzah occupy a page and a half of Professor Hitti's discussion and forty of de Sacy's.

De Sacy's monumental work, says Professor Hitti (pp. 25–26), 'gives us an excellent internal interpretation of the Druze religion but does not go far in disentangling the different fibers in the intricate and complex web of the system and in tracing them back to the remote origins in the various religions or philosophical and metaphysical schools of thought.' It is evidently to this task that Professor Hitti has addressed himself,—to bring to light the remote origins of Druze practice and belief.

Remote origins, however, are so easy to propose and at the same time so difficult to substantiate. The real historical problem is to show the immediate sources, and de Sacy has demonstrated that, as Professor Hitti himself says, the Druze religion 'is an outgrowth of the Ismā'īliyyah sect' (p. 25). He brings evidence to prove that it borrowed its system and the most of its ideas, as well as a number of its technical terms, from this sect (see de Sacy, Introd., CXXII; vol. I, pp. 58, 83 ff., 99–100, 114–115, 156, 189, 190, 205, 220; vol. II, pp. 5, 19, 30, 60–61, 680, 702). De Sacy himself also offers some remote origins and cites Brahmans, Jews and Christians (vol. I, 224, cf. II, 77), Zoroastrians, Gnostics and Cabbalists (vol. II, 51) as remote precursors of the Druzes in some doctrine or other.

Professor Hitti apparently thinks that 'the learned system of the Druzes has not changed since it was first inaugurated in the early part of the eleventh century' (p. 3). De Sacy shows, however, that the founders of the religion maintained the doctrine of the justice of God and its corollary, free-will in man (see de Sacy, vol. II, pp. 75, 466, 470, 474–475), whereas Professor Hitti says on page 47 that 'the Druzes follow in the footsteps of the Jabriyyah school of Islamic thought' and are therefore predestinationists. De Sacy throws some light on this contradiction in a footnote to vol. II, p. 557 where he points out that the Druze catechism contains statements which cannot be reconciled with the free-will doctrine of the founders of the religion. The author of the catechism abandoned apparently the original doctrine and adopted the ordinary Muslim (Sunni) position.

Chapter IV bears the title, 'The Persian Origin of the Druzes,' by which Professor Hitti apparently means racial origin, and this he seeks to prove by pointing out that the original Druzes must have had a propensity for the peculiar doctrines which they adopted and which were Persian in origin,

that the founders of the sect were Persians or of Turco-Persian origin, that many of the technical terms of the religion are Persian, and that 'the leading families among the Druzes have been throughout either of full Kurdish and Persian origin, or of Persianized and 'Irāqized Arab origin' (p. 21). He goes on, curiously enough, to show that four families were of Arab origin, two of Kurdish and only one of Persian. At the end of the chapter he writes, 'Racially, therefore, the Druze people were a mixture of Persians 'Irāqis?, and Persianized Arabs.' The reader may wonder what Persian influence, or doctrine, or vocabulary, or a propensity to such things has to do with racial origins, and probably he will agree with Professor Hitti when he says (p. 17) that 'more worthy of consideration is the statement of Hogarth and Gertrude Bell in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* that the Druzes are a mixture of stocks in which the Arab largely predominates "grafted on to an original mountain population of Aramaic blood" ', an opinion advanced by these two scholars with all diffidence.

William Thomson,
Harvard University

Philip K. Hitti, trans., *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munquidh (Kitāb al-I'tibār)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. X+265. $4.50.

Usāmah dictated his memoirs at the ripe old age of ninety years or more. Warrior, courtier, sportsman and poet, the friend and confident of princes and their viziers, a favourite of the renowned Saladin himself, he has left us a vivid picture of life as it was in the courts and camps of Syria and Egypt in the twelfth century. He lays bare for us the fatal court-intrigues of the last days of the Fatimite Caliphate in Egypt. He shows us the constant bickerings of the Muslim princes of Syria. And he draws for us vigorous pen-pictures of the freakish appearance and the unaccountable manners and morals of Frankish knights. For although Usāmah was a hero of Islam, he was liberal enough to have counted Christian knights among his friends. Usāmah is garrulous and has no sense of historic sequence. He tells his stories as they occur to him, more by association of subject than anything else. But his book is indispensable to the student of the Crusades or of mediaeval Egypt and Syria for its colour and detail that aid the imagination greatly to seize the character of his time.

Usāmah's memoirs have come down to us in an unique and incomplete manuscript of the Escurial, where the French scholar, Hartwig Derenbourg, discovered it in September 1880. Derenbourg published the Arabic text in 1886, a life of Usāmah based on the text in 1889, and a translation in 1895; and in 1886 and 1887 he contributed four papers on Usāmah and his works to various learned journals. A German translation of the memoirs by

Georg Schumann was published in 1905, and in 1929 there appeared two English translations, one from the French of Derenbourg by G. R. Potter (Broadway Medieval Library) and the present work by Professor Hitti of Princeton.

The German translation, as Professor Hitti points out (p. 20), is for the most part merely a slavish copy of Derenbourg's French translation. The English translation of G. R. Potter is professedly derived from the French except that the author makes a merit of having occasionally preferred the German translation to Derenbourg's French, which may account for some of the mistakes which he has made. Professor Hitti has gone back to the original source, the Escurial manuscript, and points out in his introduction and notes a number of instances, some 36 in all, where Derenbourg has read the Arabic incorrectly. His translation, moreover, shows that he is sometimes following a different reading from Derenbourg and a better one, since his translation is more logical as, for example, on page 27(text, 3. 6 ff.), and page 41. 21 (text, 12. 11 ff.) and perhaps page 42. 12 ff. (text, 12. 20 ff.) and it would have been better, therefore, to have given the reading which he proposes in these instances also, unless perhaps he intends to publish the whole text later.

Unfortunately Professor Hitti has sometimes followed Derenbourg's French translation where it is wrong, or where, at least, the English equivalent of the French expression is certainly incorrect. Derenbourg, for example, has (p. 7. 14), 'dont il [al-Zāfir apparently] obtint le concours *et qu'il soudoya*,' Hitti says (p. 33. 9), 'together with others *whom he won over to the scheme by distributing money among them*,' and the Arabic reads (text, 6.13), 'and *others whom he* [*al-'Ādil*] *had offended*.' We find in Derenbourg (p. 24, 2 from bottom), 'et je retournai vers le vizir *pour l'en informer*,' and in Hitti (p. 51, 15), 'And I returned to 'Abbās and *gave him all the information*.' The Arabic has (text, 19. 2), 'And I returned to him alone without a man.' Derenbourg writes (p. 38.8), '*et les délogerait*,' Hitti translates (p. 65.28), '*and dislodge them*,' while the Arabic says (text, 28, 8), 'and cut them off (or destroy them).' In Derenbourg we have (p. 38.2 from bottom), 'au moment où Laith ad-Daula *l'enveloppait à gauche*,' in Hitti (p. 66, 20), 'When Layth-al-Dawlah *enveloped him from the left*,' and the Arabic simply states (text, 28.21) that Layth *attacked the man from the left*.

Professor Hitti has also, however, departed from Derenbourg's translation quite often where Derenbourg is correct, and occasionally where Derenbourg is wrong without himself achieving the correct translation. For example, Hitti writes (p. 26.15), 'If Allah . . . vouchsafes its safety, *it will be to thy future welfare*.' The second clause should read (text, 2.bottom), 'that will have taken place *under your auspices*.' And Derenbourg renders it (p. 2.15), 'ce sera *grâce à ta bienheureuse intervention*.' We find in Hitti

(p. 38, bottom), 'I then returned to the camp, and behold, the *mule came back galloping* and made its way into the horses' picket line,' where Derenbourg says (p. 13.5), 'Je retournai au campement. *En attendant, le mulet était rentré au galop* dans l'écurie,' which is correct. The mule had returned to camp before Usāmah. Hitti has (p. 47.13), 'Then 'Abbās came out, *dragging the Amīr Yūsuf by tucking under his armpit Yūsuf's uncovered head.*' Derenbourg gives the correct translation (p. 21,3; text, 16.6), 'Ensuite 'Abbâs sortit, *portant sous son aisselle la tête de l'émir Yoûsouf.*' Derenbourg writes (p. 71, 20), '*au jeudi 20 du rabî' second*, en 502.' Hitti mistakes the relation of a word and translates (p. 99.2 from bottom; text, 52.13), '*on the twenty-fifth of Rabī' II*, in the year 502,' and then gives as the corresponding Christian date the same day as Derenbourg does, November 27, 1108.

Again, Hitti has (p. 66, 31), ' . . . I have dispersed their assembly *with the stab of a consummate master.*' Derenbourg, with more poetic feeling at least, writes (p. 39, 12), ' . . . *par un coup d'une épee tranchante.*' But the Arabic phrase really means (text, 29.5), ' . . . with a stroke that has disabled my opponent [*or*, rendered him hors de combat].' Both Derenbourg and Hitti have also misunderstood the last verse of the piece of poetry translated respectively on pages 39.6 from bottom and 67.7 (text, 29.12). It runs, 'And when they challenge to dismount for battle, I am the first to dismount. Why should I ride it [his horse], if not to alight for combat.' Hitti has, 'And as they challenged me to fight on horseback, I was the first to enter the arena. For why should I ride a horse unless I am going to fight on its back?' The verse is attributed here to 'Antarah, but does not appear in Ahlwardt's *Divans*, where the other four verses are to be found in the order, 9, 13, 20, 14. In Freytag's *Hamasae Carmina* (text, 29; tr., 56) it is ascribed to Rabī'ah-ibn-Maqrun al-Dabbrī and its meaning made clear.

Professor Hitti's renderings are unhappy sometimes rather than false. 'They disbanded' for 'They separated or scattered' (p. 37.22). 'Reckoning our tardiness' for 'Deeming us to be delayed' (37, 5 from bottom). 'After thy Islam and thy being one of the readers of the Koran' for 'After having become a Muslim and read the Koran' (p. 64. 10 from bottom). 'So he charged on horseback, void of arms' for ' . . . without any armour' (p. 95, 24). Occasionally he leaves out a word or even a whole sentence, as on page 30.8 (text, 4.15), page 28.4 (text 3.12) and page 34.21 (text, 7.12), or he gives the wrong name or makes an error in the transliterating of a name as, for example, 'al-Hāfiz' for 'al-Zāfir' (p. 31, 29; text, 5.14), and 'al-Mustarshid' for al-Mustarshidī' (p. 28.19; text, 4.1), and 'Rabī' I' for 'Rabī' II' (p. 54.11; text, 21. 7).

He has also accused Derenbourg unjustly at least once in his introduction (p. 19). For Derenbourg does not 'cause the wrong man,' nor any man, 'to fly off his saddle' on page 63 (text, 46.2 from bottom), but probably assigns

a horse to the wrong man and makes the horse run straight on instead of wheel around. Derenbourg makes the wrong man strike a horse in the croup on page 67 (text, 49. 12), which Professor Hitti does not seem to have noticed, and Professor Hitti himself has made the wrong man walk into the tower on page 104 (text, 56. 2).

A comparison of Professor Hitti's translation with that of Derenbourg was inevitable. Sometimes, of course, it differs from Derenbourg's and is correct. Professor Hitti's rendering of the two verses of poetry, for example, on page 77 (text, 36.14) is quite neat, whereas Derenbourg has gone astray (p. 49.), and where Derenbourg writes (p. 8.4), 'Il s'éleva au-dessus du sol,' Professor Hitti gives (p. 33, 5; text, 6, bottom), 'He looked down from that considerable elevation to the courtyard,' which is correct if somewhat clumsy. But an examination of the two translations simply confirms our esteem for Derenbourg and his work. For granting even the mistaken readings pointed out by Professor Hitti, Derenbourg's translation must still be considered the more trustworthy, as it is certainly the racier. Not only is it 'a very creditable and honest piece of work,' as Professor Hitti says in his introduction, but it also bears witness to a fine feeling for Arabic idiom and an admirable ability to render that idiom into vigorous French.

William Thomson,
Harvard University

H. C. Hoskier, ed., *De Contemptu Mundi, by Bernard of Morval.* London: Quaritch, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xxxiv+104.

It is remarkable that the original text of a poem so familiar, at least in part, to every student of hymnology should have been so rarely edited. Since Thomas Wright's publication of the *De Contemptu Mundi* (in *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, Vol. II, Rolls Series, London, 1872), no critical text of this unique and impassioned satire has been offered. Before Wright, the most recent available text was the 1754 Frankfurt reprint of Flacius' Basel edition of 1557. Mr Hoskier has thus performed a real service to mediaevalists in preparing a modern critical text, based on a collation of all known manuscripts, along with the three chief printed editions (Flacius, Chytraeus [Bremen, 1597], and Wright). The three principal manuscripts used, among others, by Mr Hoskier belong to the Thirteenth Century, and thus fall within a period of not much more than fifty years from the composition of the poem. They are: *Paris Nat. Lat. 8433*, *Douai 825*, and a hitherto uncollated manuscript (*No. 115*) in the Town Library at St Omer. The editor gives not only a stemma of all extant manuscripts, but also an extensive list of notable variants in the individual texts. As Wright's text is apparently based only on the British Museum manuscript *Cotton. Cleopatra A viii* and a Bodleian manuscript (*Digby*

65.33), it is clear that Mr Hoskier's text must for the moment be *regarded as authoritative.*[1]

Mr Hoskier renews the apparently hopeless controversy as to Bernard's place of birth. Basing his contention of the occurrence of *Morvalensis* in the Douai manuscript (Thirteenth Century) and Brit. Mus. *Add. 22287* (Fourteenth Century), he decides both against Morlaix or Morlas and also against Professor J. W. Thompson's argument in favor of Murles (*Jour. of Theological Studies*, April 1907, pp. 392–400), and would consequently suppose Bernard of some putative *Morval* 'perhaps in the Jura, not so far from Cluny' (p. xiv). Mr Hoskier states quite positively that his thirteenth-century manuscripts are clear for *Morvalensis*. From his own *apparatus criticus* and Jackson's notes, however, I am unable to discover more than one thirteenth-century manuscript carrying this form (Douai), while *Cleopatra A viii* (also thirteenth-century) has *Morlanensis*, as is also the case with *Digby 65.33*, though this belongs to the Fourteenth. On the face of it, the evidence would thus not appear so impressive as Mr Hoskier would have us believe, and Bernard's native place still remains hidden in obscurity.

In view of Mr Hoskier's profound appreciation for the literary merits of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, it is regrettable that the portion of his introduction which deals with previous efforts at translation is not on a par with his textual criticism. Bearing in mind the almost insuperable difficulties presented by an English rendering in anything like the original meter (Mr Hoskier's own attempts in this direction serve but to emphasize the perils involved), one can hardly accept his strictures against Dr Neale's celebrated paraphrase of considerable sections of the poem, which have become the prized possession of millions totally unfamiliar with its more venomous passages. I note also that Mr Hoskier does not refer to Swinburne's really beautiful paraphrase of a portion of Book I,[2] which, without exactly reproducing Bernard's metrical *Kunststück*, approximates its haunting rhythm. Some study of Bernard's precursors in the use of *tripertiti dactylici caudati* would also have been appropriate.[3]

Regardless of these subjective deficiencies, however, Mr Hoskier's edition should invite to the fresh examination of this gem of mediaeval

[1] Of Wright's basic texts, *A* refers to *Cleopatra A viii*, and *P* presumably to Chytraeus's print of 1597. Wright's *B*, though not identifiable with entire certainty, seems to have been *Digby 65.33* or a text close to it. In S. M. Jackson's study, *The Sources of Jerusalem the Golden* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 11–21, most of the extant manuscripts are described in some detail. Jackson's bibliographical notes on fragmentary translations from the *De Contemptu Mundi* are also of importance.

[2] Cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927), p. 317 n.

[3] Cf. W. Meyer, *Ges. Abh. zur Mittellat. Rythmik* (Berlin 1905), I, 90.

composition, in which an almost supernatural command of phrase and vocabulary combines lofty visions with an ascetic's compensative and therefore doubly fierce resentment of an age which he considered materialistic and corrupt.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
Harvard University

P. LEHMANN, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz.* 2. Band. *Bistum Mainz, Erfurt.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928. Paper. Pp. vi+812. RM. 75.

MUCH may be known of a man if we know what books he reads and much may be learned of an age by discovering which books were most widely read. For the Middle Ages this may be learned from the catalogues of the mediaeval libraries.

The project of publishing the mediaeval library catalogues of Germany and Austria was first broached before the Vienna Academy in 1897. The original intention was to include the catalogues from northern France and northern Italy as well, but this latter part of the project was given up. In 1906, the German academies were asked to cooperate, and it was decided to divide the labor, with the commission appointed by the Vienna Academy concentrating on the Austrian catalogues and the German catalogues to be published by a commission with headquarters at Munich.

The first volume of the Austrian series (intended to be complete in three volumes) was published at Vienna under the editorship of the late Theodor Gottlieb. The German catalogues are to be arranged according to the mediaeval ecclesiastical provinces. The first volume of the German series, including the catalogues from the dioceses of Constanz and Chur, appeared in 1918, under the editorship of Paul Lehmann. The present volume, whose publication has been delayed by the war and resultant financial difficulties, includes the mediaeval catalogues from Erfurt.

According to the plan of the series, the history of each library is sketched, and accompanied by lists of manuscripts in modern collections known to have existed in the mediaeval library. Then follow the mediaeval catalogues from each center, retaining the manuscript characteristics so far as possible in print.

The present volume contains fifteen catalogues, of which eleven are printed here for the first time. The catalogues with one exception date from the fifteenth century and furnish an illuminating picture of the intellectual interests of the old University and the monasteries, and of the background of learning of the 'Erfurt humanists' and of Luther.

The principal libraries catalogued are those of the old University (the *Collegium Amplonianum* and the *Collegium Universitatis*) and the Carthusian Salvatorberg. Of particular interest is the autograph catalogue of the

library of Amplonius Ratinck, from 1410, revealing an extensive collection of all the liberal arts, of law, science, theology, and the ancient classics. Also noteworthy is the lengthy and detailed but well-classified catalogue of the Salvatorberg, from the opening of the sixteenth century.

Due to the magnitude of the project and the careful scholarship with which it is being carried on, the completion of the series is necessarily far in the future. It is to be hoped, however, that publication of the forthcoming volumes may be expedited, since the value of the collection increases progressively as further catalogues are available for comparison and judgments as to the popularity of the authors and the diffusion of their works in the libraries become possible. The catalogues printed and to be printed in this series will form an unequalled source of information on mediaeval intellectual levels and interests. It is likewise desirable that publication be undertaken, on an equally high plane of scholarship, of the catalogues of the mediaeval libraries of other regions of western Europe.

James S. Beddie,
North Dakota State Teachers College,
Minot, North Dakota

Agustín Millares Carlo, *Paleografía Española: Ensayo de una História de la Escritura en España desde el siglo* viii *al* xvii. Barcelona and Buenos Aires: Editorial Labor. 1929. Vol. I, 359 pp., 39 figures in the text and 16 plates; Vol. II, 87 facsimiles, 131 pp. (Colección Labor, Vols. 192–194.) 13 pesetas.

At last we have a thoroughly satisfactory introduction to Spanish paleography. Spanish scholarship has often suffered in the past from too provincial an outlook; this manual is abreast of research everywhere, and its bibliographical references are unsurpassed. Whether one deals with Visigothic manuscripts, Aragonese fueros, or New World chancery records, one finds altogether adequate treatment. Professor Millares' comments on Lowe's criterion for dating Visigothic manuscripts are especially interesting. Vol. II contains nearly 90 facsimiles covering the whole field, though hampered by the small size of the series; others are scattered through the text. Misprints are few. As one who knows from experience the difficulties of the subject, I congratulate Professor Millares on a remarkable achievement, indispensable to all serious students of Spanish literature and history.

Charles Upson Clark,
Smithsonian Institution

Henry S. Lucas. *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326–1347.* University of Michigan Publications—History and Political Series, VIII). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii+696. $4.00.

The zigzag-puzzle map of the Low Countries at the end of this volume and the author's lucid summary in the concluding chapter form a welcome

appendix to the story that Dr Lucas has to tell. Without these, the American reader might feel easily bewildered by his account of alliances, feuds, cross-purposes, and betrayals which bound and severed the various duchies, counties, seigneuries, and bishoprics then constituting the Netherlands. The rulers of these regions were politically more important than the modest size of their territories would lead one to expect. Their geographical position at the mouths of three great trade routes, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, and the wealth which, in consequence, had accrued to them, made them desirable allies for neighboring monarchs. Chief among them was William, Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault, who was brother-in-law to King Philip VI of France and father-in-law to Edward III, King of England and to Louis the Bavarian, King of the Romans. It was through William's influence, no doubt, that Reginald, Duke of Gueldres, married Eleanor, King Edward's sister. William further attempted to strengthen his prestige in the south by negotiating the betrothal of his daughter Isabella to the heir apparent of the Duke of Brabant, whose duchy lay across his own territories, separating Hainault in the south from Holland and Zeeland in the north. King Philip VI, afraid of a close alliance between Duke John and Count William, induced the former to repudiate this matrimonial agreement and to marry his son to Philip's daughter Marie. But by this policy the French King estranged his brother-in-law and drove him into the English camp, and Duke John, an astute politician, saw his advantage in remaining neutral in the conflict between the two rival monarchs. Thus King Philip could rely only upon John, Count of Luxemburg and King of Bohemia, the Bishop of Liége, and the Count of Flanders. But the Flemish Count's loyalty availed him but little, for the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, which were dependent for their cloth industry on the unimpeded import of English wool, aligned themselves with King Edward under the leadership of Jacob van Artevelde, a prominent burgher of Ghent. Hence English interests, backed up by English wool and English money and by promises of more of both to come, were paramount in the Low Countries about the year 1340. The naval victory over the French fleet at Sluis is the highwater mark of Edward's prestige in the Netherlands. Owing to his failure to clinch that success by a speedy capture of Tournai, which he had promised to return to the Flemings, his popularity began to wane. His alliances, based upon selfish interests, proved unstable props, which were apt to give way as soon as time and circumstance revealed these interests to lie elsewhere. At the close of the period covered by this volume, of all his allies only the margrave of Juliers and the Flemings remained faithful to King Edward. Dr Lucas, in accounting for all the changes and checks that French and English policies encountered in the Low Countries, had to unravel a tangled skein of intrigues fit to exasperate a scholar of less pain-

staking and persistent temperament. His chief contribution to our knowledge of the period is the new light he has thrown upon the cunning rôle played by Duke John of Brabant, who in this political welter showed greater statesmanship than did the burgher statesman Artevelde. The bulk of Dr Lucas's source material is available in print, but he has also made use of unpublished documents in the archives at Paris, Lille, Brussels, Mons, Ghent, Bruges, Middelburg, and The Hague. An exhaustive bibliography of documents, chronicles, books and articles bears testimony to the industry and the research that have gone to the making of this excellent volume.

A. J. Barnouw,
Columbia University

Nellie Neilson, ed. *The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent.* London: Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. x+255. Cloth, $7.00.

This is a scholarly book written for scholars. Almost one third of the total is introduction. The rest is the Latin text of a cartulary and a survey. The cartulary indicates the source of the title to the land held by the priory in question. The survey shows how the small holdings were rented out to tenants. The estates were in Kent on the edge of Romsey Marsh and of the Weald of Andred. The period of the compilation of the records is the fifteenth century, while the documents themselves belong chiefly to the two preceding centuries.

The introduction explains such terms as *denn*, *warland*, and *modus*, and calls attention to the exceptional conditions of land tenure in Kent, for example, that there was no week-work. It is curious to note that about 55 out of 62 pages of the introduction are so presented that they might have been published without the texts that follow. Indeed, there is an unusual divorce between the two parts of the book. The introduction is a kind of preface to the text, not a commentary on it. We miss just such analysis of the content and meaning of the documents as the editor might easily have given. Since there is no indication of the letters that have been added by way of elongation of words, we feel somewhat uncertain of the original reading of the manuscript.

N. S. B. Gras,
Harvard University

A. Kingsley Porter, *Beyond Architecture.* Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1928. Pp. 84. $1.50.

The rôle of Professor Porter in revolutionizing our mediaeval archaeology is now recognized and understood. His two-volume work, *Mediaeval Architecture*, with its polyglot bibliography and its groups of concise detailed

monographs chapter by chapter, was published when he was but twenty-five years old. It now needs revision, but it is a good book, and it was the apprenticeship for profounder studies on Lombard architecture, as well as on the sculpture of the pilgrimage roads, of Spain, and of Ireland. Sparks from his anvil have been taken by his students and fanned into lively flames, with the result that his teaching has had an influence far beyond the radius of his own charming personality. Now he turns to writing for its own sake. In view of his extraordinarily fecund work in archaeology, this little book is uncommonly interesting, for it gives, in literary form, his personal feeling about archaeology and the fine arts. In brief, he considers that the advance of what he calls societism chokes the freedom of the artist, coarsens his grain, and makes him a servant of a spirit-stifling big-ism. 'The sung-to creates the singer, and what coarsens one must coarsen the other. That perhaps explains why the progress of societism seems quite generally accompanied by a decline of the poetic gift. Italy, and specifically Rome, which has been called the cradle of the arts, has thrice proved to be their coffin, and at the exact moments—Augustus, Leo X, Mussolini—when intense societal organization was attained.' This idea runs through this charming series of essays. A theorist and a lover of the art of the time of Augustus, Leo X, and Mussolini might ask if there may not be in those days a different kind of song—one to which Professor Porter's ears are not attuned

K. J. Conant,
Harvard University

Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale. Tome I. Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1929. Pp. 542+116.

The four numbers comprising the first year of the *Recherches* have been collected in one volume. It is hardly necessary to call the attention of mediaevalists to the *Recherches* which, in this first year of its publication, has proved itself an indispensable tool for all interested in the mediaeval philosophy and theology. Under the able leadership of Dom Lottin, the *Recherches* has gained for itself a secure place.

The *Recherches* covers the field of theology from the time of Tertullian to the Council of Trent. It excludes everything, even before that date, which has direct reference to the Reformation. Theology naturally is interpreted by the editors to include philosophy, ethics, asceticism, liturgy, canon law, and practically everything that falls within the scope of the history of Western theology taken in a wide sense. The *Recherches* contains, besides articles of high scientific merit, unedited texts, book reviews, a brief chronicle of current literature, and a bulletin of ancient and mediaeval theology. Noteworthy articles in the first volume are the following:

'L'origine antiadoptianiste de notre texte du Symbole de la Messe,' by Capelle.

'La tradition littéraire et textuelle de l'Adoro te devote,' by André Wilmart.

'Anfänge einer Lehre vom Concursus simultaneus im XIII Jahrhundert,' by Landgraf.

'Le premier représentant de l'Augustinisme médiéval, Prosper d'Aquitaine,' by Cappuyns.

'Autour de l'œuvre theôlogique d'Anselme de Laon,' by Bliemetzrieder.

The *Recherches* is well printed on good paper and with easily readable type. We hope for it a wide circulation among American scholars. It deserves such support.

JAMES H. RYAN,
The Catholic University of America

KARL STRECKER ed., *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters Von Chatillon.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1929. Paper. Pp. xx+179. RM. 6.

MAX MANITIUS, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, Qte Auflage. (Münchener Texte Herausgegeben von Friedrich Wilhelm, Heft 6). Munich: Callwey, 1929. Paper. Pp. 60.

HERE are two important additions to the ever increasing number of critically edited mediaeval Latin texts. The excellences of Manitius' first edition of the poems of the Archipoeta (1913) need not be chronicled again. They appear without much change in this second printing.

Strecker's edition of the *Moral Poems* of Walter of Chatillon completes that of the *Songs* published in 1925. It is a finished production, like everything from this scholar's hand. The title of the work indicates that the text is based on manuscripts from all the European countries, not merely, as sometimes has been unfortunately true of Latin texts edited by German scholars, on manuscripts accessible in Germany. Strecker has performed his task well-nigh single-handed. An introduction presents full information with regard to the manuscripts and to the delicate question of the authenticity of the poems. As anybody who has looked into the manuscripts of twelfth-century Latin poetry is aware, direct ascriptions—for instance, in the case of Hildebert of Lavardin—are rare. Strecker has made probable the authorship of the poems edited here by a study of their groupings in the various codices in which they are found.

The edition of the poems is scrupulously thorough. Each is preceded by an introduction containing a characterization and a summary of the contents, with a minute account of the metre and its deviations from the norm. Below the text are two series of notes, the first containing a description of the manuscript sources of the text and the other the *apparatus criticus.* The first gives out after a while, leaving the apparatus, which is extensive, alone. Then there follows, after the text of the poem, a third set of notes, which

is occupied mainly with references to passages in ancient or mediaeval authors, both Pagan and Christian, of which there are apparent reminiscences in the text. Their arrangement is a bit inconvenient. One generally expects the information about the manuscripts used to form part of the introduction; and one looks for *Incipits* not half way or more through the poem at the end of the first set of notes, but as the first feature of the *apparatus criticus*. The arrangement in Manitius' *Archipoeta* is better for the reader. His notes, all at the bottom of the page are in three sections: 1) *apparatus criticus*, 2) explanatory comments, 3) parallel passages. However, his page is larger and his various notes less numerous. Strecker had a harder problem to solve, but I still think that the statement about the manuscripts should have gone into the introduction and the *Incipits* should have headed the *apparatus criticus*. The reader would also have appreciated the usual list of *Sigla Codicum*.

These are small points at which to cavil in return for the wealth of information compactly presented in the little book. Its contents should correct the idea—if any entertain it any longer—that anything outside hymns written in the measures employed by the Goliards is of a light and frivolous character. The poems of Walter of Chatillon here edited are moral indeed, eminently edifying and monotonous, particularly when the writer ventures beyond his depth into the waters of theology. There are some flashes of humor and satire, and in the poems written shortly before he died a leper's death, the tone is serious and true.

Of great historical interest is Poem No. 3, of which only fragments had been printed before. It was read by the poet at Bologna soon after 1170 by invitation of the Law School of that place; and thus, as Strecker points out, with a reference to Thorndike (*Speculum*, I (1926), 101–103), it antedates by nearly half a century the reading of his *Rhetorica Antiqua* by Boncampagno of Signa in 1215, also at Bologna. The address takes the form of an ancient *satura*, since it is alternately prose and poetry. The subject is the writer's idea of what a university education should comprise. There are three parts, or *ordines*. The first comprises the liberal arts of the trivium and quadrivium; the quadrivium includes *physica*, which here means not medicine, as sometimes in the Middle Ages, but natural science. The second order is law, including political science. Walter, the moralist, is careful to point out that neither liberal studies nor the law is sufficient in itself to bring a man peace at the end. The third order is theology, the queen of the sciences. There is possibly a touch of satire even here, at the expense of the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, such as appears elsewhere (I, 16–25).

Of the remaining works of Walter of Chatillon, his best known poem, the *Alexandreis* and the somewhat doubtfully attributed *Georgica* still await

critical editions. The most recent edition of the *Alexandreis* is the very imperfect one of W. Müldener in 1863. Strecker emphasizes vigorously the need of a new and satisfactory text of this important work, and adds, to our exceeding regret, that he himself cannot undertake it.

E. K. Rand,
Harvard University

Eugene Vinaver, *Malory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. iv+208. $5.00.

In a compact and well considered study, Mr Vinaver presents the problem facing scholars who wish to investigate the French sources of Malory's *Morte Darthur*, and offers as a method of approach one which he demonstrated in 1927, when he published in Paris, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory*, a study of Malory's treatment of the Tristan material (Books VIII–XII of the *Morte Darthur*) in relation to its French source. As the author states in his introduction to the present study, he is endeavoring to suggest a method rather than to demonstrate it in this volume. The present volume is an admirable—one would almost say indispensable—survey of the historical and literary influence impinging upon Malory when he composed the *Morte Darthur*. After two preliminary chapters summarizing what scholarship has learned about the life of Malory and of Caxton's editing and printing of the *Morte Darthur*, and after reviewing the course of the Arthurian narrative in literature before the time of Malory, Mr Vinaver devotes the main part of his study to a cross-section of the chief literary, cultural, and historical interests which influenced Malory in the adaptation of his French sources for the English work he had in hand.

Mr Vinaver studies in some detail Malory's narrative technique and literary and chivalric ideals as distinguished from those of his French predecessors, and demonstrates clearly the dualism of ideals which entered into those Arthurian romances centering around the secular chivalric world of Camelot, or the sacred chivalric world of Corbenic, the home of the Grail. The effect upon Malory of the sunset of chivalry and the oncoming of a new social order is admirably related in a chapter entitled *The New Arthuriad*, and the study ends with a critique of Malory's ability as a translator and stylist.

These are the main themes of the book, and they are treated in a highly interesting and significant manner. As he peruses the present volume, any reader who has followed for twenty years or more the trend of scholarship in the field of Middle English literature will be deeply impressed with the nature of that development. One of the first steps was to establish the texts of Arthurian romances and to print them. Immediately thereafter came the study of the romances as comparative literature, which in turn led to a study of their source material, some of which could be traced back to

literatures other than French or English, and some of which came from folk-lore. Most recently has arisen a study of the history of the Middle Ages as it is set forth in manor rolls, court records, etc., with the result that we have added greatly to our present knowledge, not merely of Malory, but also of a host of other authors and of men to whom they refer, whose names hitherto have been no more than names. And finally, it is not too much to hope that scholars of mediaeval literature will augment their store of knowledge by a careful consideration of mediaeval monuments in all fields of fine arts, which have much to tell those who wish to trace the process of literature in the life of its time. Something has already been effected in this field, but a serious and thorough consideration of the relation between mediaeval literature and mediaeval fine arts has yet to be undertaken.

James Buell Munn,
New York University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

A. Ahlstrom, *Le Moyen Age dans l'Œuvre d'Anatole France.* Strasbourg diss., Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930. Paper. Pp. 219.

Sister Mary A. Burns, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues: A Study of their Rhetorical Qualities and Form.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXII), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. viii+121. $3.50.

W., *Hermann von Salza.* Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 4. Heft, Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1930. Paper. Pp. viii+289. Paper. RM 13. Cloth. RM. 15.

T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere.* (Modern Philology Monographs), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. viii+104. $3.00.

F. Desonay, ed., *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle d'Antoine de La Sale.* Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. cxxvii+65. Frs. 40.

J. T. Ellis, *Anti-Papal Legislation in Medieval England (1066–1377).* Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiv+137.

W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy,* I. The Kalendar. (Alcuin Club Collections, XXVIII), New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. 158. £1/1.

H. Glunz, *Britannien und Bibeltext,* Der Vulgatatext der Evangelien in seinem Verhältnis zur irisch-angelsächsischen Kultur des Frühmittelalters. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, XII, Leipzig: Verlag Von Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 187. RM. 16.

L. Halphen, *Les Barbares des Grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes Turques du XIe Siècle.* Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930. Paper. Pp. 432. Frs 50.

D. Hartley, ed., *The Old Book,* A Mediaeval Anthology. With an Introduction by George Saintsbury, London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxx+318.

A. Hilka and O. Schumann, ed., *Carmina Burana,* I. Band: Text, II. Band: Kommentar. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+112, 120. Vol. I, RM. 6, Vol. II, RM. 20.

G. W. P. Hoey, *The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of St. Gregory of Nyssa.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXVI), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xv+126. $3.50.

G. Hübener, *England und die Gesittungsgrundlage der europäischen Frühgeschichte.* Frankfurt a.M.: Moritz Diesterweg, 1930. Boards. Pp. viii+325. RM 14.

M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace.* Part I. Nos. 1–97, Cambridge: University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+160. 12*s.* 6*d.*

J. Kürzinger, *Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus und Seine Theologische Einleitungslehre,* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Scholastik im 14. Jahrhundert. (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters,* Band XXII, Heft 5–6), Münster: i. W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+230. RM. 10.85.

Sister Mary D. Madden, *The Pagan Divinities and their Worship as Depicted in the Works of Saint Augustine Exclusive of the City of God.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXIV), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. x+134. $3.00.

Sister Marie A. Martin, *The Use of Indirect Discourse in the Works of St. Ambrose.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XX), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xviii+185. $3.50.

R. E. Messenger, *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Mediaeval England.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 210. $3.50.

J. F. Mountford and J. T. Schultz, *Index Rerum et Nominum in Scholiis Servii et Aelii Donati Tractatorum.* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XXIII), New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. Boards. Pp. xii+205. $3.00.

Sister Mary G. Murphy, *St. Basil and Monasticism.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXV), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xix+112. $3.50.

F. Neri, *Fabrilia,* Richerche di storia letteraria. Torino: Chiantore, 1930. Paper. Pp. 134.

Sister Mary B. O'Brien, *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A.D.* Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXI), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+174. $3.50.

Yvonne Rokseth, ed., *Treize Motcts et un Prélude pour Orgue parus chez Pierre Attaingnant en 1531,* réédités avec une Introduction et les Originaux des Motets. Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxv+61. Frs. 90.

W. Cesarini Sforza, "*Ius*" *E* "*Directum,*" Note Sull' Origine Storica dell'Idea di Diritto. Bologna: Stabilimenti Poligrafici Riuniti, 1930. Paper. Pp. 90.

M. Sherwood, trans. *The Tale of the Warrior Lord,* translated from *El Cantar de Mio Cid.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth. Pp. xx+156. $2.50.

J. Sofer, *Lateinisches und Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla.* Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+189. RM. 14.

R. Steele and F. M. Delorme, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. X. Questiones, Supra Libros Prime Philosophie Aristotelis* (*Metaphysica I, II, V–X*). New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xxxii+360.

F. M. Stenton, ed., *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections.* (Northants. Record Society, Vol. IV), Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxv+179.

D. M. Stenton, ed., *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Rolls, A.D. 1202 and 1203.* (Northants. Record Society, Vol. V). Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxviii+214.

Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz, presented by a group of his pupils and friends on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, February 4, 1930. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+331.

Sister Thérèse Sullivan, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi De Doctrina Christiana Liber Quartus,* A Commentary, with a Revised Text, Introduction and Translation. Catholic University diss., (Patristic Studies, Vol. XXIII), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiv+205. $3.50.

C. H. Turner, ed., *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima,* Tom. I, Fasc. II, Pars III. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. xvi+441-624.

C. P. Wagner, ed., *El Libro Del Cauallero Zifar.* (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, Vol. V), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xviii+532.

W. Wulff, *Rosa Anglica.* (Irish Texts Society, Vol. XXV), London: Simpkin, Marshall, Ltd. 1929. Cloth. Pp. lviii+435. 25*s.*

2867 S

DEMCO

FOR REFERENCE

Do Not Take From This Room

United Theological Seminary Library